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THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
OR A VIEW OF THE  
HISTORY,  
POLITICS,  
AND  
LITERATURE,  
For the YEAR 1810.



LONDON:

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## P R E F A C E.

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**T**HOUGH there was nothing of extraordinary interest or importance among the subjects brought under the consideration of the British Parliament this year, our accounts of its proceedings have run to an unusual, and, we fear it may be justly thought, an excessive length. The expedition to Walcheren, was a dull and irksome topic; and the result of the tedious inquiries and discussions to which this gave birth, unsatisfactory and vexatious. But in the course of proceedings on this subject, a question arose relative to the privileges of the House of Commons, and the liberty of the press, particularly that of reporting parliamentary debates; and this again to a train of incidents, which it seemed natural to notice in connection with the cause from whence they sprung: and that question, with the consequent commotions in the cities of London and Westminster, and the vicinity, excited by Sir Francis Burdett, forms the most distinguishing feature in the parliamentary history of 1810.

It may also be necessary to offer an apology for the order observed in our narrative of all these occurrences, not interrupted by many intervening subjects of attention and discussion in Parliament, from first to last: from the first of February, when

## PREFACE.

the Hon. Mr. Yorke gave notice of his motion for enforcing the standing order of the House for the exclusion of strangers, to the 21st of June, when Sir Francis Burdett was liberated, by the dissolution of Parliament from the Tower, and Mr. Gale Jones was driven out of Newgate. In relating the debates about Walcheren, and the different matters that grew out of it, we have observed our usual method of arranging transactions under different heads or classes, and passing as much as possible from one subject to another, according to the relations they bear to one another, and not merely that of abridging parliamentary debates, whatever the subject, in the order of time. It may be permitted to the imagination of a poet, "rolling in a fine phrenzy from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven," to carry his reader where and when he pleases; "and set him down now at Thebes, and now at Athens."\* The poet, however various or rapid his flight, keeps still on the wing; still bears us smoothly along by transitions founded in strong associations of ideas. To pass abruptly, to skip backwards and forwards to a thousand heterogeneous motions, bills, and debates in both Houses of Parliament, could not, properly speaking, be called even Parliamentary History, far less the History of Europe. It must be admitted, however, that our statements of what passed annually in our Parliament, have been carried to details altogether disproportionate to an Annual Register of the great affairs of various nations.

\* Horat. Epist. 1.



## PREFACE.

This will be excused by the candid critics of even foreign nations, on the ground that they are principally intended for English readers. But we are not inattentive to free assemblies in other countries. We have entered sufficiently into the dissensions and contests, and given specimens of the debates, in the national, conventional, and legislative assemblies of France, until all freedom was suppressed by the usurpation of Buonaparte. Our attention is now solicited to the Cortes of Spain. If we were to measure the importance of the speeches in the Hall of the Cortes, and the propriety of introducing them into a general History of Europe, by the extent of their knowledge and views, and their admirable eloquence, we should not hesitate to make way for that introduction, by the suppression of much of what passes in our own Parliament. Nor would the British statesmen and orators be disparaged, if they were to sit as close together, and make as much room as possible for the admission of the Spaniards into the bright political zodiac of freedom: Individual liberty and national independence

——Ipse tibia jam Brachia contrahit ardens  
Scorpius\*——

But in annals of Europe, we must be guided in our selections by the consideration of what is most important in its general effects and practical results. Had the speeches in Cato's little senate at Utica been published, there is not a doubt but they would have displayed as much wisdom and elo-

\* Virg. Georg. lib. 1, ver. 34.



## PREFACE.

quence as any recorded by Livy or Sallust; but they would not have excited at the time the same degree of interest. As yet, the deliberations and decisions of the Cortes have not had any actual influence on the affairs of nations. In the present volume, as much space has been allotted, as could be possibly spared, to the convocation, formation, and first proceedings of that august assembly, in which deputies appeared from the Spaniards in all the four quarters of the world. It is our sincere wish and prayer, and there is not wanting reason to hope that the deliberations of the Spanish may one day rival in importance those of the British senate. It will serve as a focus to collect, retain, and reflect the genial rays of patriotism and public spirit; to consolidate the dispersed elements of public force into one mighty mass, and confirm the stability, and promote the prosperity and grandeur of the Spanish nation by an enlightened, uniform, and steady government.

We ought to congratulate our readers on the glory acquired this year by the skill as well as valour displayed by our arms in the peninsula of Spain, and in the East Indies, under the direction of Lord Wellington and Lord Minto: both of them, being eminently distinguished by active and extensive genius, bright ornaments of their country.

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THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
For the YEAR 1810.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
EUROPE.

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CHAP. I.

*Changes in the British Ministry.—Meeting of Parliament.—King's Speech.—Addresses Moved in Reply in both Houses.—Amendments proposed.—Debates thereon.—Involving particularly a Review of the War in Spain.—And the calamitous Expedition to the Scheldt.*

THE British ministry, from causes sufficiently explained in our last volume, had fallen into so much contempt, that changes might have been expected, even if there had not been any bickerings and fighting, between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning. On the resignation of these two secretaries, Mr. Perceval, who had become first lord of the treasury and prime minister, on the retirement of the Duke of Portland, set himself, to thin and weaken the ranks

of opposition, and to consolidate his own administration, by an amalgamation with the Earl of Grey and Lord Grenville, men of great wealth, as well as eloquence, and no common share of abilities, both acquired and natural. They were considered by their adherents, among whom were many persons of large property, and not a few also of great talents, since the death of Mr. Fox, as the chief leaders of what was still called the whig party. The project of Mr.



Perceval being rejected by the Lords Grenville and Grey, the Marquis of Wellesley, just returned from Spain, was appointed secretary of state for foreign affairs; the Earl of Liverpool secretary for the department of war and the colonies; and Mr. Ryder for the home department.\*

The imperial parliament of Great Britain and Ireland assembled on the 23d of January. The session was opened by commission. The king's speech was read by the lord chancellor, one of the commissioners. The three others were, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Earls of Camden, Aylesford, and Dartmouth. It turned, as usual, on the relations in which we stood to foreign states, the principal events that had arisen out of these since the last prorogation of parliament; and the views that had dictated, or continued to dictate, the conduct of government---the expedition to the Scheldt, and reduction of the Island of Walcheren, respecting which satisfactory documents and papers would be laid before the house---the situation of Sweden---the expulsion of the French from Portugal---the glorious victory of Talavera---the resolution of the Spanish government, in the name and by the authority of Ferdinand VII. to assemble the Cortes; a measure which, he trusted, would give fresh vigour and animation to the councils and arms of Spain---and the considerations which recommended continued support to the Spaniards---the suspension, but grounds

for hoping for a speedy restoration of a friendly intercourse between this country and the United States of America---and his majesty's reliance on the zeal and loyalty of parliament for supplies.

The commissioners were commanded by his majesty to express his hope that the lords and commons would resume the consideration of the state of the inferior clergy; they had it further in command to state, that the accounts laid before them, of the revenue and trade of the country, would be found highly satisfactory. Whatever temporary and partial inconveniency might have resulted from the measures which were directed by France against those great resources of our prosperity and strength, they had wholly failed of producing any permanent or general effect.†

In the House of Lords, an address was moved by the Earl of Glasgow, in answer to the speech from the throne: of which his speech, as speeches always are on similar occasions, was an amplification, illustration, and confirmation. Lord Glasgow having taken a brief review of the conduct of his majesty's ministers, with regard to their foreign policy and various expeditions, maintained, that whatever might have been the result, they were not only undeserving of censure, but entitled to the thanks of the country. The motion for an address was seconded by the Lord Viscount Grimstone; who, among other arguments in support of the address,

\* For a complete list of his majesty's ministers, as it stood at the meeting of parliament in January 1810, see Appendix to Chronicle, p. 324.

† See the speech, State Papers, p. 430.



said, that although the expedition to the Scheldt had not succeeded in its main object, considerable advantages were derived, and our own security strengthened, by the demolition of the arsenal and docks of Flushing.

The address was opposed by the Earl of St. Vincent, who introduced himself to their lordships attention in the following impressive manner:---“ My lords, when, at the commencement of the last session of parliament, I addressed a few observations to your lordships, I thought my age and infirmities would preclude me from ever again presenting myself to your consideration. But, my lords, such have been the untoward and calamitous events which have occurred since that period, that I am once more induced, if my strength will admit, to trouble your lordships with a few of my sentiments on the present occasion.” Indeed, his lordship proceeded, “ we have wonderfully extraordinary men in these days, who have ingeniousness enough to blazon with the finest colours, to sound with the trumpet and drum, in fact, to varnish over the greatest calamities of the country, and endeavour to prove that the greatest misfortunes ought to be considered as our greatest blessings: Such was their language after the disastrous convention of Cintra; and now, in his majesty’s speech, they have converted another disaster into a new triumph. They talk of the glorious victory of Talavera! A victory which led to no advantage, and had all the consequence of a defeat.” Lord St. Vincent having illustrated the truth of this position, said, “ there is no occasion

to wonder at the awful events which have occurred; they are caused by the weakness, infatuation, and stupidity of ministers.” After touching on the expedition to Copenhagen, which brought a country at peace with us into a state of inveterate and open hostility, and that to Walcheren; he insisted, warmly, on the madness of sending an army into the centre of Spain, unprovided with every requisite for such a dangerous march. If, said Lord St. Vincent, Sir John Moore had not acted according to his own judgment, in the perilous situation in which he had been wantonly exposed, every man of that army had been lost to the country. By his transcendent judgment, however, that army made one of the ablest retreats, recorded in the page of history. While he saved the remainder of his troops, his own life was sacrificed in the cause of Great Britain and Europe; and what tribute had his majesty’s ministers paid to his valued memory? What reward conferred for such valuable services? Why, even in that place, insidious aspersions were cast upon his character, and people were employed in all parts of the town to calumniate his conduct. But, in spite of all the runners and dependents of administration, that general would be always revered as one of the ablest men of this country. The conduct of his majesty’s ministers had led to the most frightful disasters. Lord St. Vincent, alluding particularly to the expedition to Walcheren, said, it was high time that parliament should adopt strong measures, or else the voice of the country would resound like thunder in their ears.



Lord Grenville, on the subject of our expeditions, said, it was due to the memory of those who had bravely, but ingloriously, fallen a sacrifice to the ignorance, the incapacity, and the misconduct of ministers; it was due to a deluded and suffering people, who demanded it at their lordships hands, that they should institute a rigorous and effectual inquiry into the conduct of those ministers to whom those disasters were to be attributed. They found, in the speech of the king's commissioners, that ministers, from a sense of their guilty situation, glaring misconduct, and a fear of the consequences of that misconduct, had condescended to tell them that they would lay before parliament certain documents and papers relative to the disgraceful and calamitous expedition to Walcheren. But Lord Grenville cautioned their lordships not to be deluded by that shew of readiness for inquiry. The speech merely said, such papers and documents as should be deemed satisfactory to ministers themselves, should be laid before parliament. The address moved, did not contain any pledge to the country of an intention on the part of their lordships to institute an inquiry. It did not even declare the necessity of having *all* the papers and documents relative to the disastrous expedition laid before them; but consisted merely of a complimentary expression of thanks, that *certain* papers were intended to be produced. Their lordships would not, that night, do their duty, if they did not give a decided pledge to the country, that a vigorous and effectual inquiry should be instituted: and an

explicit declaration of that pledge was the object of the amendment which it was his intention to move. He did not mean to condemn the conduct of the officers employed by ministers in their ill-planned expeditions. He was disposed to believe that the officers had done their duty, and that all the disastrous results were to be attributed to the want of information, the criminal improvidence, and the ill-digested plans of his majesty's ministers. Their attention ought not to be drawn off from the misconduct of ministers, by any unwarrantable attempt of theirs to throw blame from themselves upon the different officers employed. Their lordships must all remember the manner in which the blame of our former failure in Spain was attempted to be thrown on that gallant and able officer, Sir John Moore. It was insinuated that he had an unlimited discretion. But how did the real state of the case turn out? So far from having an unlimited discretion, Sir John Moore was fettered in the first instance by the plan of the secretary of state. That plan was essentially contrary to the dictates of his own better judgment; he being sent, not to the south of Spain, which was his plan, but to the north; and, when there, he was to receive directions from a diplomatic character, of whom Lord Grenville wished to say nothing now. But, by these directions Sir John Moore was completely fettered, and prevented from exercising his discretion or judgment, under those very difficult circumstances where they might have been eminently useful. The work published by a near relation of  
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sion in favour of Austria on the Scheldt, instead of the vicinity of Trieste, or in the north of Germany, it was known to ministers that a war was likely to take place between France and Austria in September 1808, and yet the immense armament to the Scheldt did not sail until the latter end of July 1809. Before it sailed the armistice was signed, which led to the fatal treaty that prostrated the Austrian monarchy: and not only had this event taken place, but intelligence of the signature of that armistice had actually arrived in this country. But if by events not to be controuled, it was impossible to send this armament sooner, why send it all? The expedition sailed for this reason only—because his majesty's ministers were afraid to avow, that after all the expence which had been incurred, it had not actually sailed till its object was defeated, and success was impossible. Lord Grenville concluded with moving the introduction in the second paragraph of the address, the following amendment:—

“ That we have seen with the utmost sorrow and indignation the accumulated failures and disasters of the campaign, the unavailing waste of our national resources, and the loss of many thousands of our brave troops, whose distinguished and heroic valour has been unprofitably sacrificed in enterprises productive not of advantage, but of lasting injury to the country : in enterprises marked only by a repetition of former errors ; tardy and uncombined ; incapable in their success of aiding our ally, but exposing in their failure his

B 3 majesty.”



majesty's councils to the scorn and derision of the enemy. That we therefore feel ourselves bound, with a view to the only atonement that can now be made to an injured people, to institute, without delay, such rigorous and effectual inquiries and proceedings, as duty impels us to adopt, in a case where our country has been subjected to unexampled calamity and disgrace."

Lord Harrowby observed, that the amendment went not only to determine that there should be an inquiry, but to induce their lordships now to come to a vote of indiscriminate censure, of absolute condemnation, previous to any inquiry. Such a mode of proceeding was surely unusual and unprecedented in the practice of parliament. His noble friend, Lord Grenville's policy rested on the principle of abstaining from making ourselves parties in a warfare which had long ceased to afford any hope of what had been so emphatically called—the deliverance of Europe. But he might remind his noble friend, that such a principle had not been exactly conformable to his sentiments on all occasions. Even in the course of the last session he had joined in the general enthusiasm in favour of the Spanish cause, and in the anxiety prompted by that enthusiasm, to afford it every aid in our power. Government did not stimulate and give birth to the exertions on the part of the Spaniards, but they felt it to be their duty, and conceived it to be the interest of this country, to encourage and assist them. Neither had they incited other powers on the continent to

embark anew in hostilities with France. Austria was inclined to appeal to the chances of war, to the decision of the sword; but she had been warned by his majesty's ministers of the perils of the attempt, and of the inability of this country to lend her any effectual support. As to the points where, in the judgment of Lord Grenville, powerful diversions in favour of Austria might have been effected by a large British army, what would have been the expence and difficulty of transporting 100,000 men, supposing it possible to have found and collected them, to the Mediterranean or Adriatic? Not less impracticable and unpromising would have been the plan of sending them to the north of Germany. There might have been men in different districts of Germany who were anxious to rescue themselves from the oppression and tyranny of the French, but they had neither arms nor uniforms. Even if they had given greater demonstrations of their determination and power to resist, it would have been impossible for the British government to send such a force as had been mentioned, and as indeed would have been necessary to their assistance; and even if such a force had been at our disposal, how could government have found the means of subsisting and paying them in the north of Germany?—After the armament had been prepared, intelligence was received of the armistice between France and Austria; yet it was still uncertain whether that armistice would end in a definitive peace. The contrary, for a while, appeared the more probable. Looking at all  
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the points within our reach, and where our means might be effectually exerted, there was no one which promised so favourable a result as an attack upon Flushing and Antwerp. There the enemy had for years been expending immense sums in erecting a naval arsenal and dépôt, and in rearing up a navy, by which he might be enabled to menace the most vulnerable points of these realms. Accordingly it was resolved to make a well-directed effort to destroy both the navy and arsenal. The design, on account of unforeseen difficulties, had not been wholly accomplished, yet the hostile design of invading this country, from the Low Countries, had been frustrated, by the demolition of the harbour and arsenal of Flushing. Whatever disastrous effects had arisen from the operations necessary to its attainment, were indeed to be lamented: but they were not, in the first instance, to have been apprehended. The design promised to be executed in a short time, and before the season set in, whose pestilential influence was particularly to be dreaded, and most necessary to be guarded against. The expedition was ready to sail about the middle of July; but it was detained nine or ten days by contrary winds; and other unforeseen and untrouled obstacles occurred afterwards, to protract the operations till the unhealthy period of the year. But all these obstructions could not possibly have been foreseen, or guarded against. This would be shewn by the information which his majesty had ordered to be laid before their lordships: before which it would be impossi-

ble for their lordships to decide upon the subject, or to institute a fair inquiry. The other points very much insisted upon, and reprobated by his friend, Lord Grenville, was the expedition to Spain and Portugal. But that expedition had atchieved great and important objects. It had rescued Portugal from the French—it had covered the character of the British army with glory; and, by the position which that army afterwards occupied and maintained, it rendered infinite service to the Spanish armies. It covered them in several points—it secured the defence of Estramadura, and in a great measure that of La Mancha. To this expedition was also owing the deliverance of Gallicia and the securing of the ships at Ferrol.

The Earl of Moira maintained, that the proofs demanding not only inquiry but condemnation, stood before them. The whole conviction of his mind, and the conviction of every one who considered the subject, called for judgment upon the face of the case. He would go the full length of the amendment, although it only pledged their lordships to inquiry at present. The noble earl had not stated the case of Austria, as put by his noble friend Lord Grenville, fairly. As no specific promise of aid had been given to Austria, none was broken: but if that aid which our interests required was not granted, ministers had equally neglected their duty. But although we were not pledged to Austria, it would not be contended that we were not pledged to Spain. The pledge to Spain was not only given by parliament, but confirmed by the universal and



and enthusiastic voice of the country. The case of Spain afforded the best opportunity of terminating the war with glory. The enthusiasm existing in that country could not be doubted: for nothing but enthusiasm could have kept armies together after so many defeats and disasters. And how had our pledge to Spain been fulfilled? Ministers sent an army to Portugal, with instructions to deliver that country, and to consider Spain only as a secondary object. Sir Arthur Wellesley's army, however, did advance into Spain, and gained a victory; but, although the stronger and the victorious army, it immediately retreated. And two great Spanish armies, left to themselves, had been successively cut to pieces, while a British army remained idle and inactive in their vicinity. Either the instructions of that gallant general, Sir Arthur Wellesley, had been erroneous, or he wanted means to carry his victorious army forward. After such scenes of calamity, their lordships would disgrace themselves, if they did not adopt the course recommended by the noble lord who moved the amendment.

Lord Sidmouth could not but acknowledge that there was much to regret, and perhaps to reprehend, in the expedition to Spain, and especially in that to Walcheren. He wished an early day to be fixed for going into the inquiry proposed, and he wished the inquiry to be full and vigorous. But

he was not for prejudging the conduct of his majesty's government, which would be the case, if the amendment of his friend, Lord Grenville, were adopted without any alteration.

Lord Mulgrave also reprobated condemnation without inquiry. With regard to the conduct of the war, he could safely declare that no one was to blame: neither the ministers who planned the measures, nor the officers chosen to execute them.

The Earl of Grey, in answer to certain sarcasms that had been made by the Earl of Harrowby, on the late administration, said, he was fully satisfied that the conduct of those with whom he had the honour to act at the period alluded to, was best calculated to promote the interest and welfare of the country, viz. to husband\* the resources of the state, in order that, at a time when they should be most wanted, they might be adequately and advantageously employed for the public security. But this was not the question now before their lordships. The question was, whether his majesty's ministers, having determined on war, and a system of offensive warfare, had pursued this scheme of their vigorous policy by the best means. Were the objects attainable, and if attainable, were they material to the final result of the conflict, in which we were engaged? When he held the seals of the foreign department, an expedition to the Scheldt had been frequently pressed

\* This argument of husbanding our resources was much insisted on, and, indeed, the great sheet anchor in questions of foreign relations, of the Lords Grey and Grenville. Money may be saved, but military spirit, skill, and valour, the main bulwark of a state, are promoted not by husbanding, but by exercising them.



upon him. But, after making every due inquiry, he was convinced, that to destroy the arsenals at Antwerp, and the shipping in the Scheldt, was not an attainable object. The force of the country had been frittered into divisions: whereas, to effect any great purpose, it ought to have been made to act in a body, one and indivisible. To the project of operations in the north of Germany, it had been objected, that it would have been attended with great expence, and serious difficulties in the transportation of the troops. Was it to be endured, that after the prodigality of which the servants of the crown had been guilty, they should boggle at the expence of such enterprises? Then, as to the transport of troops to Piedmont, and from the Thames to the Weser: could the ruler of France send a powerful army to Egypt, and would Great Britain, the mistress of the ocean, with 100 ships of the line, and 1000 ships of war of various proportions, and an incalculable commercial marine, be disappointed in such a purpose? It had been asked how 100,000 men could have been provided for such enterprises? Were not 40,000 employed in Walcheren, 15,000 in Sicily, and 45,000 in Spain and Portugal? How much, then, was the deficiency of 100,000 men? Whether engaged in one, two, or three divisions, the difficulty of raising and paying such a force was nearly the same.—Lord Grey also observed, that so far back as September 1808, ministers had received proposals from the north of Germany for a rising in that country; and he farther believed, from what followed, that encourage-

ment had been given to such a scheme. This enterprise might have been undertaken in May or June. With all this appearance of advantage, it might indeed have been unsuccessful: but the measures pursued by ministers had not a chance in their favour.

Lord Grey next took a review of the campaign in Spain. He disapproved of the residence of Mr. Frère, as minister of the junta, so long after it had been announced that he was to be recalled. A great deal was to be done by the Marquis of Wellesley. That noble marquis, however, whether from a negotiation with his majesty's ministers, or some other cause, had, after his appointment, instead of proceeding to his post at Seville, remained for months in London. He saw much to blame in the conduct of Lord Wellington, in a military point of view. With regard to the battle of Talavera, he condemned that uncandid calculation, which represented it as a victory gained over an enemy double our force. When the Spanish army was taken into the account, the superiority was greatly on our side. He appealed to the honour, wisdom, and humanity of the house, while he urged it, by many considerations, to relieve the country, if possible, by supporting the amendment.

The Earl of Liverpool, after reprobating condemnation without inquiry, insisted that our operations in Spain had been most wise and beneficial to the country; which he pledged himself to prove whenever the details came to be enquired into. He instanced as a proof of this, that the provinces of Gallicia, Asturias, and Estramadura,



dura, had been completely cleared of the French: and although it was true, that they had by surprise defeated two Spanish armies, yet they had not been able to gather any fruits of their victories; for they had not advanced one step. With respect to the expedition to Walcheren, he admitted that ministers knew of the Austrian armistice before it sailed; but he was ready to contend that it nevertheless, operated as a favourable diversion for Austria, for it had diverted to the banks of the Scheldt a large body of conscripts, which were intended to have acted against her. And, for that purpose, he knew it was the desire of Austria that we should retain Walcheren until she should come to terms of peace. And hard, as those terms were for her, whoever compared the threats of Buonaparte with the terms which he afterwards granted, must admit that some cause had reduced him to the necessity of relaxing from his threatened severity. This cause, in Lord Liverpool's opinion, was no other than our holding, at the express request of Austria, the island of Walcheren; and, in fact, that was the reason why we held it, after ulterior objects of the expedition were known to be defeated. But there was one important object, in which the expedition to the Scheldt had completely succeeded. It was known to be a favourite measure of our enemy to form a naval dock and arsenal at the mouth of the Scheldt; and it had always been admitted by professional men, that if an invasion of this country were ever to be attempted, it would never be effected but from the Scheldt. And in one great object we had

at least succeeded; for in the opinion of professional men it would require much less time and expence to form a new harbour and arsenal than to restore the one we had destroyed at Flushing.—Some noble lords had said, that the destruction of Flushing was an achievement of no importance, and as such considered by the ruler of France. He would ask those noble lords whether, if the case could be reversed, and a French fleet were to attack and destroy Sheerness, and afterwards make good their retreat, it would be considered by Buonaparte as a small triumph, or by us as a trifling defeat?—The question being loudly called for, the house divided on Lord Grenville's amendment.

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On the same day, the Lord's Commissioner's speech was taken into consideration in the House of Commons. After the Speaker had finished reading the speech, Lord Barnard, in what is called a maiden speech, expressed his conviction that the house would think the exertions that had been made in the Austrian cause, not unworthy of the character of the nation. On the subject of the expedition to the Scheldt he observed, that though the whole of its objects had not been accomplished, the advantages the country would derive from what had been effected, if not now generally acknowledged, would soon be generally experienced.—His majesty's sentiments on the Spanish war were suited to his dignity. While the brave and martial Spaniards fought with the spirit and perseverance of free men, he offered his aid to  
their



their first exertions. And he would not, in the day of their difficulties, withdraw that aid which he had offered to their early cause, &c. &c. Lord Barnard concluded by moving an address, which was as usual an echo of his majesty's speech.—The motion for an address was seconded by

Mr. Peele, who, in the course of an animated speech, maintained its propriety by the same kind of reasoning that had been used by speakers on the same side of the question, in the House of Lords. Having come to the affairs of America, he said, that it might be indecorous in him to advert to these in their present situation; nor would he, after the observations in his majesty's speech, enter into any inquiry as to the conduct of his majesty's ministers; but of the effects of a war with America, on the commerce of this country, we might be able to form some judgment from former experience. During the embargo, the amount of exports to and imports from the United States, was unquestionably decreased; but this loss was amply counterbalanced by the direct trade carried on by our merchants, to Spain and her dependencies. England desired neither peace nor war; but she would suffer no indignity, and make no unbecoming concessions. With every engine of power and perfidy against us, the situation of this country had proved to Buonaparte, that it was invulnerable in the very point to which all his efforts were directed. The accounts of the exports of British manufactures would be found to exceed, by several millions, those of any former period. And with

regard to our internal condition, while France had been stripped of the flower of her youth, England had continued to flourish. The only alteration had been, the substitution of machinery for manual labour. The address contained nothing that could prevent its unanimous adoption. It called for no pledge to approve of what had passed, and opposed no impediment in the way of inquiry. The aggression, usurpation, and tyranny of Buonaparte, was a point on which all parties agreed. But to resist him effectually they must be unanimous. Every heart and hand must be joined to give strength to the common cause.

Lord Gower proposed an amendment, nearly in the same terms with that which had been presented to the House of Peers. The arguments too, by which he supported it, were nearly the same. He exposed our plans of the campaign, both in Spain and Germany. The failure of the campaign of 1808, in Spain, seemed to have no other consequence than to induce ministers to risk a repetition of its fatal issue, by a renewal of the same blind confidence in the co-operation of the Spanish armies and government, and a recurrence to the same destructive policy. What a plan of a campaign must that have been, when even victory led to inevitable and disastrous retreat, in which our army was obliged to leave two thousand of its sick and wounded to the mercy of the foe, over whom we were said to have obtained a decisive victory? As to the Walcheren expedition, they were told in the dispatches of Lord Chatham, almost in so many words, that the plan



plan was radically erroneous. Antwerp, he told them, instead of being a weak defenceless town, was absolutely impregnable; that the ships had been moved out of the reach of attack, and that our force, great as it was, was insufficient for the attempt, and daily diminishing from the diseases of a pestilential climate. When the objects of the expedition were at last discovered to be clearly unattainable, and all farther operations prudently abandoned, it was supposed by ministers, that the immediate return of the expedition would mark too strongly the complete failure of their plans, and therefore they determined that our troops should remain under a climate notoriously pestilential, and proverbially fatal. That it really was so, appeared indisputably from two facts on record. The late Sir John Pringle, a man remarkably eminent in the medical profession, had long ago published an account of the endemic diseases of Walcheren, which were most destructive to our armies in 1777, at which time the proportion of the sick to the healthy, was as four to one. The Swiss troops, formerly in the pay of the United States, always made it a stipulation, that they should not be obliged to serve in Walcheren. His majesty's ministers, if they did not know the extreme insalubrity of that island, should have sought, or opened their eyes to, the easiest means of information on that subject. The motion for the amendment was seconded, in a long and elaborate, yet eloquent and animated speech by

The Honourable Mr. J. W. Ward, who rose to support the amendment. From a great variety

of observations by Mr. Ward, we select the following.—It appeared, that during the last seven or eight months, his majesty's ministers had failed in three great and deliberate designs; and that, if we extended our view a little farther, we should include the campaign which terminated in the death of Sir John Moore; which, again, was preceded, at no long interval, by the convention of Cintra; so that, on the whole, the result was this, that during the time that his majesty's ministers had conducted his government, they had attempted every thing every where, on the largest scale, and that in every thing they had failed; except indeed in that instance, in which they directed his arms, not against his enemies, but his allies. Their enterprises had all of them either a ludicrous or a disastrous termination. Now to maintain, that accident had been every thing, and misconduct nothing, in those transactions, was to maintain that a species of miracle was worked against us. Accidents might account for some detached failures in the course of a long administration; but a man must have a high opinion of the king's servants indeed, and must moreover have an understanding most singularly constituted, who could persuade himself that the convention of Cintra, the miserable expulsion of our army under Sir John Moore, the ludicrous capture of Ischia and Procida, the second useless, expensive, and destructive campaign in Spain, and, to crown all, the expedition to Walcheren;—that all these things following each other with the utmost rapidity, not a single success intervening to break the



the chain of calamity, happened by pure ill-luck, and without the smallest degree of blame to the wisest and best, but most unfortunate of administrations. We were required to believe in the fitness of those, who had pronounced upon each others incapacity. It was from discord at home, and disgrace abroad, that we were to infer wisdom and good conduct.

We had seen how, in the course of the first campaign in Spain, our army had suffered more than it could have suffered in a country decidedly hostile; that it was received with jealousy and unwillingness, and that its presence, instead of rousing the Spaniards to greater efforts, by an increased prospect of success, seemed only to chill whatever enthusiasm might have been supposed to exist among them before. Instead of gratitude and enthusiasm, all we met with was a bare preference of England to France, in a choice of evils; a mere inclination to expel their invaders, if it could be done without the expence and trouble of adopting the necessary means. All we obtained from them was the gracious, though somewhat tardy permission of the Supreme Junta, to waste as many lives, and as much treasure as we pleased in their defence. Sir John Moore was ordered to advance, and make common cause with the Spanish nation. He did advance, but the Spanish nation seemed to dwindle away as he approached; and of all those numerous armies of patriots, on which he was taught to rely, not one ever appeared, unless indeed that name was to be bestowed on a few miserable bands of fugitive peasants, who crossed his way, in-

terrupted his march, and encumbered him with fresh difficulties. That general, one of the best officers, and ablest men this country ever produced, in all he did, in all he wrote, in his life, and by his death, bore uniform testimony against the whole system of depending on the Spaniards, and of assisting Spain, by means of an army to be marched into the interior of the country. Be it that he was over cautious, desponding, guided by a pedantic attachment to regular troops. Be it that he admired the military genius of Buonaparte, while he was slow to discern that of the Marquis of Romana. Be it that with unparalleled coldness and scepticism, he doubted the zeal of the inhabitants of Madrid, and the unshaken patriotism of Don Thomas Morla. Let all the foolish objections, and ridiculous calumnies avail, that had been invented, in order to blacken the memory of that illustrious man, who fell a victim to the folly and impracticability of the design, in which he was engaged. Setting Sir John Moore aside: what were the opinions of all the other officers who served in that expedition? they surely were not all incapable of forming a judgment. They did not all labour from beginning to end, under the influence of invincible prejudice and incurable despondency. And did any of them, if they were consulted, advise a second experiment? The opinions of some of them were recorded along with those of Sir John Moore, and perfectly coincided with his. Nay, he was persuaded that one might go yet farther, and defy his majesty's ministers to produce the name of a single



a single officer of rank and character, under his command, who either advised the second campaign, or who would have been willing to stake any part of his reputation on that advice. He did not know what there was to put in the opposite scale. Perhaps one might form some idea of the nature of the information on which his majesty's ministers proceeded, from that of the agents whom they spread over the face of the peninsula, and who were understood to maintain a correspondence with government at home. These missionaries were, for the most part, military men, not very high in the profession, and who were of course delighted with the honours they received. It was natural enough that persons of this description, and that without imputing to them any deliberate dereliction of their duty, should represent only the fair side of things; give a little colouring to whatever was good, and extenuate all that was discouraging. They might even deserve praise for their activity and spirit; but he really believed, that out of the whole number there was scarcely a cool-headed, sound-judging man, scarcely one whose opinion was much better than that of the famous Colonel Charmilly himself. The opinion of Major Carrol stood on one side, the opinion of Sir John Moore on the other, and ministers preferred that of Major Carrol. The flight of the Supreme Junta to Seville had not cured them of the inactivity they had displayed at Aranjuez. Of all their enemies the only one they had been able to subdue, was the press. They had done nothing for the people, and nothing to en-

lighten the people. No change could be expected, in such a government, except from some great effort of the people themselves. And yet without such a change, how was it possible to hope for success?

The fundamental error which pervaded the whole of our operations respecting Spain, consisted in supposing that the Spanish troops were capable of acting in conjunction with ours. Now it was clearly established, both by the events of Sir J. Moore's campaign, and by every other species of evidence, that the Spaniards neither had a regular army, nor any thing that was capable of co-operating with a regular army; and that whenever the French chose to concentrate their force, at the risk of a rising in that part of the country, which such a movement would compel them to abandon, and which they might easily re-occupy when they had obliged us to retire, they would meet with very little opposition from our allies, and that we should have virtually to contend with them single-handed. It was the art of that great general and politician, King William III. to render defeat harmless. It was the art of ministers and generals of these days to make victory itself unavailing. The successes at Oporto, and afterwards Talavera, for which the highest honours and panegyrics had been bestowed on our general! were attended with no permanent advantages whatever, and in their consequences resembled not victories, but defeats.

With regard to the expedition to Walcheren, whether we considered the plan, the object, or the person



person to whom the execution of it was entrusted, our history did not afford an example of any thing so disgraceful and so absurd. Buonaparte knew it was on the banks of the Danube alone that he was to fight, not only for Germany, but for Spain, Italy, Holland; for France itself, for all his conquests, and all his glories; and, did his majesty's ministers so far measure his mind by their own poor and inadequate conception of affairs, as even to dream that he could be arrested in his career, through the fear of losing Middleburgh, or even Antwerp?

There had been times when even the present ministers, or any other persons of moderate understandings and attainments, might have governed the country, though not with much credit, yet without danger. But now that the whole power of Europe was concentrated in France, and the whole power of France concentrated in one man, and that man the greatest general and statesman the world ever produced, and the bitterest enemy England ever knew, it was an absolute infatuation not to have recourse to our best means of defence, moral as well as physical, to the wisdom and union of our councils, as well as the strength of our fleets and armies. Perhaps we were already in a situation which defied the efforts of the wisest and best amongst us, and which would have defied the efforts of those wiser and greater men whom we had lost. But sure he was, that the country could not be preserved by the remnant of a ministry, by something weaker than that which was supposed to have obtained the utmost possible point of debility.

Mr. Herbert objected to the amendment, as it condemned the conduct of ministers without evidence.

Sir Thomas Turton thought that the House ought, without delay, to pledge themselves to the country, to call for a rigid inquiry into the conduct of an expedition which had terminated in disgrace and disaster. He was astonished to hear of a fresh army having been sent to Spain, after the disasters that had befallen the former, which had a much fairer prospect of success. The most infallible mode of securing miscarriage in the conduct of the war had been resorted to by ministers, when they divided their force between Spain and Walcheren. Lord Kensington wished the house to present a dutiful address to the throne, desiring an inquiry into the conduct of ministers, but carefully avoiding all expressions that might appear to prejudice one or all of them. Mr. Brand saw no good likely to arise to the country from an inquiry, as he was well aware of the manner in which it would most likely be carried on. He, therefore liked that part of the amendment which at once condemned the expeditions to Walcheren and Spain, better than that which merely proposed an inquiry into them. Buonaparte was enabled to withdraw part of his forces from Spain, and bring the war to a termination before our expedition could reach Walcheren. Could not the same armament have been sent to Walcheren before this event happened? But ministers had acted similarly towards Spain. The Marquis of Wellesley had been appointed ambassador, from this country



to the Supreme Junta, on the 29th of May last; but he did not depart from England till the end of July. In Spain there was not the least hope of our arms having ultimately success. Whenever we succeeded by land against the French they were in an insulated situation, where their chief had no means of re-inforcing them; but into Spain he could pour his legions at pleasure, and compel us to retreat.—Mr. Bathurst had come down to the house, with the hope, not only that ministers would have put into the speech a declaration of their readiness to afford every information that could be required, but that the mover and seconder of the address would have introduced into it a pledge, on the part of parliament, to take the calamities and disorders that had befallen us into immediate consideration. The amendment, however, went too far, and rather precluded inquiry, by prejudging the case that was to be inquired into. It would have been a sufficient pledge to the country, to have stated, after thanking his majesty for the communication of the necessary documents, that they should immediately proceed to institute a parliamentary inquiry into the failures of the late campaign. Mr. Bathurst objected particularly to the position in the amendment, that our last campaign had been “marked only by a repetition of former error.” The battle of Talavera had placed the valour of our troops on a height on which it had never before stood.

Mr. Ponsonby observed, that Mr. Bathurst had much misunderstood the amendment. It did not criminate in the first instance any

particular person in any particular transaction. Its only object was to tell his majesty that that house felt deeply the calamities and disgraces of the last campaign; and that they were resolved to inquire into the causes of them, and to punish their authors. Did the honourable gentleman now deny that the public had been exposed to calamity and disgrace? That it was never exposed to so great calamity and disgrace, at any former period? What had been published by the enemy, on the subject of our last campaign, justly held up the British government to the derision of Europe. If our forces had been concentrated in the north of Germany instead of being dispersed in Spain, Walcheren, and Sicily, Austria would have received effectual succour, and perhaps been delivered from her perils, with great glory, inasmuch as the British army, thus collected, would have been more numerous than that which defeated the French at Essling. What was the state of the country, and of Europe, at the end of the first campaign, in the peninsula? That general, who had been much and most unjustly traduced, fell in the month of January 1809, in the battle of Corunna, at the moment of victory, which he sealed with his blood: a battle, notwithstanding what had been said by Mr. Bathurst, at least as brilliant and glorious as that of Talavera: a battle fought when the commander was carrying a retreating army out of the country; not one where the rashness and presumption of the general induced him to risk an engagement, which there was no call on him to hazard, and where there was not even



even one good consequence to be effected by the result.

After the departure of the English army, Buonaparte also quitted Spain; and it was known to themselves that Austria had determined on an attempt once more to stem the torrent of his ambition. His leaving Spain must have shewn the ministers of this country, that he considered Austria as the most formidable enemy, for it was his rule never to trust his generals, however experienced, with the most important service, but to undertake that himself. They had not only general means of information, but must have had what amounted to almost a perfect knowledge on this subject. And thus were they enabled to choose the best point for diversion that presented itself, either in favour of Spain or Austria; though the conduct of Buonaparte himself must have convinced them, that the cause and support of Austria was infinitely the more important. If they had chosen such a point, and confined our concentrated forces to any one object, they might have effected some great operation.

But, after all the notorious misconduct of ministers, it was still contended that the house should first enquire, and that all definitive judgment should be suspended till the result of deliberate inquiry was fairly before them. What was intended by all this? That they were to begin by taking those things as problematical, which were universally known, established, and acknowledged? That they were gravely to proceed in an inquiry, whether the climate of Walcheren was, or was not, unhealthy? Whether the season at which the

British army made its descent on that island was, or was not, unfavourable? Whether ministers were or were not wholly ignorant of the climate and circumstances of an island within twenty hours sail of England? Were they to enquire who was selected to take the command of the greatest expedition that ever left the shores of England? Was that another of the notorieties of which it was so necessary to ascertain the truth? But who was this commander? A general, wise from long experience, and illustrious from the splendour of many victories? No! The flower of the British troops was committed, in an evil hour, to the guidance of that inauspicious and ill-omened officer, of whom nothing more was known, than that he was once at the head of the admiralty? And such was his lazy discharge of the duties of that department, that the minister, though his near relative, had not the courage to suffer the functions of the state to sleep beneath the indolence of even his own brother. —The situation of the country was extremely awful; and if they, whose ignorance and obstinacy had placed it in that situation, were now to be exempted from the responsibility of having done so, its danger would not, on that account, be less alarming. After a repetition of the same errors had produced a repetition of the same disasters, the house could not content itself with doing merely that which it had thought sufficient in periods less critical, and under exigencies less pressing. The present was no time for half measures. Mr. Ponsonby did think it was a crisis that called upon the House of Com-



mons to put forth its penal powers. It was no time for civility. It was no time for ceremoniously waving the best interests of the state, in courteous compliance with the feelings of those who had either betrayed or endangered them. The present was not a time for shaping amendments to the imaginary niceties of those gentlemen who revolted at all idea of punishment. It was the time to speak out, and pursue with unwearied zeal public defaulters of every description.

Lord Castlereagh said, that conscious of the wise policy on which the expeditions, on which so much of that day's discussion turned, were formed, and the manner in which they had been directed to the attainment of their objects, he had more reason to court than to shrink from inquiry; nor did he fear the exercise of that penal justice, with which Mr. Ponsonby had threatened him. But he trusted, that the house would not, like the honourable gentleman, think it necessary, in order to furnish the grounds of charge, or subjects of inquiry, to recur to the whole course of the administration, in which he had lately a share. They would not attempt, he trusted, to bestow censure beyond the transactions of last year. It was not his intention to make any invidious comparisons; but in the military and naval strength of the country, much improvement had lately taken place. The Baltic was in our possession. The Brest fleet had been nearly annihilated. And the fleet of the Tagus had been brought into our ports; and, he would ask if Spain would have discovered that spirit of resistance and enthu-

siasm against the common enemy, if she had not been conscious of acting in conjunction with this country? He would also ask whether, amidst the political misfortunes that surrounded us, this country was not only in a state of safety, but of unexampled prosperity?

With all our power and prosperity, however, this was not, comparatively speaking, a military country. We could not go to the continent as we did to sea. Our military efforts being directed to the continent, depended on the results of the efforts and engagements of other powers, to whom we could only be auxiliary. But whatever might have been the result of last year's campaign, the military glory of this country had been much promoted. The principles on which the late campaign in the peninsula had been conducted, were far different from those on which the antecedent Spanish campaign had been undertaken, being particularly connected with the security of Portugal. Lord Wellington had a discretionary power; and that power he most judiciously exercised. Had he not advanced to Talavera, he must have disgraced himself and the British army. Never had a greater victory been achieved than that at Talavera.—As to the expedition to Walcheren, the means were wanting to move it sooner, the transports not having arrived from Portugal till the 5th of July. It was impossible to transport 40,000 men to the North of Germany; and had it been possible, in a military point of view it would have been improper, from the situation and the disposition of the neighbouring



neighbouring powers. The Scheldt appeared the most eligible point of attack, as more nearly connected with the commercial views of this country. Antwerp was an object of great political importance to France, and a descent there was more likely to call forth Buonaparte's attention than an attack on any other place. It was his practice to slight any distant diversions that might be made, and stedfastly pursue his main object. But when he should thus be attacked in a vital point, it was reasonable to suspect that it would operate powerfully in favour of our allies. He was not ignorant of the nature of the climate at that season of the year: but it was not intended that the army should be locked up there for such a length of time. It was a *coup de main* against the naval power of the enemy that was intended, and not the capture of Walcheren alone. It was expected that the army would be employed in a dry country, between Walcheren and Bergen-op-Zoom. No object of magnitude was expected to oppose our retaining Walcheren. It had never been considered as an axiom, that the risk attending the occupancy of that island should deter us from taking it. We held it thirty-one years, during the Barrier Treaty, and had since had it in our possession. With respect to the evacuation of the island, he had had no share in the measures of government.

General Tarleton thought that a most peculiar degree of responsibility lay upon Lord Chatham, who was at the same time a minister and commander of the expedition to Walcheren. That expe-

dition had been attended with a greater expence of treasure, and sacrifice of human life, than almost any other in our history; and yet it had most completely failed in its objects. The expedition to Spain was equally a subject deserving inquiry. We first heard of Soult's army being completely defeated, or dispersed, in the north of Portugal. And yet this army appeared soon afterwards in the field, and made Lord Wellington retreat from Talavera. The march to Talavera was most imprudent. When that able officer, the gallant Sir John Moore, was entering Spain, he was told that a body of 10,000 men would completely exhaust that part of the country of its provisions. The general stated, at length, the superior advantages which, he conceived, would have resulted from employing 30,000 British troops in a diversion in Italy, under Sir John Moore. This might not have been agreeable to the Wellesleys; but it might have prevented the army of Eugene Napoleon from joining Buonaparte, which would have been, in his opinion, the most important service that it was in our power to have rendered to Austria, and consequently to Spain.

Mr. Canning, after a great deal of prefatory matter, particularly sarcastical allusions to the conduct of the preceding administration, said, that he never would have consented to the expedition, if he had conceived that nothing greater would have been accomplished. But he did consider, that the possession of the naval arsenal at Antwerp would have been an object of the first importance, as a British



object; and also that no other point could have been selected where the force which it was in the power of this country to send, could have rendered more service to the common cause. He then shewed the advantages to have been expected, if the expedition had succeeded. If it were true, as some gentlemen stated, that Buonaparte was never to be diverted from the grand objects of his policy, by any expedition that this country could send out, such an objection would not be applicable particularly to the isle of Walcheren, but to all expeditions. If, however, it were true, that no expeditions of ours could divert Buonaparte from his other projects, could we not give some material annoyance to an enemy?—As to the north of Germany, we had no right to stimulate other people to struggle, unless we were previously determined to support them with our utmost means, whether it might suit our convenience or not. And it would have been most impolitic to have come to such a determination in the present state of Europe. If we could have sent a great and substantial army, such as that which traversed Germany in the thirty years war, under Gustavus Adolphus, and afterwards his captains, carrying along with it its own magazines, then, perhaps, the north of Germany might have been the proper destination.

With regard to Spain, Mr. Canning observed, that we did not pretend to commit ourselves to the same extent that the Spanish nation was committed. It was always understood that the British army was lent to them as a trust

to be restored, not as a loan to be expended. At present there was no question about this country raising a general confederacy against France. That, in the present posture of affairs, would be an idle speculation. But if any country was resolved to make an effort to break its chains, that country became our ally. It had been said, why not endeavour to effect an internal change in Spain? Any condition almost might be coupled with assistance with less danger than an attempt at internal amelioration. As to an enquiry into the affairs of Spain, however, he could give no opinion for or against it. If ministers thought it proper, he had no objection. He feared, however, that an enquiry into the expedition to Spain, which might throw blame upon the Spaniards for want of co-operation, might injure the interests of this country in its future connection with Spain.—He did not mean to speak against Lord Wellesley, when he said, that the march to Talavera was his own act. He approved of it, and of the honours conferred on that gallant officer. We ought not to undervalue the hero's laurels, even though they were barren.

Mr. Whitbread said that Mr. Canning had spoken on the present subject with his accustomed fluency; but when his speech was analysed, it would appear that he meant only to justify the expedition which did take place, by comparing it with expeditions which did not take place. The expedition was so far from attracting the attention of Buonaparte to the most vulnerable parts of his empire,



pire, that he never deigned to look at it, or turn his head that way. The mighty lion which we went to attack, brushed us off with one sweep of his tail. Mr. Canning had argued, that if the expedition to the Scheldt could not have been useful, no other expedition could have been useful. His gallant friend, General Tarleton, however, had pointed out another expedition, which would have promised much better diversion in favour of Austria. The attack on Flushing, even if any beneficial result could have been expected from it, was not made in time; and the delay proceeded not from any other impediment than the characteristic vacillation of government: for it appeared on the trial of General Monnet, that he had information of the intended descent so far back as the 22d of April. Ministers, it seems, were aware of the fatality of the climate. But this was one of the casualties of war, and therefore, in their opinion, to be cheerfully encountered. Certainly, if the object in view was worthy of the hazard. But here the object was contemptible, the means mighty, and the consequences ruinous. It was said that the object of the expedition was to be effected by a *coup de main*. What did the two late secretaries mean by a *coup de main*? Did they suppose that Antwerp and Lillo, the fortified forts, and the well-secured fleets in the Scheldt, were all to be taken by this miraculous *coup de main*? Even with all his respect for Lord Wellington, he could not approve of the battle of Talavera. It had no good end; and tended only to establish the great

valour of our soldiers, which was never questioned. It was, at best, but an exhibition of rash confidence and victorious temerity. Our victories at Maida, Corunna, Vimeira, and Talavera, had been held up that night as monuments of our eternal glory: but Mr. Whitbread beheld them only as so many gladiatorial exhibitions. None of them were happy in their consequences, or beneficial in their results. That of Maida left the inhabitants precisely in the same state in which ministers said, had we made a diversion in the north of Germany, we should have left the inhabitants of that country—at the mercy of a cruel enemy. It had been said by ministers last session, that a battle ought never to be risked in Spain until there was an efficient government in that country. Yet they now recanted the principle, by conferring honours on Sir Arthur Wellesley; for whom, and for the country, it would have been more honourable had he never changed his name. His conduct in Spain seemed the result of infatuation. After defeating, or rather following and harassing the retreat of Soult from Oporto, he recrossed the Douro, for the purpose of forming a junction with Cuesta. Soult, in the mean time, recovered, recruited, and re-established his corps, which advanced, and menaced the allies on the Tagus. Sir Arthur fought, and gained the battle of Talavera, and, in three or four days thereafter, retreated to an unhealthy province, at an unhealthy season, for the purpose, as he singularly termed it, of refreshing his troops. In the marshes of Estramadura he remained some months,



months, and then retreated to Portugal, for the purpose of defending it. The excuse alledged for this was, that we would not *take* supplies as the French did. If the Spaniards had been really glad of our assistance, we should have received supplies without compulsion. But the truth was, that while we were starved, the French were fed; a presumption that the Spaniards regarded us with jealousy. It was said that we might defend Portugal with 30,000 men. But would not Buonaparte know our force, even to a drummer? Where we had 30,000, he would have 60,000. We remained in Portugal just at the will of the French emperor, and at his option he would drive us out of it. It had been said by our enemy, that "the genius of France guided our armies." Alas! (said Mr. Whitbread) it now presided in our cabinet; for whether we considered their ignorance, their imbecility, their bigotry, or the fate with which Providence visited all their measures, our enemy, if he had had the nomination, could not have selected men more suitable to his ends, or more pernicious to our interests.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, after a full account of the circumstances, manner, and views with which the present administration was formed, and touching on the everlasting questions about orders in council, the catholics in Ireland, and the expedition to Copenhagen, which was alledged to have been the cause of Russia's taking part with France, adverted to the affairs of the peninsula. With respect to these, he could not tell how the gentlemen oppo-

sition would have acted if they had remained in office; but he was inclined to think, that upon every principle of policy and of feeling, they would have given every assistance in their power to Spain. Judging, as well as he could, of the state of the world, he was firmly convinced that the state of Spain was much better now, as far as concerned this country, than it was when the Duke of Portland's administration came into office. Even if France were ultimately to subdue Spain, she would possess diminished means of annoyance to Great Britain. She would not derive any revenue from her conquest. She would not be able to withdraw a single soldier from the Spanish territory. With regard to that part of the address which related to the expedition to Walcheren, it did not pledge the house to enquire into that enterprise; neither did it pledge the house not to enquire into it. When the documents, promised in his majesty's speech, should be laid before them, it would be for the house to decide whether they would call for more, and whether it would institute an enquiry or not. After the able discussion of that subject by his friends Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, little remained for him to say. It had been affirmed, that the damage sustained by the enemy in the destruction of the basin at Flushing would soon be repaired. Now the fact was, that this basin had been two or three years in constructing. And it had been so completely destroyed, that the ablest engineers had given it as their opinion, that it would be much easier to build it anew. His majesty's government



vernment had been accused of sending supplies to Walcheren, after it was in contemplation to abandon it. It was to be recollected, however, that had the armistice been broken off, instead of being confirmed, the evacuation of Walcheren would not have taken place. Whether it was worth the expence of a garrison, however, was another question, which had been decided in the negative.

The next subject to which Mr. Perceval came, was, the appointment of Lord Chatham to the expedition. The gentlemen opposite had indulged in reflections on that noble lord, which might, with great propriety, have been omitted. Whenever it was possible that the conduct of an individual would be subjected to an enquiry, justice demanded that the public mind should not be prejudiced against him. The result of the enquiry, if any enquiry should be thought necessary, would, *in a great measure*, decide the question of the propriety or impropriety of the appointment of that noble lord to the command of the expedition. He could not, on the present occasion, avoid expressing his regret at the manner in which Lord Wellington had been attacked in his absence. If this practice of vilifying political adversaries were persisted in, it would damp the ardour, and check the spirit of our officers. The honourable gentleman who had seconded the motion, had also, in a most unjustifiable manner, commented on the conduct of several officers of a less elevated rank, whom he had chosen to term, "missioners." But in the whole

of the speech of the right honourable gentleman to whom he was now alluding, there was no part which he more sincerely regretted than that in which he spoke of the affairs of Spain, and the exertions of the Spanish people. For his part, he was persuaded, that neither in ancient nor modern history could an example be found of a country sustaining a contest like that which Spain had so long supported. Never, in recent times, had 250,000 Frenchmen been in any country for such a length of time without subduing it. At every defeat a new army sprung up; and the Spaniards, animated by their hostility to the usurper of their rights, would maintain a determined resistance to the last.

With respect to the late campaign in Spain, Mr. Perceval could not admit that in any instance disgrace had followed our arms. As the movements of Sir John Moore, in the year 1808, and the battle of Corunna, had saved the south of Spain that year, so, he believed, the expulsion of the French from Portugal and Galicia, the junction of Lord Wellington with General Cuesta, and the battle of Talavera, saved the south of Spain in 1809.

On a division of the house there appeared,

For the amendment, 167.

Against it, 263.

House of Commons, Thursday, January 25. Lord Barnard appeared at the bar, with the report of the address to his majesty, in answer to his most gracious speech. Sir Francis Burdett rose, and said, that he had listened with the utmost candour and attention to the sentiments of the different gentlemen who had already delivered their



their respective opinions on the various topics which the full discussion of the king's speech naturally embraced; both to the sentiments and arguments of those who thought themselves still qualified to govern the country, and to the sentiments and arguments of those who thought themselves better fitted for that arduous situation. And the result of the whole was, to confirm more and more that calm conviction of mind, with which he had entered that house, of the necessity, sooner or later, of an entire change of system; and a thorough, constitutional, and temperate reform in parliament. With respect to the leading complaints made against the present ministry, never were men in such a state of self-abandonment. They had nothing to say for themselves; and could have confidence in nothing but in that assembly, in which there seemed to be a mysterious something, that might justify the most culpable, in expectations the most extravagant, not only of impunity but protection. Yet he could derive no hope of any benefit to the public from a change of ministry. Change of men could do nothing, while they would be necessarily obliged to act up to that fatal system in which all our danger lay. He enumerated several, among the many acts of administration since the commencement of the recess, which had been the subject of general complaint. Of these there was one more immediately growing out of the system to which he had alluded, than the rest. This was, the insult that had been inflicted, in his majesty's name, on the corporation of London. The

king's speech, at the opening of parliament, ought to be a general exposition of every prominent event and extensive operation that had occurred during the recess, and not a mere milk and water composition, turning merely on general positions, not to be disputed, and so cautiously shaped and modelled by the apprehensions of ministers, as to slide harmlessly through discussion. The present speech said nothing of the state of affairs in India. While in this respect the speech was defective, in another it was redundant. He alluded to what had been tacked to the speech relative to the poorer order of the clergy. He should be sorry to oppose any method of relieving their wants, if this could be effected without imposing additional exactions on a burthened and almost exhausted country. If the poor clergy were so indigent, they could not derive relief from a fitter source than the wealthy part of their own calling. The higher order of the established clergy were, in all conscience, rich enough to contribute to the poorer class of their brotherhood; and while they were amply gifted with the means, it would be invidious to express a doubt that men of their profession would be wanting in the inclination.

Mr. Yorke called on the house to observe the remarkable words made use of by Sir Francis Burdett, whenever he spoke of the house of commons, whom he always called "this assembly," "this room," or "this meeting." If by this the honourable baronet meant to insinuate that they were not the legal and constitutional representatives of the people, he dissented from any



any such monstrous doctrine, and gave it as his opinion, that the reform recommended by the honourable baronet would only increase the danger it was designed to remedy. He would support his majesty's administration; he meant, that he would never enter into any systematic opposition against it. He approved of the address, because it did not pledge the house to any thing. As to the Walcheren expedition, that part of it which had succeeded, had been very much undervalued. The Scheldt, for four months of the year, was not navigable, and the French fleet had begun already to feel the want of their basin. The capture of Flushing was an important service.—Here General Tarleton turned up his eyes.—Mr. Yorke lamented to see in his honourable friend, on the present and other occasions, such a disposition to withhold that defence from brother officers in their absence, which it would so well become a brother officer to make. With regard to the advance of Lord Wellington to Talavera, he thought there was no part of that illustrious officer's proceedings that was not worthy of his exalted reputation. Yet if there was any thing that might admit of the nicest investigation of military criticism, he would select two points, one was, the seemingly too great reliance placed by that gallant officer on the Spaniards; the other was, his not having secured the pass of Banos, which Sir Robert Wilson had so gallantly defended against a superior force for nine hours. These were the only points on which he thought there could be any doubt.

General Tarleton still maintained that the merit of Lord Wellington was equivocal. He had blamed that noble Lord, when present in the house, for the convention of Cintra; for to him it was almost entirely to be attributed. He might have known that it was first necessary to secure the supplies. From the days of Homer till now, armies could not march and fight without eating. General Tarleton admitted that the army had gained great glory at Talavera. But the conduct of the general was a totally distinct consideration, and that alone he blamed.

Sir John Sebright thought the present ministers incapable of serving the country efficiently at the present awful crisis. He did not blame the right honourable gentleman at the head of the government, whom he highly respected, for the dissensions and bickerings, &c. that had lately occurred in the cabinet. But if there had been an efficient head, there would have been no such dissensions. With regard to the Walcheren expedition, he could not see the necessity of waiting for the production of papers before they gave their opinion upon it. What could those papers contain? Could ministers shew him a new map of Europe, essentially different from all that he had ever consulted?—As to the glorious victory of Talavera, as it had been called, there was a glory of the soldier, and a glory of the general. The former had been displayed in all its lustre at Talavera. But although he admired Lord Wellington, he did not think that he had, in the advance into Spain, acted the part of a wise general. Before he advanced,



vanced, he ought to have ascertained what was the strength of his ally, and what the position of the enemy. He beat the French; but then he was compelled to retreat, as if he had been beaten.—Sir John, after adverting to the disgraceful manner in which the high offices of the state had been bandied about, animadverted on the abuse of the term, loyalty. He admitted the loyalty of Mr. Perceval, and that loyalty was a very high virtue. But he could not allow the right honourable gentleman to be the sole possessor of loyalty. No one had a right to identify himself and his party with the king. It was equally injurious to the king, and inconsistent with the constitution.

The report being brought up and read, Mr. Whitbread, after some prefatory observations, moved an amendment to the address, the substance of which was, “that in justice to the people, the house would, on the earliest opportunity, diligently apply itself to the effecting such economical reform, as might be consistent with the welfare of the state, satisfactory to the feelings of the people, and in some measure prove an alleviation of their burthens.”

The Chancellor of the Exchequer did not see the least occasion

for this amendment, his Majesty having promised that the estimates for the current year should be prepared with the utmost attention to economy.—Mr. Ponsonby supported the amendment, on the ground that the estimates related solely to the war expenditure, while the amendment related to measures proper at all times, but particularly so at a time when the war expenditure was enormous.—Mr. Bathurst thought the paragraph unnecessary, as matters connected.—The Earl of Temple thought it important that the house should shew a disposition to prove and examine into every abuse; for otherwise the people would be apt to think that the abuses were greater than they were.—Sir A. Pigot put the question, what confidence parliament could place in the assurances of ministers, that the estimates for the present year should be framed with a strict regard to economy, when they opposed an enquiry into the profuse expenditure of the year that was past?

On a division of the house, there appeared

For Mr. Whitbread's amendment, 54.

Against it, 95.



## CHAP. II.

*House of Lords. Motion for the Thanks of the House to Lord Viscount Wellington, and the Officers and the Army under his Command, for the Victory over the Enemy at Talavera—opposed—supported—carried.—In the Course of the Debate fresh Discussions on the Affairs of Spain, both political and military.—House of Commons. Thanks moved to Lord Wellington and the Army.—Arguments pro and con, and Discussions nearly the same as in the House of Lords:—Motion for Thanks to Lord Wellington carried without a Division of the House;—that to the Army unanimously.—House of Commons. Motion by Lord Cochrane, for Minutes of the Court Martial held on Lord Gambier, and the Object of this Motion.—Debates and Discussions.—Lord Cochrane's Motion negatived by a great Majority.—Motion of Thanks to Admiral Gambier, &c. &c.—The Motion for Thanks to Lord Gambier carried on a Division of the House;—that for Thanks to the other Officers, and Acknowledgments to the Seamen and Marines, unanimously.—Motion for Thanks to the same Parties in the House of Lords—Agreed to.*

**H**OUSE of Lords, January 25. Earl Grey, previously to the discussion of next day, on an intended motion for thanks to Lord Wellington, thought it of considerable importance, that some information should be laid before the house, by which they might be enabled to form some opinion with respect to the propriety of the motion. It was necessary they should know, whether the advance of Lord Wellington into Spain was the exercise of his own judgment, or the result of the instructions of ministers. It was also of importance that they should have before them the nature of the information communicated by Lord Wellington, respecting the action of Talavera, there being strong reason to believe that ministers, at the time they held out that battle as a victory, knew, from what was stated by Lord Wellington, in his dispatches, that

our army must retreat; and that the battle, said to be a victory, must be followed by all the consequences of a defeat. Lord Grey therefore moved for the instructions to Lord Wellington; for the dispatches received from him, on his marching from Placentia; for the dispatches which he sent from Talavera after the battle; and also for certain correspondence between Lord Wellington and the Spanish government, respecting supplies for the army. These motions were supported by the Earl of Lauderdale, Lord Erskine, the Marquis of Douglas, and the Earl of Grosvenor. They were opposed by the Earl of Liverpool, the Earl of Harrowby, and Lord Viscount Sidmouth, on the ground that there was no precedent for calling for papers, in order to enquire into the general conduct of a campaign, when the only object in contemplation



tion was, a specific vote of thanks for a particular service. The motions were put and negatived.

House of Lords, January 26. The order of the day being read, the Earl of Liverpool rose, for the purpose of moving the thanks of the house to Lord Viscount Wellington, and the officers and the army under his command, for the skill and ability, the valour and bravery, by which they obtained a victory over the enemy at Talavera. In framing his motion, he had, with a view to conciliation, separated the conduct of the army, and the officer commanding, from every other subject connected with the general management of the campaign. Whatever opinion might be entertained with respect to the measures which led to the battle itself, or to the consequences which ensued, there could be but one sentiment as to the skill of the general, and the valour of the army that fought at Talavera. The thanks of both houses had been given to Sir John Stuart, and the army, for the eminent skill and valour displayed, and the splendid victory obtained by the battle of Maida; though the objects for which that battle was fought, were not obtained. It had been determined to make a concentrated attack on the combined armies. Although the Spanish army was present, and partially took a part in the battle, the brunt of the attack was principally, if not wholly, borne by the English, not amounting to more than 20,000 men. The French army fell but little short of 50,000. The enemy, after repeatedly renewing their attacks, were repulsed with the loss of nearly 10,000 men,

twenty pieces of artillery, and four standards. It was of the last importance, that such victories as that of Talavera, should be rewarded by every tribute of honour and praise, that house could bestow. It had been the good fortune of Great Britain to unite a military spirit with commercial pursuits, and every encouragement was due still further to promote that spirit. No achievement was ever more entitled to praise than the victory of Talavera.

He admitted, that if their lordships were called upon to decide on all the circumstances of the campaign, it might materially alter the question. But he wished to direct their lordship's attention solely to the conduct of the officer, and the army under his command, on the 27th and 28th of July.

Lord Liverpool concluded with moving, "That this house do return their thanks to General Lord Viscount Wellington, for the skill and ability displayed by him on the 27th and 28th of July, 1809, at Talavera.

The Earl of Suffolk said, that, as a professional man, it was with pain to his feelings he rose to state his objections to the motion of thanks to Lord Wellington. The noble earl had alluded to the battle of Maida. But that battle was decisive in its issue, and did not come in a questionable shape like the victory of Talavera. He could not denominate that a victory where a retreat immediately followed, and the wounded and the prisoners fell immediately into the hands of the enemy. As to the capture of artillery, this was not, in all circumstances, to be considered as a signal of victory. It

might



might have been convenient for the enemy to leave them on the field. With regard to the reinforcement of 36,000 men, which was advancing to support the French, why did not Lord Wellington know of their situation, and the probability of their approach? It was the duty of every general to have such information. The Earl of Suffolk, considering the amount of the British force in the peninsula, and that only so small a portion of it was brought into action at Talavera, there was here also much ground for reprehension. And this conduct appeared to be in perfect conformity to that of the same general, in bringing up only half his forces to act against the enemy, at the battle of Vimeira.\*

The Earl of Grosvenor was apprehensive, that if the house were to be called upon to vote thanks for every instance of the display of valour, the proceeding would draw after it injurious results. If a single detachment, nay, if an individual had exhibited proofs of determined bravery, their lordships might be called upon to vote away thanks. The battle of Talavera was one, which, in all its circumstances, did not appear to him to be entitled to such a reward.—Lord Mountjoy maintained, that no general was better skilled in war, none more enlightened, none more valiant than Lord Viscount Wellington. The choice of a position at Talavera reflected lustre on his talents; the victory was as brilliant and glorious as any on record. It was entitled to the unanimous approbation of their lordships, and

the eternal gratitude of Spain and of this country.

The Earl of Grey agreed with the Earl of Liverpool, as to the propriety of bestowing rewards where rewards were due, and of conferring the high honour of the thanks of that house on transcendent merit; but not that the battle of Talavera was an event that ought to be characterized in such a way, or remunerated by that distinction. Before, however, he should enter into a discussion of the subject immediately before the house, he begged leave to say a few words relative to the victory of Maida. The objects of the expedition to Italy, under Sir John Stuart, had not completely failed, as stated by the noble lord. If they did fail, the failure was remote. A French force was, at that period, assembled on the Neapolitan coast, for the purpose of making a descent on Sicily. To destroy this force, was the object of the expedition of Sir John Stuart; and in that object, in the battle of Maida, and the consequences that resulted from it, he completely succeeded. The enemy did not, after that action, retire in regular order, nor take up a position within sight of the field of battle. They were completely dispersed, and, as an army, annihilated. The battle of Talavera had neither succeeded in attaining the general object of the campaign, nor the immediate object, namely, that of dispersing the enemy's army.

The general object of the advance of Lord Wellington into Spain, Lord Grey took to be that

\* See Vol. L. 1809. History of Europe, p. 225.



of driving the enemy's troops before him, and obtaining possession of the capital, Madrid. The French troops, in Spain, at that time, occupied a defensive line of positions, from Toledo to Salamanca. On the advance of Lord Wellington into Spain, they left their positions, and concentrated their forces to oppose him.\* Lord Wellington marched, in the direction of Madrid, as far as Talavera; where he was obliged to stop for want of provisions, and the means of transport. The battle was fought, and the enemy for the moment repulsed. But the general object of the advance into Spain was lost. The enemy retained possession of the capital, and the British troops were obliged to retreat. It had been said that Lord Wellington had displayed great skill in the dispositions he made for battle. Lord Grey would not agree in that opinion. The position on the left had not been sufficiently secured or taken advantage of—there was much also to blame in the conduct of Lord Wellington, with respect to the Spanish troops; though certainly the dispatch of the Spanish general, gave a very different account of the conduct of those troops, from that given in the dispatch of Lord Wellington. But if Lord Wellington believed the Spanish troops to be of such a description that they could not be trusted to meet the enemy in a situation of such imminent peril at Talavera; if Lord Wellington held such an opinion of the Spanish troops, why did he give the Spanish general the option, either of defending the

passes against the advance of the French army, under the Duke of Dalmatia, which threatened the flank and rear of the British, or taking care of our sick and wounded at Talavera? Why, also, had not Lord Wellington better information respecting the defence of the passes? Why trust to the intelligence he received from the Spaniards, neglecting even the ordinary precaution of sending an officer of his own to ascertain whether the passes were properly defended? His Majesty's ministers, at the time that they trumpeted forth the battle as a splendid and decisive victory, were in the possession of Lord Wellington's dispatches, in which he stated the unfortunate situation of his army, the necessity of retreating, and the difficulties he had to encounter in effecting a retreat.

The Marquis of Wellesley, after expressing his private feelings on the present occasion, when he was called on to perform a public duty, by vindicating the character and conduct of so near and dear a relation as a brother, begged leave, in the outset, to observe, that the noble earl (Grey) did not seem very clearly to understand the objects of Lord Wellington's operations. On the arrival of his brother in Portugal, he found that the enemy was not only in possession of its northern provinces, but that a plan had been concerted, by which Victor and Soult were to advance from different points, into the south. The first object, therefore, was the deliverance of Portugal. The operation by which he expelled Soult was as able, as rapid,

\* See Vol. LI. 1809. History of Europe, p. 176.



and conclusive, as any recorded in the page of history. It was therefore unfair, as some noble lords had done, to describe such an operation, merely as an affair with the rear guard of Soult's corps. After this Lord Wellington immediately proceeded to the south, to oppose Victor, who had actually advanced in that direction, but who, on the approach of Lord Wellington, had thought it prudent to retreat. What was the situation of Spain when Lord Wellington advanced into that country? The supreme central government had been long established, and their authority was generally recognized. The part of the country, through which his march lay, abounded in resources of every description, nor was it fair to entertain a doubt of the power and disposition of the Spanish government, to render them available. The joint request of the supreme Junta and General Cuesta to Lord Wellington, was, that he would co-operate with the Spanish army in driving Victor beyond the Tagus. How could Lord Wellington have refused his assistance for the attainment of that limited object? Would not a refusal on his part have argued a supposition that the Spanish government was incompetent to perform its duty? and that the country, though full of provisions, was unwilling to supply them? Besides, how could he have answered for the safety of Portugal, without striking such a blow against Victor, as might prevent him from joining and co-operating with Soult, or any French corps that might invade that kingdom from the northward? The plan concerted between Lord Wel-

lington and General Cuesta, was briefly this: Lord Wellington, supported by General Cuesta, was to move against Victor's corps. In the mean time Venegas, by a circuitous march, was to threaten Madrid, in order, by this demonstration, to draw off the attention of the French corps, under Sebastiani and King Joseph, and prevent them from forming a junction with Victor. From this plan, if duly executed, Lord Wellington was justified in expecting every success. Accordingly, he advanced against Victor at Talavera, on the 22d of July, and soon came in sight of the enemy, whom he proposed to attack on the following morning. Victor's corps was then unsupported by any other, and consisted of no more than 28,000 men. If, therefore, the attack upon Victor had been made on the 23d, as proposed by Lord Wellington, must not the result have been most glorious and complete? General Cuesta, however, refused to attack the enemy on that day; for what reason had not been explained. But the consequence was, that Victor retreated, and made his escape on the very night of the 23d, and effected a junction between Sebastiani and King Joseph. At the same time General Venegas, who ought to have been at Arganda on the 22d, perplexed with orders, and counter-orders, from the Junta, did not arrive there till the 29th. Against such strange mismanagement what human prudence could provide?

Lord Wellesley perfectly agreed with the noble lords on the other side of the house, as to the necessity of a radical change in the government of Spain; and his opi-

nions



nions on that head, he believed, were not unknown.\* But that change, however, could not be the work of a day. But were we, therefore, to abandon the Spaniards to the mercy of their cruel invaders? to desert them in the crisis of their fortunes? As to the battle of Talavera, nothing more could be said of that battle in a military point of view, than that the British troops had succeeded in repulsing the attack of a French army almost double their numbers, the efforts of which had been directed chiefly against the British. And, with respect to its consequences, he would boldly maintain, that the defeat of the enemy at Talavera had essentially contributed to the main objects of the campaign. For, unless that blow had been struck against Victor, it would have been impossible to prevent the enemy from over-running the south of Spain, or from making a fresh irruption into Portugal. It saved the south of Spain from absolute destruction. It had afforded time to Portugal to organize her army, and to strengthen her military ports. It also enabled Lord Wellington to take a position, where he might derive supplies from Spain, at the same time that he drew nearer to his own magazines—upon the whole, he did not hesitate to say, that his brother was as justly entitled to every distinction that his sovereign had conferred on him, and to every honour and reward which it was in the power of that house to bestow, as any noble lord, who, for his personal services, had obtained the same dis-

tinctions, or who sat there by descent from his illustrious ancestors.

Lord Grenville observed, that the propriety of giving the information relative to the campaign, and especially the calamitous march into Spain, required on a former occasion by his friend Lord Grey, had been supported by the manner, in which his noble friend, the Marquis of Wellesley, had discussed the subject. He had very properly taken a comprehensive view of the causes and consequences of that battle. The events of twenty-four hours might be sufficient to prove the merits of the soldier; but the case of a general was widely different. The present question was, whether a British army ought to have been risked in an enterprize which depended so much on Spanish co-operation. This question was none of his seeking; but he must say, that even a victory, if attended with calamitous consequences, did not deserve the thanks of that house. He believed that Lord Wellington was fettered by the nature of the service on which he had been sent, and by his instructions, and that the plan and its calamitous circumstances, ought to be attributed to ministers.

The vote of thanks to Lord Wellington was carried without a division. The motions for thanks to the inferior officers and army were carried unanimously.

Thanks to Lord Wellington and the army at Talavera were moved in the

House of Commons, February 1.

\* See various Extracts, from the Correspondence of the Marquis of Wellesley, with Mr. C. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Vol. LI. 1809. History of Europe, Chap. X. pp. 182—193.



The arguments *pro* and *con* were, as might well be supposed, the same in substance as those that had been urged in the House of Lords. The motion was made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Milton observed, that their votes of thanks, from their frequency, lost their value, and ceased to be an honour. They had got so much into the habit of voting thanks, that it was now almost an insult not to vote them. It was not sufficient to say, that Sir Arthur Wellesley had got out of the danger into which he had run, with great skill. He should have shewn his skill in avoiding it. What thanks would the house bestow on an admiral, who first ran his fleet among rocks and shoals, and then evinced great ability in getting it off again? The ambition of Sir Arthur Wellesley was conspicuous in both the battles of Talavera and Vimeira. In both he seemed to have fought merely for a peerage; certainly more with such a view, than was consistent with the conduct of a good and prudent commander. The whole campaign was wrapped in mystery, and he was determined to have information before he voted honours. Lord Milton concluded with moving, as an amendment to the motion before them, "That the thanks of the house should be given to the officers and troops who served under Lord Wellington, for their undaunted courage and gallantry, on the 27th and 28th of July, in the battle of Talavera. But while the house gave this praise to the officers and men, for their undaunted courage and gallantry, they had to lament, that the army, since that period, had been unable

to resume offensive operations. They had also to lament, that after the battle, they had suffered the enemy to pass two days in inactivity, without attacking them, and also, for having allowed themselves to be cut off at the bridge of Arzobispo."

Mr. Vernon, in a maiden speech, seconded the amendment.—In proportion as he admired the firmness and bravery of the army, he regretted that it should have been not only unprofitably employed, but unnecessarily exposed. Lord Wellington might have learned more discretion from the experience of Sir John Moore's incursion into Spain. Lord Wellington had not the same excuse, nor the same incitement as Sir John Moore to penetrate into Spain. He was invested with large limits of discretion, which that admirable officer, Sir John Moore, was not, and had no officious and impertinent interference to encounter. He had not to contend against the arrogant dictates of a rash and presumptuous diplomatist; of blind but obtrusive zeal, seeking, by the display of devotion to the cause of the Junta, to establish a claim to a Spanish marquisate. It was stated, that if two things had occurred, we should have succeeded better. If the Spanish Junta had not acted as they did, and if the Spanish general had done his duty, the success would have been more complete. All this might have been foreseen. But if the object of the march into Spain, was to fall on General Victor single-handed, as soon as Cuesta refused the co-operation, which was promised, it was the duty of Lord Wellington to have retired.



retired.—On what grounds, Mr. Vernon asked, did Lord Wellington calculate, that his 25,000 men would be able to contend with 100,000 Frenchmen, in the heart of the peninsula? It had been said, that the French armies had been checked by this battle; but the real result of the battle of Talavera was, that our army was checked—checked in its proposed march to Madrid, for which important service Joseph Buonaparte had thanked his troops. The resources of Spain were stated to consist in her loyalty and religion. There were systems of religion, such as those which inculcate predestination, that inspire an extraordinary contempt of danger. He did not know that such was the character of the religion to which the Spaniards were bigoted; neither did he calculate much on their loyalty to such a sovereign as Ferdinand VII. who had voluntarily thrown himself into the hands of the enemy, and might be said to have resigned his crown. If he saw the crown and the altar surrounded with equal laws, and the spirit of liberty, the animating principle and bond of union among the Spaniards, then he should not despair of that country. This he believed to have been the principle which dictated the heroic resistance of Saragossa and Gerona. He was not, however, for deserting the Spaniards altogether. He would wish to lend them every assistance except a British army.

Lord Castlereagh supported the motion for thanks to Lord Wellington, not only by a description of the battle of Talavera, but by

a brief review of the whole campaign, in the same manner as had been done by the Marquis of Wellesley in the House of Peers.

Mr. Whitbread observed, that while Lord Wellington accused General Cuesta of delay, he ought to have stated the grounds of it; and in not doing it he did that general injustice. The Spaniards, whom he represented as taking no part in the action, he was, nevertheless, necessitated to mention no less than five times in his dispatch; and it was rather too much to say that he had contended with double his numbers. He had even mentioned a Spanish general, who was wounded in bringing up his inactive infantry to assist in the battle.

Mr. Windham, too, was sorry that such a letter as had been sent by Lord Wellington had ever been written. It proclaimed glory which did not belong to him. As in a sea engagement, it could not be contended that the hull of a vessel had nothing to do with the guns, which gained the victory. So with the Spanish army; they did all that was required of them. They kept their position.\* But the victory itself must have been of use to the Spanish cause, as it shewed them that a British army was invincible. And the victory well deserved the honour of the reward moved to be bestowed on it by the house.

Many other members spoke on the opposite side of the question. The vote of thanks to Lord Wellington was carried without a division. Thanks to the other officers unanimously; and also, unanimously, acknowledgments to the

\* Compare Hist. of Europe, Vol. LI. [1809] pp. 185. 186.



non-commissioned officers and privates.

An act of parliament was passed for settling an annuity of 2000*l.* a-year on Lord Wellington, though not altogether without opposition, in both houses. On the 26th of February, the day appointed for the second reading of Lord Wellington's annuity bill in the House of Commons, a petition was presented from the city of London, against it.

Sir J. Newport thought it would have been well if the services of Lord Wellington had been rewarded with the vacant sinecure place of the tellership of the exchequer. That place, however, instead of being given to one who had fought for his country abroad, had been bestowed on a person who had distinguished himself only by fighting the battles of ministers at home.\* Though he did justice to the prowess of Lord Wellington, while no such acknowledgment had been made of the services of General Moore, it did not become ministers to propose such a grant to the noble lord who had fought the battle of Talavera.

When it was known that there was an intention on the part of ministry to move a vote of thanks to Lord Gambier, for the victory in Basque Roads,† in both houses of parliament, Lord Cochrane expressed a determination to oppose the vote in the House of Commons, on the ground that the admiral had not done all that he might have done, and that through his neglect, or delay, part of the enemy's fleet had made its escape; which would have been destroyed,

as well as the other ships, had Lord Gambier done his duty to the utmost. Lord Gambier, at his own earnest solicitation, was tried by a court-martial, and honourably acquitted.

In the House of Commons, January 29, Lord Cochrane rose to make a motion, of which he had given notice, for the minutes of the court-martial held on Lord Gambier: a document absolutely necessary, in order to enable every member fairly and impartially to decide whether the thanks, now in the contemplation of his majesty's ministers, were due to Lord Gambier, for the part he took in what had been denominated by them, a victory in Basque Roads. It had been asserted by the chancellor of the exchequer, on a former occasion, that the merits of this case had been already decided on; that a court-martial had proclaimed Lord Gambier's honourable acquittal, and displayed the zeal, ability, and anxiety he manifested for the welfare of his majesty's service. However this might be, all this, and an officer's having done nothing wrong, did not entitle him to the thanks of the house; which, if bestowed on trifling, or indeed on any occasion not marked by brilliant achievement, would dwindle into utter contempt, even with those on whom they should be conferred. They were already held lightly in the estimation of the navy, and such, Lord Cochrane freely confessed, was his own feeling respecting them. After a revision of the trial, Lord Cochrane pledged himself, by every thing valuable to man, if the minutes should

\* See Vol. LI. [1609] Hist. Eur. p. 227.

† Mr. Yorke.



be granted, to prove that Lord Gambier's defence was contradicted by itself—contradicted by his lordship's official letters, and by his own witnesses; many of whom, as to essential facts, were at variance with themselves and with each other; and, lastly, that the chart of the positions of the enemy's ships, on the 12th of April, a most material point, was false, and in every respect a foul fabrication. He concluded with moving, "That there be laid before the house a copy of the minutes of the trial of Admiral Gambier, on the 23d of July, 1809; also the original minutes taken day by day, by the deputy judge advocate."

Sir Francis Burdett seconded the motion. A long discussion ensued.—Sir John Orde said, that Lord Gambier's conduct in the affair of Basque Roads, had already been investigated before two competent tribunals; first, before the board of admiralty; and, secondly, by a court-martial. To try his lordship after this, would be as unjust to the noble lord as injurious to the service.—General Loft, too, observed, that nothing could more injuriously affect the discipline of both the army and navy, than that parliament should take into its hands the revision of the proceedings of courts-martial.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer concluded a speech against Lord Cochrane's motion, by moving, as an amendment, "That the word 'minutes,' in the words of the original motion, be left out, and the word 'sentence,' inserted in its stead."—Mr. Wilberforce thought the motion of Lord Cochrane particularly important, as it threw a gross stigma on the whole

of the members of the court-martial. All the evidence, however, was one way. If the sentence had been conceived in dry or doubtful terms, then the house might have called for the minutes. That was not the case. And all that remained for the house to suppose was, that the noble lord thought differently at the time of the court-martial, and that he did so still.—Lord Newark spoke to the same purpose, adding, that Lord Cochrane's motion carried with it a serious matter of charge, not only against the members of the court-martial, but almost every witness who had been examined.—Mr. Ponsonby could not agree to vote for the motion of the noble lord, because the adoption of it would be a violation of one of the most sacred and fundamental principles of the jurisprudence of England. Lord Gambier had been tried by a competent jurisdiction, and acquitted.

Mr. Lyttleton admitted that the house ought not to take upon itself the revision of such sentences on light grounds. But still the proceedings of courts-martials were liable to revision in that house, as the court of dernier resort, because there might be in the minutes of the evidence, abundance of matter to justify the house in withholding their thanks, though no actual blame might have been incurred by the noble admiral.—Mr. Yorke observed, that the question was not whether the house had a right to call for the minutes, but whether it was necessary to do so under the circumstances of the case. He regretted that a gallant officer, who had undoubtedly rendered great services



services to his country, should have thought it necessary to set up his own opinion against the opinion and experience of so many others.—Mr. C. W. Wynne did not deny but there might be cases in which the house might think itself called on to interfere, even in cases of courts-martial. Here, however, all the evidence was on one side; and opposed to it, the solitary opinion of the noble lord.—Mr. Whitbread put the question, whether, after a court-martial had declared Lord Gambier to be honourably acquitted, it followed that they must grant him the thanks of that house? From the disagreeable situation in which that house was now placed on both sides, they must unavoidably have the minutes.—Sir Francis Burdett said, that Lord Gambier's plan, seemed to be a desire to preserve the fleet, that of his noble colleague to destroy the fleet of the enemy. He had never heard that the articles of war held out an instruction to preserve the fleet. What if Lord Nelson, in the battle of the Nile, or that of Trafalgar, had acted upon this principle? He had never heard that Lord Gambier in the affair of Basque Roads, pretended to have done any important or hard service. His only merit seemed to consist in what he omitted to do. That omission, might, indeed, have been wise and prudent, but could never be the object of a vote of thanks.

In the course of this long discussion, the chace was attempted to be in some measure turned against Lord Cochrane himself.—Captain Beresford said the noble lord had forgot how he himself

formed his charts and log-books in favour of the evidence to be adduced before the court-martial.—Sir C. Hamilton said, that, if his information was correct, the fault that more damage was not done to the enemy's fleet, lay with the noble Lord Cochrane himself; and that if the minutes of the court-martial were produced, he should engage to bring evidence to that effect before the house. If the noble lord had followed the advice of a senior officer, in reserving some of his fire-ships, he would have been able to destroy all the ships of the enemy. — These charges, with some remarks from gentlemen on both sides of the house, called upon Lord Cochrane for an explanation, and a vindication of his conduct. Having spoken for some time in his own defence, he said, in conclusion, "If, Sir, there were no other reasons for the production of the minutes which I have called for, but that I am now put upon my defence; that accusations are made, which, in justice to my feelings and my character, I must refute, I humbly submit to the house, that, in justice to me, they ought now to be produced, and I trust, Sir, that for reasons more important to the country, they will not be refused. Sir, I shall not detain the house longer than to re-assert all that I have pledged to prove, and to stake every thing that is valuable to man on the issue. If the minutes are granted, I shall expose such a scene as will, perhaps, make my country tremble for its safety. I entreat the house well to consider that there is a tribunal to which it is answerable:



that of posterity, which will try all our actions, and judge impartially."

Mr. Tierney said that the noble Lord Cochrane ought to be heard. His judgment and character, his signal gallantry, and signal honours, [a red ribbon] deserved the serious attention of the house. Even his feelings, led as they were, perhaps astray, by an excess of strength and sensibility, deserved all the attention that could be paid to them.

The question being called for, there appeared, for the amendment that had been proposed by Mr. Perceval, 171.—Against it, 19. So that Lord Cochrane's motion was lost by a majority of 152.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer then rose to propose a vote of thanks to Lord Gambier, for his eminent services in destroying the French fleet in the Basque Roads. Having stated the principal circumstances attending the accomplishment of that service, he moved the following resolutions. 1. "That the thanks of this house be given to Admiral Lord Gambier, for the zeal, judgment, ability, and anxious attention to the welfare of his majesty's service, which marked his lordship's conduct as commander-in-chief of the fleet in Basque Roads. 2. That the thanks of this house be given to Rear-Admiral the Hon. Robert Stopford, Captain Sir H. Burrard Neale, captain of the fleet, and to the several captains and officers of the fleet under the command of Admiral Lord Gambier, for their gallant and highly meritorious conduct on that glorious occasion, par-

ticularly marked by the brilliant and unexampled success of the difficult and perilous mode of attack by fire-ships, conducted under the immediate direction of, Captain Lord Cochrane. 3. That this house doth highly approve of and acknowledge the services of the seamen and royal marines, &c." On the question being put on the first resolution,

Lord Cochrane warned the house that even their verdict was not conclusive upon character, and that the public would exercise a judgment, if the house would not. The argument of ministers, that wherever the subordinates deserved praise, the superiors must receive it, was frivolous and childish. Was Admiral Parker thanked for the bravery of the fleet at Copenhagen?—Sir Francis Burdett desired to know whether the services of Lord Gambier, admitting it to have all the value that could possibly be attributed to it, was worthy of the thanks of parliament? or whether the motion for thanks could have flowed from any thing but the unblushing and profuse spirit of ministerial favouritism?—Mr. Windham having doubts respecting the vote he should give, wished to state what they were, but still more strongly what they were not. He was averse to the revisal of the sentences of courts-martial. The conduct of the admiralty, in appointing Sir Home Popham to a situation of confidence, after he had been censured and reprimanded by a court-martial, was highly reprehensible. Such proceedings counteracted the natural and proper effects of the sentences of courts-martial. But the  
vote



vote of thanks proposed forced him to think a little. A motion for papers was unnecessary. The thanks of that house did not deserve to be lavished on any man, unless his service was of that order which forced itself into universal report and universal admiration. That Lord Gambier never came into action, that he beheld it at the distance of seven miles, was not a stain upon him. The immediate scene of action was not his place. The greatest commanders were careful of the lives of their men. It was their proudest boast that they accomplished their objects without the unnecessary expenditure of a single soldier. But in voting thanks it was time to pause. These old rewards had become worthless, for want of due discrimination in conferring them. It had been said that nothing had been left but the peerage; and, even of that high honour, ministers had been most lavish. They gave it away by two steps at once. It was time to stop. The house had in their hands the great provision for national virtue. They had the honours of the country entrusted to them; and it became them, as legislators, not to suffer its streams to be idly diverted, nor to be prodigally and profusely poured forth to slake the thirst of undeserving ambition, still panting, still insatiable.

The house then divided.

For the motion, 161.

Against it, 39.

The other resolutions were then passed *nem con.*

House of Lords, Feb. 3. Lord Mulgrave rose to move a vote of thanks to Lord Gambier. He considered the operations of the

navy in Basque Roads under the direction and command of Lord Gambier, as contributing highly to the advantage and glory of the country. He trusted the report of opposition was unfounded. Our honour and our salvation depended on parliament doing its duty to our brave military and naval defenders. He moved thanks to Lord Gambier, "for his zeal, judgment, ability, and attention to his majesty's naval service."—Lord Melville gave his cordial assent to the motion. He conceived that the admiralty had acted extremely wrong in giving Lord Cochrane a command, which was contrary to the naval rules of the service, and which must have been so galling and disgusting to the other officers in Lord Gambier's fleet. He respected the zeal, intrepidity, and enterprise of Lord Cochrane; but it was wrong to suppose that these qualities were wanting in the many brave captains of the fleet, who were of standing superior to his lordship. The making such a selection naturally put that noble lord upon attempting enterprises by which great glory might be obtained by him personally, whereas Lord Gambier was to attend principally to the whole fleet.—The Earl of Grosvenor did not think the services of Lord Gambier, though he had done his duty well, of such a nature as to require the particular thanks of the house. They should be given only on very signal and important victories; such as those obtained by Lord Howe, Lord Duncan, Lord St. Vincent, and the immortal Nelson.—The Earl of Buckinghamshire thought the services performed by Lord Gambier in Basque

que Roads important; and was persuaded that the public thought more highly of that noble lord since the court martial, than before it. He, for his part, would give thanks to Lord Gambier, not only for having destroyed the enemy's ships, but also for having withstood that advice which was calculated to hurry him into a course of conduct, the consequence of which must have been great loss to the fleet which he commanded.—The

Earl of Darnley had no objection to the vote of thanks, but at the same time he thought this one of the efforts now too commonly resorted to, by voting thanks to the officers employed, to throw a lustre on the government.

The question was then put and agreed to. Votes of thanks to the other officers, non-commissioned officers, sailors and marines, were also passed *nem con.*



## CHAP. III.

*House of Commons.—Motion by Lord Porchester, for an Inquiry into the late disastrous Expedition to the Scheldt.—Long Debates.—Lord Porchester's Motion carried by a small Majority.—A Committee of the whole House appointed to inquire into the Causes of the Failure of the Expedition to the Scheldt.—Motion for Papers relative to that Subject, agreed to.—Appointment of a Secret Committee, for the Inspection and Selection of Information of a Nature improper to be made public.*

FROM discussions concerning proper objects of honours and rewards, the House of Commons passed to others of a contrary nature: parties strongly suspected and even loudly accused of conduct deserving censure and punishment.

In the House of Commons, Jan. 26, Lord Porchester called the attention of the house to the expedition to the Scheldt. When, at the close of a former night's debate, he gave notice of the motion which he should that night have the honour of submitting to the house, it was his intention, he said, to propose the appointment of a committee to inquire into the conduct of the whole campaign. On reflection, however, he was persuaded it would be much more conducive to the end he had in view, namely, to prove the incapacity and total want of system, that pervaded all the military measures of his majesty's ministers, to separate the different branches of the campaign, and institute a distinct inquiry into each; after which particular investigation, the several results might be more clearly summed up, and a general conclusion drawn, with greater accuracy, justice, and truth. He

should, therefore, in what he had to address to the house, and the motion with which he meant to conclude, confine himself to the sole disastrous expedition to the Scheldt. The objections likely to be made to his motion, would, he supposed, relate to the time and the form in which it should be submitted. His object was, that the inquiry should be conducted by a committee of the whole house. He could not consent to delegate the right of inquiry, on this occasion, to any select or secret committee, by whom the course of investigation might be misdirected, or its bounds limited: before whom, possibly, garbled extracts, called documents, might be laid by ministers themselves, in order to produce a partial discussion. He would not expose the case to such a risk. It was in a committee of the whole house alone, that they could have a fair case, because, if necessary, they could examine oral evidence at the bar. As to the objection respecting time, that his motion ought not to be entertained until the papers promised by ministers should be laid before the house, it was a delusive and shallow subterfuge, as his view was simply to establish the



the tribunal before he should open his case. The only end he had in view, was, to pledge the house to the institution of an inquiry. It was not his wish, at that time, to discuss the merits of the investigation. He did not desire to put ministers on their trial, before they had had full opportunity of preparing their evidence and their defence. Yet, could the country remain in doubt whether such ministers should be tried at all? If we examined any or all of the campaigns which had recently taken place, we should find, in fact, the same character of weakness and fatuity; the same features of tardiness of preparation, ignorance in conduct, imbecility in combination, and, of consequence, failure in result. In the expedition to which this motion referred, the calamities which attended it, were, in fact, to be equalled only by the magnitude of its extensive and expensive preparation.\* The truth of this position, his lordship proceeded to illustrate. The strongest as well as most obvious objections to the designs and plan, as well as the management of this expedition, were stated, as we have seen, in the debates on the king's speech, in both houses of parliament. These, Lord Porchester urged in a clear and forcible manner, with the addition of farther observations, of which the following acute remark is a specimen: "We had been told, by the minister, that before the troops could be sent to Holland, it was necessary to wait for the arrival of transports from Lisbon. But why were those transports at Lisbon?

For the use of Sir Arthur Wellesley's army, in case it should be defeated, and obliged finally to retreat. So that our ministers combined their plan with such peculiar judgment and felicity of arrangement, that a defeat in Portugal would have prevented the expedition to Holland." But, Lord Porchester asked, why the minister had not a sufficiency of transports ready for any operation that might be deemed necessary? If ministers did not attend to their duty, it was not admissible in them to plead their neglect of duty as a reason for not sending out an expedition, which, if proper to have been sent out at all, ought to have been sent out in due time. He was speaking of the means they had provided for acting on their own plan: not that he approved this; but in order to shew the inefficacy of these means to their own ends. For if it was really meant to assist Austria, by making a diversion in her favour, why chuse a place for an expedition, where there was no possible point of communication with the power to be supported? In that situation we had it not in our power to advance a step without meeting with a fortress, which, when captured, we must reduce our force to garrison, before we advanced farther. But Lord Chatham found it impossible to advance at all. What was the main object of this expedition? The French fleet at Antwerp. Did they go at once to Antwerp? No. The expedition sailed for Walcheren on the 28th of July. It was accompanied by heavy cavalry, which in fact never

\* For an account of this Expedition, see Vol. LI. [1809] Hist. Eur. p. 223.  
landed,



landed, and other descriptions of force, appropriate to service different from that entered on. On the 28th of August it was decided, by our commander, that Antwerp was not assailable, and that our troops must retreat. How was the long interval employed before it was thought adviseable to come to that decision? Instead of proceeding at once to Antwerp, and leaving some part of our shipping to blockade Flushing; which blockade would have rendered the force in that garrison and all Walcheren quite useless, Flushing was regularly besieged. Thus the force, which must have been kept as it were in a cage, was, by our lying down before Flushing, with double the number, rendered completely effective against us. But this was not all. Before Flushing was reduced, a formidable force was collected at Antwerp: and the fortress, according to the admirable plan, was to be taken by a *coup de main*, after a month's previous notice! It had been said, that Walcheren had been retained in consequence of a requisition from Austria, in the hope that Buonaparte might thereby be influenced in his negotiations with that power. If, however, it was meant to retain Walcheren only as a feint, why proceed to fortify the works of Flushing? Why construct new works elsewhere in Walcheren, and expend a considerable sum on such fortifications? That the retention of Walcheren was a feint, no rational man could believe. The fallacy of the pretence was obvious from the conduct of ministers themselves, in being at the expence of fortifying it. But, supposing it to have been

indeed a feint, it was absurd to imagine that Buonaparte, in order to get possession of that island, or to avoid the delaying for two or three weeks his attack upon it, would be induced to lower his tone, or modify or moderate his terms with Austria.

Lord Porchester having gone through the principal points, as they occurred, and appeared to be to him connected with the policy or progress of this expedition, proceeded to consider the choice which ministers had thought proper to make of a commander to direct its operations. Although he was much more conversant with the gaieties of London, or the business of office, than with the annals of military experience or glory, yet he did not complain of the appointment of such an officer to the command of such an expedition. He was, in fact, the most appropriate person that could have been chosen. Abortive and impracticable as the plan was, he should have thought it a pity that the character of an intelligent and experienced officer should have been exposed to sacrifice, by rendering him responsible for the success of a measure, which it would have been impossible for such a man to comprehend or execute. Such an expedition could, in fact, be understood by ministers alone, and one of themselves alone, was fitted to command it. Many other proofs of neglect and inattention, with regard to the conduct of the expedition, had been mentioned to Lord Porchester. Among many others, he had been told that transports, with artificers, and materials for the construction or repair of fortifications, were actually



ally sent out to Walcheren, even after the order for its evacuation had reached the island.\* He had also heard of the sick and wounded soldiers being most severely distressed for want of bedding, clothing, and even necessary provisions and medicines. All these things might not be true, but yet they rested on the statement of such authorities as to form an additional argument for inquiry. Indeed the arguments for inquiry were so numerous and irresistible, that unless the house acceded to them, they could not hope to have credit with the country for acting under the influence of reason or argument. Lord Porchester concluded with moving, "That a committee be appointed to inquire into the policy and the conduct of the late expedition to the Scheldt."

Mr. Windham Quin, in seconding the motion, reviewed the conduct of the expedition, which appeared to him to be remarkable only for ignorance, imbecility and mismanagement. He was particularly struck on a perusal of the papers on the table, with the deficiency of means to carry into effect the attack upon Cadsand, there having been provided no more boats than would be sufficient to land 600 troops, at a time when 2000 troops were drawn up on the beach. It appeared that there had been transports provided by the wise planners of the expedition, without boats, and soldiers sent without provisions. The consequence was, that though batteries had been opened on the 5th of August, the enemy had been

able, without molestation, to throw a body of three or 4000 men into Flushing, across the Scheldt, before the communication with Cadsand was cut off.

Mr. Croker, with regard to the delay of the expedition, observed, that his majesty had not incited Austria to hostilities—that he was even unwilling that Austria should precipitate herself into a war with France, and cautioned her against taking such a step, without rational grounds of hope for a successful issue. It would, therefore, have been imprudent and impolitic to have wasted our resources in preparations for supporting Austria, in the case of an event which it was hoped would not take place. Lord Porchester had complained of many circumstances besides delay, connected with the expedition. Might not those circumstances be satisfactorily explained, by the papers which were yet to be produced? Mr. Quin had complained of a want of boats to land a sufficient force on Cadsand. Mr. Croker had no hesitation in contradicting the honourable gentleman on that point. The statement of the honourable gentleman was unfounded in fact: and that single circumstance was sufficient to prove the propriety of waiting till all the documents should be produced. He had means of knowing more on the subject of the expedition than the honourable gentleman. Mr. Croker wished the house distinctly to understand that he did not oppose inquiry, but only wished to defer it till they should be in possession of those papers which alone could

\* Vol. LI. [1809] Hist. Eur. p. 225.



enable them to decide whether an inquiry would be necessary. He concluded with moving the previous question.

Mr. Bathurst said, that he had voted for the address in answer to the king's speech, but not against the inquiry; and he had opposed the amendment proposed, because it not only courted inquiry, but anticipated the result. The house owed it to the country that inquiry of some kind should take place; and it could not take place in any other way than either in a select committee, or a committee of the whole house. The papers remaining to be produced might state what was thought proper, with respect to the number of boats, or the means of debarkation on Cadsand. But admiralty returns would not satisfy him. He must have *viva voce* evidence on this, and every other important point connected with the expedition. It was impossible for any papers to shew that a sufficient number of boats had been provided. It was alike impossible for papers to shew what the probability was, that Antwerp, on a *coup de main*, would be found in a different state from that in which it afterward appeared to be. He wished to know what were the probabilities of the success of the expedition; upon what grounds it was expected that the expedition would arrive in a given time at a given point. These were subjects which no papers could explain, and which could be learned only from *viva voce* examination.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer besought the house not to be led astray by any supposition, that, in agreeing to the previous question, it would decide on the point

of inquiry or no inquiry. The vote of that night would only decide whether the inquiry should be then voted, or not till after the documents should be produced. To shew that ministers were anxious that the questions depending on them might be agitated as early as possible, he stated, that while the office clerks were employed in copying some of them, others were actually in the course of being printed. He hoped not only to be able to bring them before the house on Monday, but to put into the hands of each member a printed copy. It was hardly decent not to wait twenty-four hours for the promised information: to decide, knowing nothing about the merits of the case: to say we know better than you, though we know nothing at all about the matter: to tell the sovereign, in effect, though you have promised us satisfactory information, we have anticipated that the information you have promised cannot be satisfactory.

Mr. Windham said, that, in his opinion, the vote ought to be carried by acclamation. The information on which to ground opinion, at least inquiry, was already before parliament and the country. It was not that the expedition failed, but that it could not succeed, that the house and the country had to complain of. It would be a reproach for ever to the character of parliament, if it suffered its attention to be diverted for one single day from taking steps of inquiry, by any delusive hope held out from the production of papers. By the way, those papers, had ministers been sincere in their professions, should have been delivered



vered the first day the house assembled. They who could foresee nothing else, must at least have foreseen that parliament was to be assembled.

Mr. Ponsonby observed, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been pleased to tell the house, that the question they were now called on to decide, was, merely whether it should proceed to the institution of an inquiry on Friday next, or on the succeeding Monday. That, however, was not the question. It was far more important—it was, whether the house should that night do its duty to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, or wave it altogether, through deferential indulgence to ministers.

Mr. Stephen thought an inquiry proper and necessary, to satisfy the country; but as the papers would be produced, he should vote for postponing the inquiry for that time. It had been argued, by Mr. Windham, that because the motion only implied that there was ground for putting ministers on their trial, there was no need to wait for the promised papers. What evil could arise from a delay of two days, of such magnitude, as could justify the house in precipitating a vote without hearing such evidence as was offered for their consideration? If not material to the question whether inquiry was proper, it might at least assist them in deciding as to the mode and extent of the inquiry. He could not admit the mere failure of the expedition to the Scheldt, or the ill success of our arms in the peninsula, to be sufficient ground for inferring criminal misconduct, or incapacity on

the part of government. When a country is at perfect freedom of choice, either to abstain or to prosecute military enterprises, ill success might indeed furnish a reasonable presumption of misconduct in their authors or conductors. But England was in a situation similar to that of a town besieged by a powerful army, which the garrison was too feeble to encounter in the open field. In this case the best means of defence might be, frequent sallies, to delay the enemy's ultimate success, and take the chance of contingencies, which might bring final relief, though there was no hope, by such sallies, of raising the siege. Our continental efforts against our too powerful enemy, were of this kind. Mr. Stephen concluded, with some lively strictures on the eagerness of gentlemen on the opposite side of the house to turn the failure of the expedition to their own political purpose of getting into power, by the dismissal of their opponents. The public, he said, was led to expect a redress of grievances, and punishment of delinquents. But those gentlemen had the more substantial game in view, of obtaining possession of the government: and this was the true cause of their impatience. They reminded him of the squire of the valorous knight of La Mancha. The knight, like the people of England in the present case, was intent on generous purposes, though with mistaken views. But the squire had always his eye to the main chance; and, as soon as an adventure was achieved by his master, he conceived, like the right honourable gentlemen, that his end was attained, and said, "I do



do beseech you, sir, give me immediately that same government."

Sir Samuel Romilly said, this was the first time in his life that he had heard the doctrine that we should be certain of criminality before we proceeded to inquiry. A great calamity had befallen the country; could there be any serious doubt as to the necessity of inquiring into the cause or causes? It had been said, by his learned friend, that the object of the motion was to turn out the present ministers. How could inquiry turn out ministers, unless the result of the inquiry should shew them to be criminal? If, on the contrary, the inquiry should prove that no blame was imputable to them, they would only be more firmly established in their places. If it was of very little consequence whether inquiry should be voted that night, or Monday, why did ministers think it worth while to make a serious opposition. Was there an individual present not convinced that it was the intention of ministers, if they could by any means, to evade inquiry altogether? If, in fact, it were a question of only twenty-four hours, it were better to vote for inquiry now, than delay such a vote for even twenty-four hours. The house was then on its trial before the world, and should lose no time in acquitting itself in the eyes of the country.—General Grosvenor felt the most anxious wish to support the motion of the noble lord. He owed it to the commander-in-chief, Lord Chatham—he owed it to the army, officers and men—he owed it also to himself, as having had a com-

mand in that army, to declare, that he could not gratify the whole army more than by voting for the speediest and most effectual inquiry.—Sir Home Popham said, that the same motives induced him, in the strongest and most explicit manner, to press the house to go into the minutest inquiry into the conduct of the fleet. He was perfectly convinced that such a course would be very congenial to the feelings of the whole, and particularly those of the gallant admiral who commanded it; whose whole life had been a tissue of the most active and enterprising services; whose achievements had been equalled by few, excelled by none.—Mr. Wilberforce wished to obtain the point of inquiry now, that very evening, for he had been too long in parliament\* not to know, that, if deferred till Monday, it would never be obtained at all.—Mr. Canning said, that it would be better to postpone any direct motion for inquiry until the house should be in possession of the promised papers. This was a deference due to the government. But, whatever the contents of these papers might be, they would not supersede the necessity of an inquiry of some kind. Inquiry could not be avoided. It must take place sooner or later. Inconveniences, however, would lie in the mode of inquiry, that would result from the adoption of the motion. If it should appear, from the papers to be laid on the table, that blame was imputable to the commanders of the expedition, an investigation at the bar of the house would certainly not be the

\* Upwards of thirty years.



most adviseable or constitutional way, to ascertain what portion of misconduct fell to each. No inquiry before the house, or any selection from it, could embrace the misconduct, supposing any imputable to them, of the commanders of the expedition. The case, however, was different with regard to the share that ministers had in the transaction; and he put in his claim to a full share of the responsibility, which the ministry, that set it forward, might have incurred. He would give his vote against the motion of the noble lord, but not in the hope of defeating inquiry, which could not be avoided. Several other members spoke on the opposite sides of the question. But the main arguments, *pro* and *con*, have been already, perhaps, too often stated. Mr. Tierney excited a laugh at the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It had been frequently asserted, he said, that the object of the motion was to turn out ministers. And it was whimsical enough, that the prime minister himself had stated that as an objection to the motion. Mr. Eyre, a very honourable gentleman, raised a laugh against himself. He said, that on the present occasion, he would not vote on the side of administration. But as to their general conduct, he was convinced that they possessed great merit, though the nature of that merit was not sufficiently understood by the country.

On a division of the house there appeared for

Lord Porchester's motion 195.

Against it 186.

A committee of the whole house, to enquire into the causes of the failure of the expedition to the

Scheldt, was then fixed for Friday next.

House of Commons, February 2. Lord Porchester, before he moved the order of the day, rose to give notice, that on Monday he should move for certain papers relating to the late expedition to the Scheldt, which, he thought, were necessary to render those already before the house complete. In the papers before them, two or three objects were named, as those of the expedition; while one part of the force was to be stationed as a garrison, the other was to proceed to accomplish such of the ulterior objects of the expedition, as might appear practicable. From the papers before them it appeared, that a very few days after every obstacle, to the accomplishment of the ulterior objects, had been removed (as stated by Lord C.) by the seasonable fall of Flushing, the whole of those objects were abandoned. Could it be thought, that the general had received no instructions in the interval to direct his conduct. He was of opinion, that such communications must have existed. And, as they were not produced, he must consider the papers that had been laid by ministers before the house, as incomplete and defective. Pursuant to this notice, Lord Porchester,

House of Commons, February 5, moved, that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give orders, "that there be laid before the house copies of all the instructions given to Lord Chatham, and Sir Richard Strachan, and the officers employed in the expedition to the Scheldt," agreed to.—



to.—“Also, copies of all communications, not already before the house, between his majesty’s ministers and the officers employed in the expedition to the Scheldt, relative to that expedition,” agreed to.—“Also, the date of the receipt of Mr. Bathurst’s dispatches, which bore date the 15th of September, 1809,” agreed to.

It was unanimously agreed, that it would be competent for the committee, from time to time, to instruct the chairman to move for all such papers as might be found necessary.

Lord Porchester moved, for the

appointment of a secret committee, to whom should be referred the inspection and selection of certain secret information, and confidential communication, laid before his majesty’s ministers, with respect to the expedition to the Scheldt, and of a nature improper to be made public.—A committee was appointed, consisting of Lord Porchester, Mr. F. Robinson, Admiral Markham, Mr. Bathurst, General Ferguson, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Sturges Bourne, Mr. Yorke, Captain Beresford, Mr. Davie Giddy, and General Crawford.



## CHAP. IV.

*House of Commons proceeds in the Inquiry into the Expedition to the Scheldt.—Found among the Papers on the Table, a Narrative of the Expedition to the Scheldt, signed by Lord Chatham, and presented to his Majesty, without the Intervention of any responsible Minister.—The Purpose for which this was apparently framed.—This clandestine Proceeding of Lord Chatham, arraigned by some Members as unconstitutional—defended by others.—Motion by Mr. Whitbread, for an Address to his Majesty, for Copies of all Reports, &c. submitted at any Time to his Majesty, by the Earl of Chatham, relative to the late Expedition.—Debates.—The Motion carried by a small Majority.—The King's Answer to the Address respecting Lord Chatham's Narrative.—Inserted in the Journals of the House. House of Lords.—Motion by the Marquis of Lansdown, for an Address to his Majesty, respecting his Majesty's Answer to the City of London.—Cause and Object of this Motion.—Debate.—Discussions respecting the Policy and Conduct of the Scheldt Expedition.—Lord Lansdown's Motion negatived. House of Commons.—Specific Resolutions moved by Mr. Whitbread, on the Narrative of the Earl of Chatham.—Long Debates.—The Resolutions carried by a small Majority.*

**H**OUSE of Commons, February 19. The order of the day being moved, for going into a committee of inquiry, respecting the expedition to the Scheldt, Lord Folkstone said, there was a subject of great consequence, to which he thought it his duty, on that occasion, to call the attention of the house. Among the papers on the table he found a letter of a most extraordinary nature, referring to the matter of the present inquiry. A narrative of the expedition to the Scheldt, signed by Lord Chatham, and presented to his Majesty without the intervention of any responsible minister. This paper had been produced on the motion of General Loft, of

which he had given due notice. It was entitled, "Copy of the Earl of Chatham's statement of his proceedings, dated 15th of October 1809;—presented to the king 14th February, 1810.\* The date of its presentation to the king was much noticed. It bore date only on the 14th inst. although it had been two or three months ago announced in the newspapers, known or supposed to have some understanding with the ministry, that Lord Chatham had presented a narrative of this description to his Majesty. The objections which Lord Folkstone had to this paper, on account of the manner in which it had been presented to his Majesty, were considerably aggra-

\* See this paper in State Papers, p. 433.



vated by a knowledge of its contents. It appeared to be a special address from the commander of one part of the expedition, appealing to the judgment of his Majesty, and actually reflecting upon the conduct of his colleague in the command. He really did not know how the house should proceed, in order to get rid of such a paper; but it seemed highly desirable that it should do so. To entertain such a document, would not only be inconsistent with the constitution, but, in his opinion, with common justice. He would be glad to hear from the chair, in what manner it could be disposed of. Mr. Tierney said, that had the paper in question been presented in the ordinary and constitutional mode, through the Secretary of State for the war department, with whom alone Lord Chatham was directed by his instructions to correspond, it would, no doubt, have been communicated to the first Lord of the Admiralty, who would have equally felt it to be his duty to have communicated its contents to Sir Richard Strachan, and have apprized him that he was to be inculcated by the commander in chief of the land part of the armament, for the failure of the expedition. But this secret practice of poisoning the royal breast with doubts and suspicions of his most zealous and approved servants, while it deprived them of the knowledge, and, of course, the means of repelling them, merited, in his opinion, impeachment. Mr. C. W. Wynne did not doubt Lord Chatham's right of giving advice, respecting his department, as a minister. As a commander in chief of the ex-

pedition he had no such right; though contrary to all constitutional precedent, he delivered the narrative to his majesty, hiding it from the secretary of state carefully. After a just eulogium on the conduct of the speaker, he said there was never an occasion, on which the house stood so much in want of his assistance, and called upon him to give his opinion. Mr. Whitbread observed, that the paper was moved for by a private friend of Lord Chatham's, and that it did seem as if it was formed for the purpose, to which it was applied, of throwing blame from Lord Chatham on Sir Richard Strachan and the navy.

General Loft disclaimed any intention on the part of his noble friend, to reflect on the navy. The address referred to, his noble friend was impelled to present, in consequence of an unfortunate letter from Sir Richard Strachan, dated the 27th of August. Mr. R. Dundas said, that it could not be unconstitutional for a minister to deliver a paper to his majesty, or for a peer of the kingdom to go into the royal closet. Mr. Yorke maintained the same doctrine.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer contended, that there was no one circumstance connected with that paper, for which there was not an adequate responsibility. If there was any thing culpable in the character or constitution of the paper, Lord Chatham was responsible for it; and he himself, (Mr. Perceval) was ready to declare, that this was the paper called for by the house. Mr. Bathurst was of opinion, that the narrative should be put out of sight, or lie dormant on the table. When Lord Chatham came



came to be examined before the committee, let it be put into his hand; and if he identified, the committee could act upon it.

The Speaker rose and said, that he trusted the house would not be surprised at his delay in giving his opinion. On his first opening the narrative before them, and finding the name of Chatham, he was doubtful whether it ought to be received and acknowledged by that house, on account of its not bearing the signature of any of his Majesty's secretaries of state. But, considering by whom it was presented, he waved his doubts until he sent for some papers. On perusing these, he found that Lord North had presented several similar papers, and that he was considered to be *prima facie* accountable; a circumstance which, in his opinion, left the house at full liberty to discuss the merits of the narrative. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then moved, that it should be referred to the committee of the whole house on the expedition to the Scheldt; which was agreed to. The order of the day being then read, for the house going into a committee on the expedition to the Scheldt; they proceeded in the course of inquiry, on which they had entered 2d of February, and which was continued through various adjournments, to the 15th of March. The sittings of the committee, employed in the examination of witnesses, were in number eighteen. The principal subjects, to which the inquiry was directed, were the policy or design and views of the expedition; the manner in which it was conducted; and the evacuation of Walcheren.

The witnesses examined were, Sir David Dundas, K. B. commander in chief of the army; the Earl of Chatham; Lieutenant-General Brownrigg, quarter-master-general of the forces; Major-General Calvert, adjutant-general of the army; Sir Thomas Trigge, lieutenant-general of the ordnance; Major-General Macleod, commanding officer of the artillery, on the expedition under the Earl of Chatham; Colonel Fyers, chief engineer to the army in the expedition; Captain Paisley, in the royal engineers; Colonel Gordon, secretary to the commander in chief; Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote; the Marquis of Huntley; Lieutenant-General the Earl of Rosslyn; Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope; Major-General Sir William Erskine; Brigadier-General Montresor; Lieutenant-General Don; Brigadier-General Sontag; Lieutenant-Colonel Offney; and Lieutenant-Colonel Pilkington; Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Strachan; Rear-Admiral Lord Gardener; Captain Sir Home Popham; Captain Owen, of his Majesty's ship the Clyde; Captain Jones, of his Majesty's ship the Namur; Peter Praget, Esq.; James Aberdour, Esq.; and Daniel Woodriff, Esq.; captains in his Majesty's navy; Sir Lucas Pepys, physician-general of the forces; Mr. Keates, surgeon-general of the army, with Mr. Robert Keates, his assistant and inspector of hospitals; Mr. Francis Knight, inspector-general of army hospitals; Mr. John Webb, inspector of hospitals; and Mr. William Lidderdale, who had been in charge of the sick in the hospitals of Flushing; Lord Viscount Castlereagh; William Huskisson, Esq.; and



and Richard Wharton, Esq.; all three members of the house, and attending in their places.

House of Commons, Feb. 23. Mr. Whitbread rose to make a motion, of which he had given notice, respecting the Earl of Chatham's narrative. As many more members were now present than there were in the house when Lord Chatham's examination, before the committee, closed, on the preceding evening, he would state some circumstances which occurred at that period. Those honourable members, who were present last night, would recollect that Lord Chatham had been questioned on the narrative, which he had thought proper to present to his Majesty; and that the noble lord, after being repeatedly asked, whether he had, on any former occasion, presented to his majesty any other narrative, paper, memorandum, or memorial, respecting the expedition to the Scheldt, declined to give any answer to the inquiry. This circumstance excited a strong suspicion, that the noble lord had actually presented to his majesty some such document. Lord Chatham, as a peer of the realm, could not be pressed, by the committee, with a question which he did not choose to answer. But the house might address his majesty, for the production of such a paper if it existed.—Lord Chatham, in his dispatches, had expressed his most unqualified approbation of the conduct of the navy. But in the noble lord's narrative, he had thrown imputations on the navy, calculated to put the two services at issue.

As the noble lord had not denied, that the narrative on the

table was not the only paper of a singular description, which he had presented to his majesty, it was reasonable to assume, that before the construction of that document, some other report had been made by Lord Chatham to the king on the subject. Taking this for granted, the house, in justice to the navy, and in maintenance of the principles of the constitution, should determine to address his Majesty, for the production of that prior document. The most terminated democrats never brought a stronger charge against any monarchy, than that favourites had ready access to the ear of their sovereign, and secret opportunities to poison his royal mind, against brave and deserving men, who had no means of defending themselves, inasmuch as minions had always ready access to the sovereign, when they had not. It was impossible that the house should allow any feelings so insidiously created, to exist in his majesty's bosom, without asking him to communicate them to his people. If any other document than the narrative already presented, existed, it was to be presumed, that it contained charges; for that narrative contained imputations, only short of charges. As the noble lord had refused to answer the questions put to him yesterday evening, the House of Commons were called upon to adopt the precedent of the gallant general, and to address his Majesty, for the purpose of endeavouring to obtain any further document, if any such existed. Mr. Whitbread concluded with moving, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously



ously pleased to order, that there be laid before the house, copies of all reports, memoranda, narratives, or papers, submitted at any time to his majesty, by the Earl of Chatham, relative to the late expedition."

Mr. Secretary Ryder admitted the right of the House of Commons to address his majesty; but he was persuaded, that the present motion was wholly without example. For even supposing that such a paper as that described did actually exist, as it had never been communicated to his majesty's ministers, he did not know in what office to search for it, nor could he understand what reply they could possibly advise his majesty to make to an address from the House of Commons, under such circumstances. Mr. Ponsonby adverted to the declaration of Mr. Ryder, that he did not know where to look for such a paper, said, he would ask the right honourable gentleman where he looked for the last? And as to Mr. Ryder not understanding what answer ministers could advise his majesty to return to such an address,—did he suppose that his majesty would hesitate to deliver any papers he might have in his possession, of the nature required, for the purpose of submitting them to the House of Commons? Would he say, that his majesty was disposed to wink at the calumination of a brave officer like Sir Richard Strachan? Such a supposition was as opposite to the integrity, to the virtue, and honour of his majesty, as it was conformable to the dark spirit of low intrigue which influenced the councils of his present ministers. He hoped that the house

would mark its reprobation of a practice so unconstitutional and so base, by voting the address.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that Mr. Whitbread's argument in support of his motion, proceeded on assumptions not true in fact: 1st. that some communication had been made to the king by Lord C. before he had given in the narrative before the house: 2d. that in this previous communication he had calumniated his brother officers. And on these two assumptions the honourable gentleman had stated that the person of the sovereign had been dragged into discussion, in order to defend his servants: when all that his right honourable friend had said, was, that if the house were to ask his majesty for papers, the nature of which they could not describe, and even the existence of which they could not ascertain, they might, with just as much propriety, demand the production of any other documents whatever.

When the honourable general who moved for the production of the narrative on the table communicated to him, on the 15th inst. his intention of making such a motion, he was apprized of the existence of the document. He knew that it was an official paper, and to be found in one of the offices of his majesty's confidential servants. It had been absolutely denied that the other paper now sought, had any existence in any of the departments of the state. The question now was, whether the house would vote for an address to the crown, to produce a paper, merely for the purpose of ascertaining whether such a paper was in existence



ence or not; a paper, if in existence, of whose contents and quality those who called for it knew nothing; and which, whatever were its contents, could never be considered as an official document, it being merely a communication upon certain facts.—Sir H. Popham felt it difficult to account for the resistance made to the present motion, upon any principle of fairness, candour, or impartiality. The narrative of the noble earl had been voluntarily produced on a former night, fourteen days after the enquiry had commenced. Why now withhold a paper relating to the same subject, and necessary to the effectual prosecution of the present enquiry? It had been said, that the narrative of the Earl of Chatham contained no insinuation against the gallant admiral, or the naval part of the expedition. He knew, however, that Sir Richard Strachan did feel, that serious insinuations against his conduct were contained in that paper. But what was still more grievous, if the gallant admiral should refute and repel every charge implied in the narrative of Lord Chatham before the house, he could have no security that a second statement would not then be produced, and then a third, and so on, statement upon statement, and edition upon edition.—General Loft defended the conduct of Lord Chatham, on the old ground of the letter of Sir Richard Strachan, of the 27th of August.—Mr. R. Dundas too contended, that what was done by Lord Chatham, in presenting his narrative, was purely in his own vindication.—Mr. R. Ward, in opposition to the argument, that unless the pa-

per moved for should be granted, Sir Richard Strachan would not have an opportunity of vindicating his character against the insinuations said to have been made against it, assured the house, that the noble person at the head of the admiralty, the moment he had been acquainted with the circumstance, of the narrative having been presented to the king, which was not till the night of the 21st inst. communicated the transaction to the gallant admiral; at the same time informing him, that if he should deem it expedient, in like manner, to make a statement of the naval proceedings of the expedition, it would be his duty to become the channel for transmitting it to his majesty.—Sir S. Romilly observed, that if a witness were asked, in a court of justice, whether he wrote a certain paper, and declined to answer, the judge would direct the jury to consider that paper as in existence. But if there should be no such paper in existence, that was a still stronger reason for agreeing to the motion; for then all doubts would be satisfactorily cleared up, and the characters of the distinguished officers, supposed to be aspersed, stand as high as ever.—Sir J. Anstruther contended, that any paper relative to an expedition, which led to the waste of millions, and the death of thousands, could not be considered in any other light, than as an official paper.—Mr. Bathurst likewise said, that it was not the place where a paper was found, but the nature of the paper, that made it official. It had been said, on the other side, that those who supported the motion, were all along begging the ques-



tion. That Mr. Bathurst denied. They were justifiable in assuming the existence of any papers called for; justifiable in calling for them, in order to ascertain whether they did, or did not exist. But, he would ask, was there a man in the house who doubted the existence of the paper? Did his right honourable friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for a moment contend that there was no such paper? The same question was put by almost every one who spoke on the same side.

The Attorney General, standing on the same ground that had been taken by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, contended strenuously, that no paper should be moved for that did not exist in any public office of the state. Indeed no paper, he observed, had been specifically called for, or stated to exist. The motion was founded wholly on an assumption, or supposition.—The Solicitor General, too, asked, whether it was demanded, that the minister should rummage the king's *escrutoire*, in search for any communications that might be found there, respecting the expedition to the Scheldt? Was it to be contended, that if a private letter, upon a public subject, were addressed to the sovereign, that letter was to be laid before that house, if it had any allusion to the matter of the present motion? Such arguments were not to be endured.

Mr. Canning said, that as soon as Lord Chatham accepted the command of the late expedition, he became as responsible for his conduct as any other officer in the army, or as any man in the ranks. He had no right to cut out for

himself a royal road to an audience of the king. He was, no doubt, responsible to the king, but only through the regular and ordinary channel. As one of the cabinet, he was responsible, equally with the rest of his colleagues in office, for the wisdom or policy of the expedition, to the country and to parliament; but, as commander of the expedition, he was responsible to the king, through his secretary of state. If the other paper, which had been read, had taken the course of going through the medium of the secretary of state into the king's hand, he should most certainly have thought that the papers now moved for did not exist. But when he considered, that the narrative on the table had first got into the king's hand, and was then made official; and that the same adviser had, perhaps, thought it proper not to make the other papers, if they did exist, official; his conviction was pretty strong, that they were not such as ought to have been made official. He did not, however, think that those papers could properly be withheld on the ground of their not being official.

Mr. Whitbread spoke again at considerable length, and re-stated the principal arguments in support of his motion. To the defence of ministers, respecting the case of Lord Chatham, by Mr. R. Ward, he applied the story of a lawyer at a coffee-house, maintaining very eagerly, that there was no distinction between the words *also* and *likewise*; when a wag denied his assertion, addressing him thus, "Mr. Dunning is a lawyer, Sir, and you *also*, but not *likewise*." Lord Chatham had presented a narrative,



narrative, and Sir Richard Strachan might present a narrative. But Sir Richard's narrative was to be put not into the hands of the king, but of Lord Mulgrave.

Upon a division of the house, the numbers were.

For the motion, 178.

Against it, 171.

House of Commons, February 26th. The Chancellor of the Exchequer reported to the house, that his majesty had been waited upon with their address of Friday last, to which he had been graciously pleased to direct the following answer to be given. "The Earl of Chatham having requested his majesty to permit him to present his report to his majesty, and having also requested that his majesty would not communicate it for the present, his majesty received it on the 15th of January last, and kept it till the 10th of this month, when, in consequence of a wish expressed by the Earl of Chatham, on the 7th of this month, to make some alterations in it, his majesty returned it to the Earl of Chatham. The report, as altered, was again tendered to his majesty, by the Earl of Chatham, on the 14th of this month, when his majesty directed it to be delivered to his secretary of state, and his majesty has not kept any copy or minute of this report, as delivered at either of these times; nor has he had, at any time, any other report, memorandum, narrative, or paper, submitted to him by the Earl of Chatham, relating to the late expedition to the Scheldt."

Mr. Whitbread requested to know who was the privy counsellor, a member of that house, who took his majesty's pleasure upon

the address. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, "I was the privy counsellor who took his majesty's pleasure upon the address." Mr. Ponsonby, without wishing to give any opinion at present upon the answer now given, trusted that it would be inserted in the journals, in order that, if necessary, reference might be made to it on any future occasion. The speaker said, that this was the uniform rule of the house.

The city of London had presented, in December, 1809, a petition to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to direct an immediate and effectual inquiry into the causes of the calamitous failure which had attended the expedition to Walcheren. The answer given by ministers was, that his majesty had not deemed it necessary to institute any inquiry.

House of Lords, March 2. The order of the day having been read, the Marquis of Lansdown desired that the narrative presented to his majesty, by Lord Chatham, might be read. The narrative was read accordingly. The marquis then rose, to submit to the consideration of their Lordships the motion of which he had given notice for a previous day, but which he had postponed, in the hope that on the present day the noble earl, the author of the narrative, would have been in his place. It was deeply to be regretted, that the author of the narrative should have attempted to cast a blot upon the navy; upon that profession, to weaken public confidence in which, was to darken the horizon, and dim the prospects of the country. The author of the narrative was one of his majesty's



jesty's ministers, with whom his colleagues had daily opportunities of communication, and from whom it was to be supposed, they must have learnt those circumstances detailed in the narrative, each of which imperiously demanded an inquiry. An inquiry, however, had been deemed unnecessary by his majesty's confidential servants. It would be recollected also, that the ministers who had thus advised his majesty to refuse inquiry into the petition of his subjects, where inquiry was so imperiously demanded, were the same ministers who, on a former occasion, when a petition from the same corporation called for inquiry into the disgraceful affair of the convention of Cintra, had advised his majesty to reprove the citizens of London for thus coming to ask for inquiry; and to state, that his majesty was desirous at all times to institute inquiry, where, as in that case, the hopes and expectations of the nation had been disappointed. Under the impression, therefore, that his majesty's ministers could not have been ignorant of the facts and circumstances detailed by their colleague, the master general of the ordnance, in his narrative, as commander in chief of the expedition to the Scheldt, of circumstances, each of which most imperiously called for inquiry, as well for the purpose of satisfying the country and the public, as for clearing that profession, which was so important and valuable to the dearest interests of the country; he felt it his duty to move for an address to his majesty, "praying that his majesty would be graciously pleased to inform the house who it was that advised

his majesty to return the answer to the city of London, respecting the expedition to the Scheldt, that his majesty had not deemed it necessary to "institute any inquiry."

The Earl of Liverpool said, if the object of the noble marquis was merely to know who it was that advised his majesty to return the answer alluded to, he had not the smallest objection to state, that the whole of his majesty's ministers had concurred in advising his majesty to give that answer, with the exception of the Earl of Chatham, who had not attended the deliberations on that subject. It was open, therefore, to the noble marquis to make that answer the subject of any accusation that he might think it proper to urge against his majesty's ministers. He was prepared to meet the noble marquis on the ground of that answer.—His majesty's ministers had no more right to call on Lord Chatham for papers or documents, than upon the commander of any other expedition. There was no ground for a military inquiry; nor any precedent for an inquiry in the case of conjoint military and naval service; nor could it, with any propriety, take place, where the military and naval code differed in so many material points. The only place in which a case of that kind could be fully gone into was parliament, and to parliament it had been referred. The original design of the expedition was, that the attack upon Antwerp should be simultaneous with that on Walcheren, which proceeded on the supposition, that Flushing might have been masked while the attack was made on Antwerp.



werp. He still thought, that to attempt the destruction of the naval preparations at Antwerp was worth encountering a considerable risk. That this design was frustrated, was not to be attributed to any fault or failure in the plan, or in the execution of it; to any neglect on the part of the executive government, or to any misconduct in the army or navy, but to the elements. The failure in the main object of the expedition was to be attributed solely to the difficulties arising from the unusual state of the weather at that season.

The Earl of Rosslyn admitted, that considerable difficulties arose from the difference of the naval and military code, in instituting a general inquiry into the conduct of a conjoint expedition. But the existence of such difficulties rendered it the duty of ministers to pave the way for practical investigation, by calling on the commanders-in-chief of the two services, for reports of the occurrences which fell within their respective departments, which would furnish the details, out of which any *prima facie* charges might arise of a deviation from instructions, or delay, negligence, or want of energy in their execution.—Ministers justified the late expedition, by saying, that it was intended to be a *coup de main*; and that the success of it essentially depended on rapidity of execution and simultaneous co-operation. But if simultaneous co-operation was to be the life and soul of the enterprise, how came they to plan an expedition which was to sail in three or four successive divisions? And if it were so to sail, on what

data did they calculate that the wind and weather were to be exactly such as would favour the junction of the whole, at a given period, at the point of debarkation? The fact was, to the doubts and difficulties suggested by Sir Richard Strachan, they shut their eyes, and winked hard. To the admiral they said, “Go, go; we have complete confidence in you. Every thing will go on well.” From Lord Chatham all these difficulties were studiously concealed. To him they said, “you will find every thing ready to your hand. You will find Flushing invested, and cut off from all reinforcements and supplies. And you will have nothing to do but proceed as fast as possible, up the western Scheldt, to Antwerp.” That the failure of the expedition did not, in the genuine opinion of ministers, proceed from the want of simultaneous co-operation, was evident, from Lord Castlereagh’s dispatch of the 24th of August, in which he congratulated Lord Chatham on the fall of Flushing, and expressed a confident hope, that he would proceed to accomplish the ulterior objects of the expedition with the same zeal, vigour, and perseverance that had been hitherto displayed.—Lord Rosslyn having stated several points on which, in his opinion, his majesty’s ministers ought long ago to have called for explanation, proceeded to consider the tendency of Sir Richard Strachan’s dispatch of the 27th of August, the period when the ulterior object of the expedition was finally abandoned. He severely censured ministers for having published that dispatch, without determining on inquiry; because,



because, having been given in a garbled shape, its immediate effect was, to point the censure of the public against Lord Chatham. The gallant admiral had given the same satisfactory account of it at Walcheren that he had recently given in the house of commons, namely, that he had never conceived it was to be made public, and that he had no other object in it, than to pass a merited encomium on the force under his immediate command. But why did ministers publish only an extract of the dispatch? Sir Richard had therein informed them of an impending scarcity of provisions. Not a word of this had come out; because to have stated, that there remained only a supply for ten days in store, while our force amounted to 70,000 men, would have been to tell the public, that there was an end of the expedition.—Lord Rosslyn disclaimed any idea, in what he stated, of throwing any imputation whatever on Sir Richard Strachan, or the navy. He considered Sir Richard as an ornament to his profession, and was convinced that he, his officers, and seamen, did every thing in their power: nor was there any thing in Lord Chatham's narrative meant to convey an insinuation to the contrary. The facts there stated, would ultimately be found to fix the blame on the board of admiralty.—He also spoke very handsomely of Lord Chatham. Though he had not any connection whatever with him, except what had arisen from the circumstance of serving under his command, he would assert, that he never remarked in that noble lord any want of zeal or energy, or any

deficiency in the qualities requisite for the due discharge of the trust reposed in him. He concluded with some observations on the illiberal treatment which Lord Chatham had received on the part of the public journalists, and particularly those that supported the ministry.

Lord Vassal Holland observed, that if the minister had the information communicated by Lord Chatham at the time they gave the answer to the London address, then they were culpable in a very high degree; for it appeared that one of the commanders did, in his official narrative, accuse the other, which was, unquestionably, a sufficient ground for inquiry. If, again, Lord Chatham had availed himself of his situation, as a privy counsellor, to give that narrative to the king, without the knowledge, not only of the Admiral and the public, but even of his colleagues, what were their lordships to think of such proceedings? Would it be asserted, in that case, that there was not an influence behind the throne, different from that of the ostensible servants of the crown? The Earl of Westmoreland said, that there were no reflections against either of the commanders of the Scheldt expedition in the public documents; and that, therefore, there were no grounds for enquiry.—Lord Mulgrave declared, not only that he had never seen or heard of Lord Chatham's narrative until the 21st of February, but that he had never conceived the possibility of the existence of such a document. He would, however, admit, that had he seen the narrative before the address of the city of London was presented,



presented, he might have advised his majesty to give so far a different answer, as to declare that the result of the expedition was in a state of inquiry. For although he conceived that a complete answer to the insinuations contained in the narrative would be found in the original dispatches, it would have been but justice to require from Sir Richard Strachan a counter statement. It was this sense of justice towards the gallant admiral that had induced him to apprize him of the existence of Lord Chatham's narrative (even before he had time to read it himself) although the rapidity with which the narrative was moved for, and produced in the house of commons, did not permit him to send a copy of it to the gallant admiral. Lord Mulgrave repeated what he had said on the first day of the session, that, in his opinion, the failure of the expedition arose chiefly from adverse winds and unfavourable weather. The Earl of Grey admitted that the question at present before the house lay in a very narrow compass, as it related merely to the propriety of ascertaining whether, on the 20th of December, when the answer was given to the address of the Londoners, ministers were, or were not, in possession of the information which had subsequently come out on that subject. He agreed that ministers ought only to have called upon Lord Chatham for information in the character of commander-in-chief. But he contended that, independently of the narrative of Lord Chatham, there were various circumstances in the dispatches that called for inquiry, especially the change of

measures after the sailing of the expedition. Instances of such cases were detailed by

Lord Grenville. At that period of the debate, Lord Grenville did not think of entering into a consideration of the question, as it bore upon a service which was at once the pride and the bulwark of the nation. But he could not avoid looking at it in a constitutional point of view, when a noble lord, at the head of the admiralty, thought that his ignorance of Lord Chatham's narrative, and the ignorance of the other members of the cabinet, would be sufficient, as it were, to non-suit his noble friend, or to induce him to withdraw his motion.—Lord Grenville said, that in all possible circumstances, he must deprecate that system of double government, which pushes forward one set of men to the ostensible administration, but invests another set of men, concealed from public view, with all the effective powers of government. That was the first time their lordships had on their table any paper shewing the existence of such a system; and he had only to regret, that any set of men could be found to countenance such a system.

On a division of the house for Lord Lansdown's motion,

Contents, 90.

Non-contents, 136.

On the same day, March 2, Mr. Whitbread made a specific motion on the subject of the Earl of Chatham's narrative, in the House of Commons. Mr. Whitbread, after many remarks on the disingenuity of ministers, in setting themselves to frustrate the object of a course of procedure of their

own



own recommendation, namely, that of addressing the crown, came to the immediate object of his present motion. John, Earl of Chatham, he said, had, in a most unconstitutional and clandestine manner, as a minion and a favourite, abused the royal confidence, at the same time, and by the same act, that he violated the most sacred principles of the constitution—John, Earl of Chatham, the late commander-in-chief of the expedition to the Scheldt, did, without any consultation with his colleagues in the cabinet, as Mr. Whitbread most truly believed—without intimating his intention to his brother officer, who commanded the naval force upon that expedition, and wholly unknown, save to the royal personage, whose confidence he had abused, did communicate to that personage a narrative of his proceedings on that expedition, as far back as the 15th of January last. It lay in the possession of the king, wrapped up in impenetrable secrecy—a secrecy desired by him who presented it, until the 14th of February last. At least, it lay wholly undisturbed till the 7th of that month, when, for reasons as yet only known to the Earl of Chatham, it was requested of the king to return it to him for correction. His request was acquiesced in. The alteration that was made, consisted, Lord Chatham himself told them, in the omission of a paragraph, containing an opinion. Yet, when solicited to declare the nature of that opinion, he declared his inability to make that most necessary information. The noble lord was asked, when his narrative, so altered, was again presented to his majesty?

It was tendered to his majesty on the 14th of February. Struck with the peculiarity of the term “tendered,” Mr. Whitbread himself had immediately asked the noble lord, whether the narrative had on that day actually passed into his majesty’s hands? To this his answer was—That it had not. Here then was a narrative, presented on the 15th of January last, containing at least twelve direct charges against the gallant and active officer who commanded the naval force, with an opinion of the noble lord’s affixed. An opinion! Was he not bound to presume that such opinion, so communicated, now not recollected by the noble lord, went to inculcate the naval officer against whom that very charge, now revised, contained, as he before stated, twelve direct charges of misconduct? The unsullied and exalted patriot, who had acquired a title superior to what united kings could bestow, namely, that of the first commoner of England: William, the first Earl of Chatham, in power and out of power; in favour and in disgrace, felt the malignant influence of that secret and monstrous conspiracy, which, he declared, existed behind the throne, and was greater than the throne itself. If its existence was before problematical, it was now before them unmasked and unravelled. Strange fatality! That in the son of that very man who first made the bold and awful annunciation, they should find one of the agents of that occult influence, which the father so long deprecated, and so long resisted? But, in the present instance, was the danger of such an offence limited to a mere abstract



abstract violation of the constitution, and not aggravated by the consequences of any actual evil? See, said Mr. Whitbread, what the noble Lord has done, and extend your thoughts to what might probably have been the consequence of such conduct. Could he have devised any thing more likely to produce dissensions between the military and naval service, and all that frightful train of evils, to which such a calamity would lead? But, as circumstances have now unfolded themselves, I am not at all apprehensive of such consequences. Now, that the dark and clandestine intrigue is exposed in open day light, no difference between the two branches of the public service can exist. I will not charge the noble lord directly with the intention of creating any disunion between the naval and the military branches of the service, but I beg leave to call the attention of the house to the contradiction which exists between his own statements, together with their variance with the truth which his majesty's answer has unfolded. Mr. Whitbread having enumerated instances of this, proceeded; "Compare these statements with what we now know to have passed before, and there is, I contend, no necessity for comment. Compare his examination on the 22d of February with his examination on the 27th, and there is, I contend, no necessity for comment. Yet, after all these statements, shall it be contended, that, although twelve direct accusations are conveyed against the navy, there existed no intention or wish on the part of the noble lord, to impute blame to that quarter?

What! was the noble lord to throw fire-brands in sport?"

Mr. Whitbread concluded with moving, 1. "That it appears to this house that John, Earl of Chatham, having requested his majesty to permit him to present his report to his majesty, and having also requested that his majesty would not communicate it for the present, did, on the 15th of January last, privately transmit to his majesty a paper, bearing date the 15th of October preceding, and purporting to be a narrative of his proceedings as commander-in-chief of his majesty's land forces in the late expedition to the Scheldt; and that he withheld all knowledge thereof, both from his majesty's ministers, and the admiral commanding in the said expedition, whose conduct is materially implicated in the said narrative; that the same was, on the 10th of February last, returned to him by his majesty's command, in consequence of his own request; and that, on the 14th of February, he again tendered the said narrative to his majesty, the same having been altered, by the suppression of a paragraph, containing matter of opinion, the substance of which this house, by the examination of the said Earl of Chatham, has not been able to ascertain.—2. That the Earl of Chatham, by private communication to his majesty, accompanied by a desire of secrecy, did unconstitutionally abuse the privilege of access to his sovereign, and thereby afford an example most pernicious in its tendency to his majesty's service, and to the general service of the state."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer



quer asked if Mr. Whitbread had not raised considerable prejudices against the individual whose conduct he had so fully discussed, by contrasting the evidence given by him on the 22d with that of the 27th, where it appeared to be of an unfavourable nature? Was it too much to require a short time to consider of it? What advantage could there be in passing the resolutions moved for on a Friday, that could not be gained if they were not decided on till Monday? If the conduct of the noble lord had been such as had been imputed to him, he should think the resolutions submitted to the house not sufficiently severe. If Lord Chatham's narrative was intended to injure the character of Sir R. Strachan, why did he keep it back at all? The noble lord, acting as he did, was not, certainly, correctly right. But he might, in some degree, have been driven into the measure by the popular feeling excited against him. Though, in the review he took of his conduct, he could see error, he could not accede to the resolutions. He did not wish to evade the subject. He merely wished to give the house a fair opportunity of reviewing the whole of the evidence. He had no objection to state what line of conduct he intended to pursue on Monday. He should move the previous question. He concluded with moving an adjournment of the debate till Monday.

Mr. Brand said, that a splendid victory might apologise for a general's overstepping his duty. But here a favourite of the court was seen availing himself of the ear of his sovereign to prepossess him

against another officer, in another branch of the service. His conduct was highly unconstitutional. The question was, in fact, a question of constitutional law, not at all one of a personal application. If the evidence delivered that day had affected that constitutional question, he should have been the most eager to postpone the consideration of it. As the question stood, he confessed it could have little effect on his decision.—Mr. Bathurst did not wish to procrastinate, but he wished it to be impossible to say that this had been treated like a party question. It was a question of great constitutional importance, in the consideration of which time was no object.—Mr. Whitbread was willing to consent that the debate should be adjourned till Monday, on the express condition that nothing, so far as the Chancellor of the Exchequer was concerned, should be suffered to interfere, to prevent that business from coming on first on Monday.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer acceded to Mr. Whitbread's proposition.—The debate on the Earl of Chatham's narrative was accordingly resumed on Monday the 5th of March.

General Crawford said, that such an intention as that of poisoning the king's mind against a gallant brother officer, never occurred to Lord Chatham's mind. If the noble earl had incurred blame by putting his narrative in the hands of his majesty, without the privity or consent of his colleagues, he trusted that the house, under all the circumstances of the case, would consider it as a venial error. Lord Chatham foresaw that



that some inquiry would take place. He knew that the moment the paper was in an official form it would be called for. He wished it to remain private for a short time, and not to offer it officially before it became necessary to his defence. If it were possible that he could have harboured the views attributed to him, would he have kept it back from the time of his arrival in October, until the January following? Why did he deliver it then? Because parliament was about to meet. Had not Lord Chatham daily opportunities of personal communication with his majesty? And therefore, had it been his intention to prejudice the king against the gallant admiral, would he not have used any of those opportunities for conveying his accusations verbally, in a way which would have left no trace behind, instead of making his statement in a written narrative, which he knew must remain as a document, and which he meant to become official.

Mr. C. W. Wynne observed, that it was now admitted, even by the honourable general who had just sat down, that the conduct of Lord Chatham had been erroneous. Was the House of Commons then, by not agreeing to the resolutions of his honourable friend, to put it on their journals that such conduct was not erroneous? For that would be the effect of voting the previous question to be moved for. It would be to hold out to all military men an encouragement to follow the same practice with Lord Chatham. It would, in any such case, be open to them to give in any statement, containing any charges,

against other officers, with a request of secrecy, and without communicating it to the confidential servants of the crown, at least those who were formerly considered as confidential servants. And then, if it was likely that the paper should be called for by that house, all they would have to do, would be, to demand the statement back, and expunge such passages as contained the most objectionable charges. This principle, he was persuaded, the house would never sanction. It had been argued, that the statement was not official till the 14th of February, when Lord Chatham, by his majesty's command, had given it in to the Secretary of State. Mr. Wynne could not conceive any thing that could ever more satisfactorily prove the statement to be official, than that it was given to his majesty, with the signature, "Chatham, Lieutenant-General." If it had not been an official document till the 14th of February, what act of Lord Chatham made it official then? If his majesty had directed the noble earl to give the narrative in the regular way to the Secretary of State in the first instance, could it be said that the paper was not official? When they recollected how they had come at the knowledge of such a paper having been presented to his majesty—when they weighed all the circumstances of the case, and looked to the conduct of Lord Chatham, it was impossible for them to be so insensible to what was due to their own character and dignity, as to declare, by their vote, that such conduct was in the slightest degree justifiable.



Mr. Stephen observed, that the motion was founded on the mere abstract fact that the Earl of Chatham did present a paper to his majesty, desiring, at the same time, that it might be kept secret; and that on this foundation it was assumed that the noble lord, a cabinet counsellor, had violated that sacred system, the British constitution. If the principle was laid down, that the mere presenting a paper, and requesting that it might be kept secret, was a violation of the constitution, he must deny that it was any violation of the constitution. In what law or charter, in what dictum, even of any theorist, could it be shewn to have been laid down, that to present a paper to the king, and to require secrecy concerning it, was a violation of the constitution? In the practice of this country, and the progress of its constitution, he ventured to assert, that no such principle had been countenanced; and it was only from our written law, and established precedent, that we could judge upon such a question. He did not stand there to defend the noble lord from the imputation of error. He admitted, with other gentlemen who had already spoken on that occasion, that the noble lord had acted erroneously, and unbecomingly; and that he would have acted in a way more befitting himself, and more properly towards the house, if he had at first declared what had passed. But he could not go the length of saying, that the noble lord had violated the constitution. It was not because a thing had a dangerous tendency, that it was to be visited in the way the present motion suggested. Lux-

ury was dangerous to the constitution. But it would rather be going too far to contend, that, because a man chose to give a voluptuous entertainment, he should be severely censured, as guilty of an offence against the constitution. He could mention other things, which were still more dangerous—party spirit—factious combination. These were infinitely more dangerous than the influence of the crown, of which so much had lately been said. But he was sure gentlemen on the other side would not say that those who were guilty of such dangerous practices, were on that account to have their conduct stigmatized in the manner now contended for. Mr. Stephen thought that there was another question of very material importance, namely, whether, though the motion proposed might at one time or other be thought proper, this was the time? In his opinion the noble lord had been hardly dealt with, in having been made the object of unfounded clamour, unjust prejudice, and unbounded calumny. From what he had read of the evidence, he was satisfied not only that there was no ground for the censure re-echoed by various journals against the noble lord, but that he did all that could be done: and that he had even had the merit of saving the army, of which he had the command, on perceiving that he had already done all that could be effected. He could not admit presumptions to weigh against the noble lord, who certainly had some hereditary claims to a patient hearing in that house. He had also dispensed with his privilege, and come to the bar of the house to be examined, thereby clearly



clearly shewing that he had no wish for the concealment of any part of his conduct. The accusers of Lord Chatham turn round on him even when making his defence, and tell him, "We will punish you even for the defence you wish to make. It is a libel." In any court to do so would be deemed an act of injustice. Mr. Stephen had received no favours from the late Mr. Pitt. He was scarcely known to him. There were, however, gentlemen in that house who stood in a very different situation. He called on them to assist him—to see that the son of Lord Chatham, and the brother of Mr. Pitt, should at least have justice done him. He was not one of those who thought that the merits of an illustrious father should excuse the offences, or even the faults of the son. But, at the same time, he would not pluck stones from the monument of the father to bruise the head of the son. The error into which the noble lord had fallen, was, in a great measure, to be pardoned, when he found himself loaded with calumny, though in his anxiety to vindicate himself in the eyes of his royal master, he had forgot the mode and manner. Nor was it to be forgotten, that Lord Chatham was not the first who had thought proper to offer what might be deemed justifications of themselves. Dispatches from the naval officers had been received which could be construed into nothing else. Mr. Stephen concluded with observing, that the resolutions moved for were such as he could not assent to as an honest man. They would, at least, be premature, if they were themselves just, which he did not admit; and

therefore he now moved the previous question.

Mr. Brougham was ready to assent to every commendation that had been bestowed on the general character and conduct of Lord Chatham. True it was, that Lord Chatham had been most grossly calumniated, and basely traduced, by the whole of the press under the controul of the government. Until the commencement of the present inquiry, the impression on the public mind was, that the lamentable disappointment of all the sanguine hopes of the country, from the powerful expedition to the Scheldt, was wholly owing to Lord Chatham. Such was the effect of the base and unprincipled calumnies against Lord Chatham, asserted with confidence, and uncontradicted by authority. But it was admitted, by his honourable and learned friend [Mr. Stephen] that the conduct of Lord Chatham had been improper, and unbecoming. There was then but a trifling difference between what was thus admitted, and what was contended for by those who supported the resolutions. It was so minute and unpalpable, that he was surprised it should produce any variance of opinion. Mr. Brougham came next to shew how the conduct of Lord Chatham was a violation of the constitution. There was nothing stated in the resolutions charging any part of the contents of the narrative as a breach of the constitution. It was the privacy with which the affair was conducted, coupled with the request of secrecy, that constituted the violation of the constitution. It might be difficult for him, perhaps, to point out any particular act of parliament making such conduct



a violation of the constitution. But he could confidently appeal to any one of those sound and established principles, of which the constitution was made up, or rather which formed the constitution itself. Was it not necessary that the constitutional ministers of the crown should communicate with each other constitutionally and confidentially, on all public affairs? That they should execute the business of the government with united councils, and mutual advice and co-operation? Under the influence of any other system than that of mutual advice and co-operation among ministers, if an expedition were determined on by the cabinet, one minister might suppose that the object in view might be best attained by artillery, another by infantry, another (as in the late case) by *a coup de main*; whilst another might give the preference to a division of light horse. Every one might have a different opinion, and all agree only in one thing, that their advice should be kept snug and secret in the possession of his majesty. Was it possible to conceive any degree of confusion worse confounded than would result from such a state of ministerial separation? It had been argued, that it was impossible for the house to come to any final decision on the question before them, as the inquiry was not yet brought to a conclusion. But Mr. Brougham reminded the house, that the charge against Lord Chatham, for the secrecy of this unconstitutional proceeding, formed a distinct and entire act, the decision upon which could have no effect whatever upon the progress or termination of the inquiry. They

had the admission of Lord Chatham and the answer of Lord Chatham to establish the fact. And he should wish to know whether, if they were to reject the resolutions, there would not be an end in future of all responsibility on the part of his majesty's ministers?

Mr. Banks reminded the honourable and learned gentleman, when he talked of the constitutional obligation of the members of the cabinet to act in concert, that the cabinet council was wholly unknown to the constitution. It was an institution of modern introduction, and might have been an imitation, as it certainly was an improvement, of the *cabal* of a former reign. But the learned gentleman, he apprehended, would not easily find any act or statute, by which the relative duties of the members of the cabinet were defined. In old times, the privy counsellors were the advisers of the king. The ground on which he had voted for the address, on a former night, was not connected with any constitutional principle; but simply this, that the house having had one narrative laid upon its table, and having reason to suspect that another, and a previous one, was in existence, he could see no good ground why the house should call for the second, and not for the first. With regard to the question immediately under consideration, he should be glad to be informed on what constitutional grounds it was that a cabinet minister, one of his majesty's confidential servants, should not have direct access to his majesty? If such a person should give his sovereign advice, without consulting or communicating with his



his colleagues, that would certainly be an offence towards them, but no violation of the constitution. Could not Lord Chatham, after the termination of the expedition on which he had been employed, constitutionally give in writing, that statement of his proceedings, which he might verbally communicate to his sovereign? It had been said, that the part expunged contained serious charges against the gallant admiral who commanded the naval part of the conjoint force. If that were so, it would be an immoral and criminal act, but not a violation of the constitution. Nor was this point adverted to in the resolutions. The constitution, Mr. Banks observed, was an old work. There were many editions of it; and every one had its own reading. He should tremble for the consequences, if once a majority in the House of Commons, on the first view of such a case as that under consideration, should take upon itself capriciously to declare what was the law of the constitution. The constitution had powers to guard it from invasion. The responsibility of ministers for the advice they gave to their sovereign, was one of those powers. But for advice not acted upon, there could be no responsibility, because there was no practical result, and, consequently, no guard provided. His majesty's ministers were responsible, whether the advice came from secret advisers, from the king, or from themselves. Mr. Banks did not wish to shelter himself under the previous question, but would be ready to meet the resolutions with a direct negative. He proceeded to contend, that the narrative in its amended

form, contained no charges against the admiral or navy, and that it had been amended at a time when Lord Chatham had no idea that he should be examined before that house.

The Earl of Temple was surprised at the constitutional ideas of Mr. Banks. It had been triumphantly asked, what principle of the constitution had been violated by Lord Chatham's conduct? Was it then nothing, that he had assumed to himself the office of giving clandestine evidence, in his own cause, and for his own defence; or that he had put himself into the situation, to poison the royal ear against the affection, the loyalty, and the fame of his faithful people? As to the considerations due to the talents and virtues of the great Earl of Chatham, and the late Mr. Pitt, when it was considered, in what the merits of that admirable father, and lamented brother consisted, he was surprised, that the house should be forced to look on that picture and on this. It was the similarity, not of name, but of principles, that was required to sustain the characters of men. Mr. Johnstone, after hearing the speeches of his learned friend, Mr. Stephen, and of Mr. Banks, was converted to the opinion, that the conduct of Lord Chatham had not been more unconstitutional than the conduct of the late Duke of Portland, and Mr. Canning, in the secret advice given by them, respecting their colleague, Lord Castlereagh. His idea of the affair was, that Lord Chatham had acted improperly, not as a cabinet counsellor, but as a general of the army, and he wished that some resolution should be adopted, to prevent the recurrence



of such a proceeding in future. But he was not prepared to adopt the strong resolutions proposed.

Lord Folkstone observed, that it was a principle in the constitution, that the king's advisers should be responsible to the country, for the consequences of their advice. Now he contended, that if advice was allowed to be given in the same manner as Lord Chatham had communicated his narrative, and with the same request of secrecy, it would be impossible to be furnished with that overt act, the possession of which was indispensably necessary, to manifest the intention of the individual. Much had been said of the unfairness of imputing motives to Lord Chatham.—That noble lord must have been actuated by some motives or other, be what they might; for his own part, he had no other way of judging of any man's motives than by his actions; and he confessed, that in the present instance, he thought Lord Chatham's conduct of a nature to warrant the strongest suspicion of his motives. In the capacity, not of a peer and privy counsellor, but of a general officer, he had obtruded on his majesty's military report, exclusive in its nature, and yet bearing reference in every line of it, to a party that had not the same advantage; and anticipating that judgment which was to be formed only upon the fair public sources of investigation. A standing army had always, in this free country, been thought dangerous to liberty. It was most dangerous to countenance that illegal conjunction of the civil and military duties of the subject; by which one was made necessary to the other, and both

ruinous to the general order of regulated liberty. In addition to that standing army, we had now in pay an immense body of foreigners, not less than thirty battalions. A district of Great Britain had been lately commanded by a foreign officer, a man neither a native nor naturalized in this country. Might not such an alien, following the precedent of Lord Chatham, by virtue of his office as a general, poison the royal mind, and, while the nation were stupidly gazing on the daring act, which their weakness permitted, overturn the constitution?

It may here be proper to state the leading question now before the house, which had led, very naturally, in such an assembly as the House of Commons, into much free digression. It was allowed, on all hands, that, according to the constitution, the king could do no wrong, and that ministers were responsible to the country, that is, to parliament, for their own conduct in carrying the measures of government into execution. But it was contended, that there was no law against giving secret advice to the king, and that then only were ministers responsible for any secret advice they might have given when it was acted upon; when there was a practical result. This was, in fact, the main point on which the decision of the most momentous question, before the house, turned. And it was treated in a manner suited to its importance by a member distinguished for his profound knowledge of parliamentary law, and the constitutional or fundamental law of this country.

Mr. W. Adam, after some pre-  
fatory



fatory matter, respecting the importance of the question, and the personal regard he entertained for Lord Chatham, expressed his surprise and astonishment, that gentlemen of such knowledge, ability, and experience, as Mr. Stephen and Mr. Bankes, should ask, where is the charter—where the statute—where the written decree, violated by the proceeding of the Earl of Chatham? When the great body of the municipal law of the country, the common law of England, was technically characterized as unwritten, did a lawyer ask that question? When the great and most valuable part of the law of parliament and of the constitution, had never been inserted in any charter, statute, or written decree, did an old and experienced member of parliament ask that question? It was from the practice of parliament, from the usage of our ancestors, confirmed and perfected, by the invaluable usage of modern times, that we were to derive the law of parliament, and of the constitution. The practice of the constitution formed the law of the constitution. From the history of the country, even the least settled and most uninformed periods of our annals, Mr. Adam shewed, that it was a clear and well ascertained principle of the constitution, that to give bad counsel to the king was in itself and by itself, most criminal against the state; prosecutable and punishable, according to the practice and usage of parliament. If it were otherwise, he asked, how could we come at any guilty adviser without coupling an act with the advice? He examined the doctrine of the hon. gentlemen, by the analogy of the law of high

treason. Did the laws of treason require, that the intention of the traitor should be carried into effect, in order to constitute that heinous crime? As to the allegation of Mr. Bankes, that a cabinet council was unknown to the constitution, Mr. Adam observed, that the king had, at all times selected certain persons of the privy council, in whom he more particularly confided, and by whose advice he more particularly acted. That selection in the reign of Charles II. was nick-named "The Cabal."—Now-a-days it was called a Cabinet Council. But in reality, it was a selection of the privy council, who was at all times known to the law and the constitution. That the conduct of Lord Chatham was against the practical constitution of the country, Mr. Adam proceeded to prove from history, and great legal authorities. He pointed out also the evil effects in practice, attending such a course as the delivery of the narrative by the Earl of Chatham—on the most conscientious conviction, that he had delivered the true doctrine of the constitution, he felt himself bound to vote in the terms of the second resolution, "That the Earl of Chatham, by private communication to his majesty, &c."

The Solicitor General observed, that the main ingredient, in the alledged criminality of Lord Chatham, was the secrecy requested. But this was only temporary. And what one object could that kind of temporary secrecy answer? His lordship had, of his own free motion, made that secret paper public. Mr. Ponsonby contended, that the proceeding of Lord Chatham was most unconstitutional;



and that there was no other word that could precisely express the nature of the offence which he had committed, and which demanded the censure of the house. If there had been any statute against that offence, the proper definition of Lord Chatham's conduct would have been, that it was illegal, and that house would then have carried the matter to the House of Lords, by impeachment. Mr. Ponsonby, in the course of his speech, made some very just, as well as interesting observations, on the connection between national character and government. It was to the constitution, he said, as established at the revolution, that we owed the character of the people of this country. It was owing to that constitution that there was less caballing than in any other European country; that even in political hostility there was more openness and candour; that this character was not confined to ministers and public men, but spread over the whole mass of the population. In the whole of the nation, there was more of probity, and less secret intrigue and duplicity, than in any other European nation, and this we owed to the constitution; of which, as had been observed by his learned and honourable friend, Mr. Adam, in his able and eloquent speech; the grand foundation was the complete irresponsibility of the king, and the complete responsibility of the ministers. But if such proceedings, as that of Lord Chatham, were to be passed over without notice, what would be the consequence? Instead of that candid and open frankness, which distinguished the higher, as well as the

lower, classes of the community, we should sink to that degraded character, which had been the ruin of so many nations of Europe.

Mr. Canning was not prepared to go the length of the second resolution. He was not, however, prepared to support the doctrine of Mr. Bankes, that the transaction was not unconstitutional. The second resolution, therefore, he would wish to see modified. He had drawn up a few lines, not with any intention of moving them himself, but for the purpose of submitting them to the consideration of the house, for any honourable member to adopt, who might approve of them. The modification he proposed was, "That the house saw with regret, that any such communication as the narrative of Lord Chatham, should have been made to his majesty, without any knowledge of the other ministers; that such conduct is highly reprehensible, and deserves the censure of the house." Mr. Bathurst was perfectly prepared to vote a censure, though not to institute any farther proceeding. Lord Castlereagh agreed with Mr. Canning, that the most moderate expression of the sense of the house would be best suited to the present occasion. Yet he could have no hesitation in pronouncing the act in question to be unconstitutional, and such an act, as if brought into precedent, might produce much serious mischief.

Mr. Windham thought the conduct of Lord Chatham wrong towards his colleagues in office, and still more towards Sir Richard Strachan. But though he allowed it to be highly improper, he could not agree, that it was unconstitutional.



tional. He saw no reason for concluding, that the secrecy of the communication was to be indefinite; neither did he think the paper contained a charge against any person, unless, in as far as an attempt, on the part of the noble lord, to exonerate himself, might be supposed to imply blame in others. The best excuse for Lord Chatham, in not communicating his narrative to his colleagues in the first instance was, that from the situation of the government at home, he did not know who his colleagues were, and therefore went to the fountain head. He would, however, vote for Mr. Whitbread's motion.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer expressed great surprise at the conclusion of Mr. Windham's speech, as his arguments were all on one side, and the vote he was to give on the other. It was unquestionably Lord Chatham's intention in writing that narrative, which was his statement and defence, to make it public at some period. He did conceive that it was unconstitutional to communicate that statement directly to his majesty, with a charge of secrecy. This, however, was not a crime, but a venial error, from which no practical inconvenience had occurred. If so, the justice of the case might be satisfied, by adopting the previous question; which would imply, that the offence was of a nature so slight as not to call for a serious judgment. Mr. Whitbread replied to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and also to Mr. Banks, and to Mr. Stephen. He was asked, "Will you be so inhuman as to tear the stones from the monument of the father, to

bruise the head of the son?" He would appeal to those, who had opportunities of judging of his habits and feelings, whether in private life he was capable of violating any of those social affections that bound man to man. But here he was not his own master.—He would discharge his duty as an honest and independent servant of the people, and hold up the proud, noble, and constitutional conduct of William, Earl of Chatham, as a glaring contrast with the suspicious, clandestine, and unconstitutional conduct of John, Earl of Chatham. Mr. Whitbread, in the course of his speech, animadverted, in some instances with severity, on the inconsistencies in the evidence given by Lord Chatham, on his examination. There were other inconsistencies, he said, which it was not now necessary for him to dwell on, as they had been so clearly pointed out by his right honourable friend, Mr. Ponsonby.—He trusted, in conclusion, that the house would not suffer the Right Honourable Chancellor of the Exchequer to take refuge under the shabby shelter of the previous question, and give the country an opportunity of saying, that parliament dare not to do its duty. General Loft vindicated the conduct of Lord Chatham, and assured the house, that the noble lord had expressed to him his readiness to come back, and answer to any points in his evidence, that were supposed to want explanation. General Grosvenor, as to the alledged inconsistencies in the noble lord's evidence, said, he had hoped, that the noble lord, in the conversation he had held with Mr. Whitbread, at the bar, had



had satisfied the honourable gentleman, that there was nothing contradictory in his answer. His lordship gave his evidence, one of the days, he could not recollect which, under the disadvantage of indisposition. He was fatigued by the length of the examination. In fact, he was quite done up.

On a division of the house, which had become exceedingly clamorous for the question, there appeared

For the previous question, 188.

Against it, 221.

Mr. Whitbread's first motion was carried, and he waved the second. Mr. Canning then proposed the amendment mentioned in his speech; and Mr. Whitbread seconded it. This motion being also carried, Mr. Whitbread moved that the resolutions agreed to, be laid before his majesty, by such

members as were of his majesty's most honourable privy council: on which some members exclaimed, "By the whole house." This proposition called up Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. B. Bathurst, both of whom concurred in the wish, that nothing of heat or personality might appear upon the proceedings of the house. The main object had been obtained, by recording on the journals, the sense the house entertained of the transaction, in a constitutional point of view; and proceeding any further would not be for the dignity of the house. Mr. Whitbread coincided entirely with this observation, and with the consent of the house, withdrew his motion.

In consequence of these resolutions, Lord Chatham resigned his office of master-general of the ordnance.



## CHAP. V.

*Summary View of the Impolicy and Misconduct of the Expedition to the Scheldt.—Resolutions moved by Lord Porchester on that Subject.—Debate of four Days.—Lord Porchester's Resolutions negatived.—The Conduct of Ministers with regard to the Policy of the Expedition to Walcheren approved.—The Retention of Walcheren also approved.*

THE discussion respecting the Earl of Chatham's narrative, formed a kind of episode in the general inquiry into the Scheldt expedition; but that episode of a nature still more interesting than the main action itself, as involving a question, on the decision of which nothing less depended than the liberty of the country, with all the blessings in her train, or the degradation, torpor, and vices of despotism. While the energies of a country are preserved and fostered by liberty, errors in policy and war may be repaired. Where liberty is extinct, the victories of the despot serve only to rivet the chains that bind his unhappy subjects. Under the impression of this great truth, our intelligent readers will admit the propriety of bestowing a greater proportion of space in our annals on the discussion of a principle, fundamental to political and civil liberty, than on the causes of the failure of any particular project, on the part of government; though this, at the time, might excite greater interest and livelier passions.

House of Commons, March 21. The committee appointed to enquire into the policy and conduct of the expedition to the Scheldt, having finished their long and

painful labours, Lord Porchester, who was the principal manager, as well as mover of the investigation, rose to submit a series of resolutions, declaratory of his sentiments, on that most important subject, which had occupied so much of their attention, since the commencement of the present session.—Of the expedition in general, Lord Porchester said, he had hoped to find, that such dreadful failures were, at least, in part attributable to those uncontrollable causes, which are incident to all the operations of war, and enterprises dependent for their success, on the state of the elements. But what had the disastrous issue of this expedition proved? To be the result of predicted and anticipated causes. It had verified every prediction, and realized every fear, expressed by all those most competent to decide upon its policy and practicability, but whose opinion, on this occasion, his majesty's ministers did not deem it expedient to follow. This position Lord Porchester proceeded to establish, by a clear and comprehensive analysis of the evidence, taken at their bar. The commander in chief, Sir David Dundas, had given it as his opinion, June 3, 1809, that in whatever



ever way Antwerp was to be approached or taken, the service was one of very great risk, and in which the safe return of the army so employed might be very precarious, from the opposition made, and the time consumed in the operation, which enabled the enemy, in a short time, to assemble a great force, from every part of the Netherlands, and Holland, and even from Westphalia, and from the course of the Rhine; as well as from the frontier of France. General Calvert had stated the utter impossibility of laying down any thing in the shape of detailed reasoning, without a knowledge of local circumstances, and to what extent those circumstances would admit of a naval co-operation. Colonel Gordon had given it as his opinion, so far back as the 29th of May, that the first operation necessary, would be to get possession of Cadsand and South Beveland. And yet it was not until the expedition had actually failed, that it had occurred to his majesty's ministers, to consider of the necessity of taking possession of these places, or of hinting at it, in the instructions given to the officers entrusted with the execution of this project. The inference, with which Colonel Gordon concluded his observations was, "that this attempt would be a most desperate enterprise, cannot be doubted; and that in the attempt, whether successful or otherwise, a very large portion of our navy would be put to imminent hazard."

The next opinion taken by the commander in chief, was that of General Brownrigg, whose opinion respecting the ulterior and main

object of the expedition, the destruction of the arsenals at Antwerp, was, "That a force passing over from Walcheren to South Beveland, would take possession of Landvliet, on the main land; and the distance from thence to Antwerp being only six leagues, might succeed in taking the latter place by a *coup de main*." Of all the plans proposed, Lord Porchester considered this as by far the most extravagant and impracticable. The next opinion taken was that of General Hope, who was of opinion, that an attempt to take Antwerp by a *coup de main*, in the only way which was at all practicable, would be "attended with great risk to the force employed, without, perhaps, any adequate security for the attainment of its object."

Here then were five military opinions, four of them decidedly adverse, and the fifth not favourable to the expedition. His majesty's government next applied to two naval officers, Sir Home Popham and Sir Richard Strachan. Sir Home Popham, in his memoranda, particularly pressed two points, namely, "That the troops should be embarked in ships of war, as transports were a great impediment to promptitude in attack, and that, as the season was advancing, the expedition should be ready to sail by the 26th or 27th of June, about the time of the full moon." The ships of war were not to proceed up the Scheldt, and the hopes of promptitude were enlivened by the vast number of horses sent out, as well as by not dispatching the expedition, which ought to have sailed on the 27th of June, till the 27th of July. Sir Richard



Richard Strachan assured the noble lord at the head of the admiralty, that he entertained but very little hope of ultimate success at Antwerp. Nothing was communicated to him on the subject of the difficulties of going up to Antwerp: but he remembered, that when he remarked, that all he thought could be done, would be the reduction of Walcheren, Lord Mulgrave replied, that the country would be little satisfied with doing nothing more with such an armament than taking Walcheren. Upon the repetition of his fears, the noble lord assured him that he had the fullest confidence of success; and that he had reason to think they should do very well.—As to the plan of the expedition, Lord Porchester confessed that, with all his anxiety and industry to obtain information, he had not been able to learn what was the nature of the arrangement proposed. His own conviction was, that there were as many plans, as departments, engaged in the expedition. Lord Castlereagh's plan, if one might guess from the outline, was to make a dash, which disdained to stop at even the most desperate risks and appalling dangers. The plan of the admiralty, at least that fixed on at the sailing, was much more prudent, as it did not hazard the navy in a most intricate navigation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer's whole attention was absorbed in calculating on that arrangement which should convey the expedition with the least possible quantity of dollars. To what plan the Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Canning) was more particularly attached, he could not tell. But it was pro-

bable that he, too, just at that time, had some little plan of his own, which he did not communicate to his colleagues. The admiral appeared to have a plan; but the commander in chief appeared to have had no plan. From the whole of his examination it was clear that he had not, at any time during the campaign, considered of any plan at all. Neither was there any pointed out to him in the instructions of government. It was difficult, therefore, Lord P. declared, for him to settle what plan he should proceed to discuss; but he should, at all events, endeavour to follow up what seemed to have been the intention of the government. The general understanding, he said, of the business seemed to be, that part of the army was, in the first place, to take possession of the island of Walcheren, and another corps to take Cadsand: the main body was to advance to Landvliet. This was so far the apparent plan, which, however, in some of the documents before the house, was said, in not very intelligible language, to relate to a “second, ulterior, *simultaneous*, and *subsequent* operation.” But this ulterior, *simultaneous*, and *subsequent* operation was given up, because the commander in chief apprehended that, before he could proceed in it, he should have to undertake, perhaps, two or three preliminary sieges. Lord Porchester proceeded to point out, and comment on, those parts of the evidence before the house, that bore most directly on the present question, and from all the data that formed the foundation of the expedition against Antwerp, contended that



that it was morally impossible that it should succeed. Ministers had calculated on every circumstance, as if it had been fixed beforehand that it should be in favour of their project. The whole of the disasters and disgrace of the expedition arose from its having been sent out without knowing that it could not succeed but after several sieges; when the only chance of success rested upon the possibility of accomplishing its object without such previous siege, or rather without any siege at all.

Lord Porchester, having considered the expedition in a military point of view, came to the retention of our troops in the pernicious climate of Walcheren, after the ulterior and main objects of the expedition were abandoned. When Lord Chatham relinquished those objects, why had not Flushing been completely destroyed, and the army withdrawn from that frightful scene of contagion and death, whilst it could yet be called an army? Why were our soldiery left to the ravages of the peculiar malady of the marshes of Walcheren without immediate relief? Ministry were informed by Sir Eyre Coote, that there were 8,000 sick in the island in the month of September. How could the delay in sending out relief have happened, when Sir Eyre Coote had written so pressingly for blankets, and warm clothing and medicines? With regard to the idea of the expedition operating as a great diversion in favour of Austria, it was most extravagant to suppose that any feeble efforts of ours, at that dreadful period, could have controlled the destinies of the continent. The

only instance of its having operated at all in that way, that he could learn, was the return of a battalion or two from Louvain. At the very moment that our ministers were speculating in diversions, France had every where as great a force as was necessary for the complete defence of her vast empire. Even the gazette proved that the expedition was not intended as a diversion in favour of Austria. That country was sensible that it was never intended as such. The world knew it was not; and there was not a cabinet in Europe that did not laugh at those who could be so weak and silly as to have projected it. Under all these considerations, he submitted to the house two sets of resolutions; the first relating to the impolicy or folly of the expedition; the second to the retention of the island of Walcheren, after the great object of the expedition had been abandoned as impracticable.

No. I.—1st. “That on the 28th of July last, and subsequent days, an armament, consisting of 39,000 land forces, thirty-seven sail of the line, two ships of fifty, three of forty-four guns, twenty-four frigates, thirty-one sloops, five bomb-vessels, twenty-three gun-brigs, sailed on the late expedition to the Scheldt, having for its object the capture or destruction of the enemy’s ships, either building at Antwerp or Flushing, or afloat on the Scheldt, the destruction of the arsenals and dock-yards at Antwerp, Torneaux and Flushing, the reduction of the island of Walcheren, and the rendering, if possible, the Scheldt no longer navigable for ships of war.

2d. “That Flushing surrendered



ed on the 15th of August, whereby the reduction of the island of Walcheren was completed; and that on the 27th of August all attempt upon the fleet and arsenals of the enemy at Antwerp was, by the unanimous opinion of the lieutenant-generals, declared to be impracticable, and was abandoned.

3d. "That the destruction of the basin, dock-yard, arsenal, magazines, and naval store-houses, of the town of Flushing, and of such part of the sea defences as it was found proper to destroy, having been effected on the 11th of December, the island of Walcheren was, on the 23d of December, evacuated by his majesty's forces, and the expedition ended.

4th. "That it does not appear to this house, that the failure of the expedition is imputable to the conduct of the army or the navy in the execution of their instructions, relative to the military and naval operations in the Scheldt.

5th. "That on the 19th of August a malignant disorder showed itself amongst his majesty's troops; and that on the 8th of September the number of sick amounted to upwards of 10,948 men.

6th. "That it appears by the report of the physician appointed to investigate the nature and causes of the malady to which his majesty's troops were thus exposed, that the disease is one which prevails periodically in the islands of Zealand, and is of peculiar malignity there, and which constantly follows a law of season appearing towards the end of summer, becoming more severe in the autumnal months, declining in October, and nearly ceasing in November. That

perfect recoveries are rare, convalescence never secure, and that the recurrence of fever quickly lays the foundation of complaints which render a large proportion of the sufferers inefficient for future military purposes.

7th. "That of the army which embarked for service in the Scheldt, 60 officers and 3,900 men, exclusive of those killed by the enemy, had died before the 1st of February last, and on that day 217 officers and 11,296 men were reported sick.

8th. "That the expedition to the Scheldt was undertaken under circumstances which afforded no rational hope of adequate success, and at the precise season of the year when the malignant disease, which has proved so fatal to his majesty's brave troops, was known to be most prevalent; and that the advisers of this ill-judged enterprise are, in the opinion of this house, deeply responsible for the heavy calamities with which its failure has been attended.

No. II:—1st. "That Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote, having on the 9th of September been left in the command of Walcheren with an army of about 15,000 men, did on that day make an official report on the state of the island, the extent of force required effectually to guard it, the nature and condition of its defences, and the number of men then sick and unfit for duty; representing that, after such his exposition, his majesty's ministers would be the best judges of the propriety or possibility of keeping the island; and adding, that the advantages must be great indeed which could compensate the loss of lives and treasure



sure which the retention must necessarily occasion.

2d. "That on the 23d of September Sir Eyre Coote stated to his majesty's ministers, that the alarming progress of disease was such, that if it should continue in the same proportion for three weeks longer (as he added there was every probability that it would) our possession of the island must become very precarious."

3d. "That on the 6th of October Sir Eyre Coote, after stating that the number of sick was increasing, and that the effective force was thereby rendered so trivial as to make the defence of the island, if it should be attacked, extremely precarious, did express his anxiety to be informed of the intentions of his majesty's government as to the future state of Walcheren."

4th. "That notwithstanding these, and many other pressing representations, on the alarming condition of the troops, and the danger to which they were exposed, his majesty's ministers did neglect to come to any decision until the 4th of November, and that the final evacuation of Walcheren did not take place until the 23d of December."

5th. "That on the 10th of September the number of sick in the island of Walcheren was, exclusive of officers, 6,938; and that the total number of sick embarked for England, between the 15th of September and the 16th of November, was 11,199, making in that period an increase of sick of 4,268."

6th. "That although the great object of the expedition had been abandoned as impracticable, a

large proportion of the British army was (without any urgent or determined purpose in view, or any prospect of national advantage to justify such a hazard, or to compensate such a sacrifice) left by his majesty's ministers to the imminent danger of attack from the enemy, and exposed during a period of more than three months, under circumstances of aggravated hardships, to the fatal ravages of a disease, which, on the 31st of August, had been officially announced to be daily increasing to a most alarming degree."

7th. "That such the conduct of his majesty's advisers, calls for the severest censure of this house."

Lord Castlereagh now rose, and, as it requires more time to repel, or to answer to charges, than to make them, his speech was more than twice as long as Lord Porchester's, though that took up several hours. On the considerations that influenced his own conduct, respecting the expedition he was very diffuse. He had courted an investigation of the present question, not less from a sense of duty, than from a deliberate and thorough conviction, that the merits of the expedition stood on a rock, not to be shaken. Having examined, at great length, the professional opinions that were called for from the commander-in-chief, and the principal officers of his staff, he contended, that they were by no means such, under the circumstances in which they were required and given, as ought to have induced ministers to abandon the object which they had in view. Lord Chatham's opinion too, was clearly in favour of the expedition.



expedition. That noble lord had stated in his evidence at the bar that his opinion was never given *formally as an officer*. Was it then to be supposed that Lord Chatham was never consulted on the expedition? or that he did not approve of the expedition? No. It was because his Majesty's government had the advantage of Lord Chatham's opinion in a better and more satisfactory mode. Lord Castlereagh rested very much on the opinions of General Brownrigg, who had expressed his regret that the whole of the armament destined for Santvliet, was not at once carried to the entrance of the West Scheldt, instead of being directed to rendezvous at the Stone-Deep. There was, however, one instance in which Lord Castlereagh did not agree in opinion with General Brownrigg. The General had certainly stated that ten days might possibly have been required to reduce Liefkenshoek. Was it probable, however, that a work not casemated would have resisted so long? But upon the point immediately under consideration, General Brownrigg had distinctly declared that he was, previously to the sailing of the expedition, and still continued to be of opinion, that there was a fair prospect of success had the army arrived at Santvliet early in August.—In what page of our history had Lord Porchester convinced himself that the interests of the empire would be best consulted by banishing enterprize in war from the service, and chilling the martial spirit of the country by the rigid principles of cold precaution and mathematical calculation? Had it been by the observance of such a principle

that our naval power had been raised to its present pre-eminence? or that the triumphs of our army had been brought to rival those of our navy? He was not contending for rash and improvident exposures of the public force. What he contended against was the principle that nothing should be undertaken unless every circumstance bearing on the operation could be previously ascertained, and that nothing should be risked unless success could be demonstrated to be inevitable.

Lord Castlereagh had the house, if they wished to know what prospect of success ministers really had, in the enemy's judgment at least, to look at the measures of precaution he had ordered to be adopted for securing Antwerp, since the attempt on that city was abandoned.—What, Lord Castlereagh asked, would have been the verdict of their opposers if ministers had brought forward such a defence as might have been framed out of the materials upon which they were now inculpated. Could they have justified themselves from the speculative difficulties of the attempt for having left an ally unsupported, and a naval arsenal of such magnitude, and so situated, unassailed? The claims of Austria alone would have justified the attempt. Its naval policy rendered it a paramount duty. But, when both considerations were combined, hesitation would have been criminal. He was conscious that, in common with the other servants of the crown, he had done his duty. And, however they might have failed in securing for the country all the advantages for which they contended, he should always pride himself



himself on the share he had borne in that important transaction.—The house now resounded with cries of adjourn. Mr. Ponsonby had spoken for some time in answer to Lord Castlereagh, when the house became again clamorous for an adjournment. It was then moved that the house do adjourn: which it did at two o'clock.

The adjourned debate on the expedition to the Scheldt was continued till three o'clock on the morning of the 28th of March. It was resumed on the 29th, and continued till about the same hour in the morning of the 30th of March. Towards the evening of that day it was again resumed, and continued till half-past eleven on Saturday morning, 31st of March.

It will be readily and rightly conceived that, in the discussions of such an assembly, on a subject so complicated as well as important, and connected by so many relations with other important subjects, there was, amidst much tiresome repetition, not a little entertainment in the way of argumentation and eloquence, with some wit too. But it is not permitted, in such a design as ours, nor is it at all necessary for the information of our readers respecting any essential points, to follow the course of reasoning, or even the series of the speakers, in what may be styled a *renewed debate*, continued for four days, or rather nights, on a question that had been already much agitated on sundry occasions. In the sitting of March 21st, General Craufurd, in a speech of uncommon length, contended that the expedition to the Scheldt was a measure of great political wisdom; that the utmost attention had been

paid to the wants of the army, both by government and the commander in chief, and that the attempt to retain the island of Walcheren was not only justifiable, but an indispensable obligation. He, therefore, heartily concurred in the conduct of the army and navy. To the resolutions of fact he should propose the previous question, because they were unnecessary; and to the resolutions of censure a decided negative; and he should beg leave to conclude with moving resolutions of an opposite tendency.

In the sitting of the 29th, General Tarleton replied to the speech delivered on a former night by General Craufurd. He said, in conclusion, that the whole transaction of the Scheldt expedition for absurdity of design, and profligacy of expenditure, among all the hollow notions of ministers stood pre-eminent for ignorance and folly.—Mr. Rose maintained, that even stripping the affair of its merits as a diversion, the taking of Flushing alone, could it have been retained, was worth the whole expense of the expedition.—Mr. Grattan asked how it was that if 17,000 men could succeed against the fortified town of Flushing, containing a garrison of near 10,000 men, an army exceeding 20,000 men, could fail in their attempt upon Antwerp without a garrison, with guns dismounted, and perfectly unaware, as ministers said, of the invasion of an enemy? Was it to be understood that local difficulties were to swell into importance, when they were to justify the retreat of an army, but to dwindle into trifles when brought forward to exonerate the minister? Upon what fair presumption



sumption then could the minister call upon that house to regulate its decision on evidence which it knew to be false, and to neglect evidence which it felt to be true? In every part of the proposed arrangement the result falsified the intelligence on which the attempt was made. But whilst it cut away the ground on which the minister rested, it realized every prediction of the men who, foreseeing the failure, had foretold the fatal result. With what consistency could ministers defend that diversion which, they said, afforded to Austria the chance of recovery from her misfortunes, in the same breath that they argued against the propriety of sending a force into the North of Germany, with a view to assisting the numerous insurgents in that quarter? Why, said they, encourage those insurgents to an ineffectual resistance to the power of France, only to subject them to more aggravated oppression? Why then endeavour to allure Austria, after her fall, to a renewal of a struggle which would have for ever sealed her subjugation?—Mr. Grattan said, in conclusion, “in my conception of public delinquency, there can be no conduct more reprehensible than that of his Majesty’s ministers, except indeed the conduct of this House, if it should be so forgetful of its duties as not to condemn them. This house has lately censured Lord Chatham for an attempt to set aside the responsibility of ministers. Let it then take care that its conduct, on this occasion, does not tend to establish ministerial impunity.”—Mr. Canning, in the course of a long and elaborate speech, endeavoured to prove the practicability of carrying

such a place as Antwerp by a *coup de main*, by an enumeration of instances in which stronger places had been so taken. In justification of the policy of the expedition, he said that the continued occupation of Walcheren would have been as great a blow to the maritime power and pride of Buonaparte, as that of the Isle of Wight by France to the power and pride of Great Britain. In that view, in the contemplation of its moral effect on the minds of the people of France, as much as in respect to its solid advantages, he, as one of his Majesty’s ministers, had concurred in the destination of the expedition to the Scheldt. It would have been of incalculable benefit that the people of France should have seen that its ruler could not strip his coasts and country of troops without subjecting his own territories to insult and invasion. Though he certainly should vote against the second resolution of Lord Porchester, he would move or suggest an amendment to the counter resolutions of General Crawford, namely, to omit the specific grounds of justification arising from the circumstances of Austria, and the destruction of the basin at Flushing, and to leave the justification of having forborne to have kept possession of Walcheren on the obvious ground of the necessity of collecting the materials for an opinion, and the danger of deciding precipitately on so great and important a question. He was ready to concur in the conclusion, that no blame was imputable to government, but not in the honourable general’s statement of the premises from which that conclusion was to be drawn.—Mr. Whit-



bread, in the course of an animated speech, in reasoning with ministry, on their own grounds, observed that it had been asserted both by Lord Castlereagh and Gen. Crawford, not only that the North of Germany was ripe for insurrection, but that Buonaparte had lost 50,000 men at the battle of Aspern. Could it then be doubted, if this statement was true, that an army of 40,000 British troops, landed in the North of Germany, would have turned the fortune of the campaign?—Mr. Whitbread took an opportunity of stinging Mr. Canning for his inconsistency in pronouncing Lord Chatham guilty for making an official communication to his Majesty with a request of secrecy, while he himself had made communications to his Majesty which he concealed from his colleagues. He stung him also by contrasting the duplicity of his conduct with the candour and manliness exhibited by Lord Castlereagh through the whole progress of the present question. Lord Castlereagh had declared that he did not shrink from responsibility, and had therefore consistently voted for inquiry. Mr. Canning had always pretended that he sought investigation, but voted steady and staunch against inquiry. He badgered him yet farther on another point. How could he commit so flagrant a breach of his public duty as to allow his incompetent colleague (as he conceived him to be) to remain in office?

In the course of the last day's debate, March the 30th, on the expedition to the Scheldt, Sir Thomas Turton observed, that Lord Castlereagh, against the opinion of

five generals of the first respectability, who considered the risk to be encountered too great for the advantages that might possibly accrue, and without consulting the Earl of Chatham, the commander in chief, or even asking a question of Sir Eyre Coote, the second in command, dispatched the expedition without a plan; whilst the superior officers were destitute of that confidence which was the soul of energy, and the only basis on which the hope of success could rest.

It was the common course of an individual, accused of a breach of privilege, to go out of the house, and leave the question to the discussion of those who had to judge of the charge. He asked his Majesty's ministers whether, if they were acquitted by a majority equal to their own number, they would call that a justification? Was it not a sufficient reason that there were so many others in the house who were, in some measure, bound to support their patrons, without themselves lending their aid, and not only assisting to acquit, but actually approving their own conduct? He would put it to their own honour whether they ought not to retire? The ministerial benches laughed.

Sir Francis Burdett said, the defence made by or for ministers, amounted to no more than this, that because it was an object of vital importance to destroy Antwerp, it was right to undertake it without the necessary information, and without means adequate to its execution.

Among a number of pretences to preposterous management throughout, Sir Francis took particular notice



tice of the ignorance of Sir Home Popham of the navigation of the Scheldt ! To him was intrusted the conduct of the fleet up to Bathz. He attempted to go by the West Scheldt until, by his failure, he found out that he ought to have tried the East Scheldt, &c.—At last they got up to Bathz on the 24th of August. They had now come to the grand point from which in future all their operations were to proceed. A council of war was called. What did they do ? They set off home.—The commanding officers in both services were ignorant, and ministers both ignorant, imbecile, and presumptuous. Both the military and naval commander ought to be tried by a court martial for undertaking to direct an enterprize which, they confessed, they knew nothing about. As to ministers, they deserved to be punished much more severely than by a vote of censure. Nothing less than the impeachment of ministers, and trials of the commanders by courts martial, should satisfy the cruel effusion of the blood of its army.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that, on the 10th of October, ministers had received intelligence to their minds satisfactory,

that hostilities were on the eve of recommencing between Austria and France. Now had ministers, notwithstanding this intelligence, determined on the abandonment of Walcheren, and hostilities on the continent had actually recommenced, what a torrent of invective would have been poured upon ministers, from the honourable gentlemen opposite, for abandoning, at such a period, a conquest before so dearly bought, and then so critically important ? From the report of Dr. Blane too it appeared, that the endemial distemper of Walcheren, uniformly abated in October, and terminated in November.

On a division of the house there appeared

For the original resolutions of Lord Porchester, 227. Against them, 275.

Another division then took place on the amendment of General Crawford, approving the conduct of ministers with regard to the policy of the expedition : which was carried, Ayes, 272. Noes, 232.

The last resolution of General Crawford, approving the retention of Walcheren, was also carried, Ayes, 255. Noes, 232.



## CHAP. VI.

*The standing Order for the Exclusion of Strangers from the Gallery of the House of Commons, during the Inquiry into the Scheldt Affair, enforced by Mr. Yorke.—Motion on the Subject of this standing Order by Mr. Sheridan—Who displays the Advantages of the Liberty of the Press, and particularly the unrestrained Publication of the Debates and Proceedings of Parliament.—Mr. Sheridan's Motion negatived.—The Vote for enforcing the standing Order made a Subject of Discussion in a Debating Club, and severely censured.—John Gale Jones, the President of the Club, sent to Newgate by the House of Commons.—In this Step, it is contended, by Sir Francis Burdett, that the House of Commons exceeded their Constitutional Powers.—Motion by Sir Francis for the Liberation of John Gale Jones.—Debate.—The Motion negatived by a vast Majority.—Letter from Sir Francis Burdett to his Constituents, published in a Weekly Paper, denying the Right of the House of Commons to imprison the People of England.—Brought under the Consideration of the House of Commons.—Long Debates.—Sir Francis Burdett ordered to be sent to the Tower.—Delay in the Execution of the Order.—Saucy Letter from Sir Francis to the Speaker of the House of Commons.—Sir Francis taken from his House by Force, and sent to the Tower.—Tumults and Accidents.—Sir Francis Burdett's Letter to the Speaker laid by him before the House.—Severe Strictures on the Conduct of Sir Francis Burdett.—Resolution of the House of Commons on Sir Francis Burdett's Letter to the Speaker.—Actions at Law brought by Sir Francis Burdett against the Speaker, the Serjeant at Arms, and the Earl of Moira, as Constable of the Tower.—These Parties defended. And the Privilege of the House of Commons, in the Cases to which they refer, recognized by the Court of King's Bench, as Part of the Law of the Land.—Addresses to Sir Francis Burdett, and Petitions to the House of Commons for his Release; and also for that of Mr. Jones from Newgate.—A grand Procession arranged, intended as an Act of National Homage to Sir Francis Burdett, on the Day of his Liberation from the Tower.—Sir Francis Burdett slips away from the Tower by Water.—Discontents at this.—But the Procession goes on.—Remarks on the Conduct of Sir Francis Burdett in conniving at the Design, but declining to join in the Procession.—Reflections on the Practice of publishing Daily Accounts of what passes in Parliament.*

**A**FTER the House of Commons had determined to proceed to an inquiry into the expedition to the Scheldt, a circumstance took place which, though apparently only of a trivial nature, gave rise to much important discussion.

Mr.



Mr. Yorke, February the 1st, gave notice that when the inquiry should be gone into, he would proceed to enforce the standing order of the House for the exclusion of strangers. This he did, not from any wish to keep their proceedings from publicity, in due time, but with a view to guard against the possibility of any misrepresentation or misunderstanding out of doors before the minutes should be published.\* The house having resolved itself into a Committee on the expedition to the Scheldt next day, Mr. Yorke, according to his notice, moved the standing order for the exclusion of strangers, which was of course enforced. On the subject of this standing order, one of those settled at the commencement of every session of parliament, a motion was made, February the 6th, by

Mr. Sheridan. There was nothing in what he should propose that savoured of party motive or political bias. His sole object was to impress on that house the vital necessity of meriting by its conduct, at that critical period more than ever, the confidence of the people. A House of Commons that regarded its own character, and respected the opinion of its constituents and the public, should not resist the feelings of the public at a period like the present. What was there in the investigation in which the house was now engaged that called for secrecy disclaimed in a recent inquiry which might have pleaded for that delicacy? Would the house grant to an accused ministry that protection which concealment could afford on a question of great political im-

portance, after having refused it to the son of their king, in an inquiry where the house was compelled to put aside the veil which the imperfections of humanity had thrown over the frailties of domestic life? He was willing to believe that ministers did not wish to screen their conduct by any such expedient, and he was sure, from the independent political career of Mr. Yorke who had enforced the order, that he would have disdained to be their instrument for any such purpose; and he was at a loss to conjecture what could have induced the honourable gentleman to press that order at that most perilous crisis.—He begged leave to ask what was the sanctity of this supposed standing order? In the first place, he contended, that it was no standing order at all. It was passed at the opening of the session upon question. It might have been rejected when proposed, and of course was liable to revision and repeal on any subsequent occasion. It was a mistaken idea to suppose that that order empowered any member to call upon strangers to withdraw. The order, which Mr. Sheridan read, said, "That any stranger appearing in the house shall be taken into custody by the serjeant." The power and authority rested with the serjeant at arms alone. And how was he to enforce it? If, in proceeding to obey the order, the serjeant should find two or three hundred persons collected in the gallery, it would be impossible for him to take them all into custody, and therefore he must shut them up in the gallery whilst he went to collect his *posses comitatus*. In the mean time the de-

\* The minutes of the evidence were published every third day, during the progress of the investigation,



bate goes on. The strangers are in possession of all that has passed; and thus, by its very operation, the object of that standing order was defeated. But if that order claimed such particular reverence, it should be remembered, that there were many others which any other member could move to have enforced—instances of these Mr. Sheridan mentioned. There was also, he observed, another order which held it to be the privilege of members to pass strangers through the house into the gallery, except while the house was sitting.—Here then were two orders wholly irreconcilable, unless it was intended that members should introduce their friends for the purpose of being committed to the custody of the serjeant at arms. Was it not, then, a duty to reconcile such orders to themselves, and to common sense? It was not his intention to move for the repeal of the order, or to maintain that there never could arise an occasion when strangers ought to be excluded; but he did wish the order to be so modified, that it should not depend on the caprice or pleasure of any individual member, but be fairly submitted to the decision of the house. When strangers were introduced by members they should be allowed to continue, except when the question was such that it was not proper to be discussed before strangers.—When the character of the king's son was to be investigated, not a syllable had been heard of the exclusion of strangers; but when the conduct and character of ministers were to be inquired into, then it appeared to be a subject too tender and delicate for public inspection in that house. Mr. Sheridan thought that

there never was a period in our history in which it was more necessary for parliament to conciliate the public; therefore he moved, “That a Committee of privileges be appointed to meet to-morrow, in the speaker's chamber, to consider the order of the 25th of January last.”

Mr. Windham wished to know in what manner the daily publishing the debates was advantageous to the country. He asked what was the value to their constituents of knowing what was passing in that house? Supposing they should never know, it was only the difference between a representative government and a democracy. Till the last thirty years, or a few years farther back, it was not even permitted to publish the debates of that house. So lately as the times of Dr. Johnson the debates were never published but under fictitious names. He had heard that proprietors of papers had talked of the injustice of closed doors. This was to consider the admission of strangers into the gallery as a privilege. But though he might, perhaps, think it useful to let this practice continue, after having so long prevailed, he did not allow it to be a privilege. Were that the case, we should come into a state of democracy: a state like that of Athens. If admission into the galleries had been winked at, this was no reason that it should be continued on all occasions, and that persons should make a trade of what they obtained from the galleries: among which persons were to be found persons of all descriptions; bankrupts, lottery office keepers, stockbrokers, footmen, and decayed tradesmen. He did not wish to establish such a power in the press  
as



as to enable it to control parliament. He now saw that the uniform and constant admission of strangers led to a most mischievous tendency—no less than to change the character of a representative government, which presumed confidence in the representative body, into that of a democracy, in which every thing was done by the people. The house ought to maintain those regulations and orders which had so long prevailed. He would assert that the rights of the house were now in danger of being lost from misuse.

Lord Folkstone thought it desirable that the publicity of their proceedings should not experience any material interruption. Had the publication of these been in no instance connived at, he was by no means prepared to deny that he might, at the present moment, have opposed the introduction of such a practice for the first time. Yet as the public had been allowed regularly to receive a report of the proceedings in parliament, he was desirous that no casual interruption of that permission should occur. He was also solicitous that, as a charge had taken place in the circumstances of the country, and even in the character of parliament, that change should be accompanied by corresponding changes in other respects. His right honourable friend had said, that the idea of a representative body implied that of the confidence of the persons represented. He wished it might be so: not only in theory but in fact. And yet there were many persons who concurred in thinking, not only that the house had not the confidence of the country, but that it did not deserve to have that confidence.

Most assuredly it was an ill-advised mode of obtaining the general confidence to shut the nation out from obtaining information on an inquiry of the greatest magnitude, and towards the result of which every eye was steadily and anxiously directed.—Mr. Yorke protested against the supposition that it was necessary for a member, who should move to enforce a standing order, to state the reasons which induced him to do so. He had moved the order on the present occasion, from a consideration of the many misstatements which went forth to the public last year, on a very important inquiry before that house. They were now performing their great function as the grand inquest of the nation. The grand jury of a county never admitted strangers during the time of their examining evidence. A right honourable gentleman had asked why they had not proceeded in the same manner in the course of a memorable inquiry last year? He regretted most sincerely that they did not; and he took shame to himself that he had not then enforced the standing order. The standing order in question was a most antient order; the principle on which it was founded was, perhaps, interwoven in the original constitution of the house. Under God, the maintenance of the commonwealth was owing to the support of the privileges of that house, which privileges were essential to the support of their authority.

Mr. Tierney observed, that between the situation of a grand jury and that in which the house now stood there was a striking difference. The proceedings of the grand jury were not published at all;



all; but, in the present instance, although the House might not choose to allow the newspapers to publish their proceedings from day to day, yet they themselves were aware of the necessity of their being published, and intended to publish them in another manner. When it was considered that now a tenth part was demanded of every man's income, and when large standing armies were maintained in the country, it would be too much to say that the public should not know on what grounds all this was necessary. If therefore in a committee of privileges, any modification of the standing order for the exclusion of strangers could be hit on, in order to prevent its capricious enforcement, would not such an emendation be highly advantageous?—Mr. Lyttleton supported the motion, and conceived that the committee of privileges might easily find out a way of having correct reports published by authority of whatever passed in that house without excluding strangers.—Mr. Peter Moore asked if there was any thing going forward in that house of which they were ashamed?

Sir Francis Burdett said, that if he could see in that house a body of gentlemen fairly and freely selected by the people, as the guardians of their rights, then indeed he should see no particular objection to the inquiry being conducted in secret, and the evidence being given to the public in the manner now proposed. Unfortunately, however, the house stood

before the country in circumstances of great suspicion. It had been considered by some that, in point of character, they were on their last legs. As for his part he greatly feared that, in point of reputation, the house had not a leg to stand upon.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer thought it highly disorderly to assert that the reputation of the House of Commons had not a leg to stand upon.—The Speaker was of the same opinion.—Sir Francis Burdett said he had not made the assertion positively, but only stated it as his apprehension; but, with all due submission, he had not expected such nicety, when he recollected the 11th of May last, and the acquittal of a minister detected in an attempt to introduce, by corrupt means, persons to seats in that house. He had not expected such extreme delicacy from an assembly that had, last sessions, acknowledged itself to be contaminated, and that by an act of parliament;\* nor supposed such an extreme degree of affectation of purity, as that they must not allow their ears to hear what they were not ashamed to do. The motion before them branched into a threefold point of view: it respected their former situation; the present practical effect of the enforcement of these orders; and also the particular case. As to the first, what became them formerly to do, was not the question now, for they were no longer what they had been then. In the other two points of view he had no objection to the motion.

\* In allusion to the bill brought into the House of Commons, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the 27th of March, and passed into a law, for preventing the sale and brokerage of offices.



Mr. Sheridan stated, that the object he had in view, in the motion which he had submitted to the house, was not to prevent any individual member from clearing the gallery, but merely to require, that after he had done so he should condescend to give some reason for the step. If, after the exclusion of the strangers, the house should acquiesce in the propriety of the motives for that exclusion, the public would then be satisfied. To what was it owing that Great Britain was able to maintain a struggle, and he hoped it would be a successful struggle, with the victorious arms that had trampled on the independence of the prostrate nations of Europe for the liberties of the world? To the liberty of the press alone, and most particularly and emphatically to the unrestrained publication of the debates and proceedings of parliament. It had been asked how such publication could produce any public benefit, or conduce to the well-being or happiness of the nation? By shewing to the people the grounds on which public measures were resorted to, and particularly by convincing them of their necessity; thus inducing the public to submit with patience to the heaviest burdens that had ever been imposed upon a nation.—Mr. Sheridan was sorry to hear his right honourable friend resorting to a topic which he must be allowed to denominate the old bugbear, when he found him gravely asserting, that the practice of reporting the proceedings of that house, which had grown up of late, was likely to lead to a revolution. Was it the liberty of the press that brought France into that dreadful state of

anarchy and ruin which characterized the revolution? Was it not, on the contrary, the suppression of all liberty of discussion?—The prohibition of all publications not sanctioned by the permission of authority—the prevention of that rational and temperate consideration of public measures and interests which alone could excite and nourish patriotic feelings and public spirit?—If the liberty of the press had existed in France before or since the revolution—if it had existed in Austria—if in Prussia—if in Spain, Buonaparte would not now find himself in a situation to dictate to Europe, and filling the throne of nearly an universal monarch.

As to the speech of the member who moved the standing order, that honourable gentleman seemed to have forgotten altogether that certain papers had been laid upon the table of the house, and ordered to be printed, and that the oral evidence to be taken at the bar, was called for only to supply deficiencies in those papers, or to invalidate or confirm the statements they contained.

As to the analogy between the House of Commons in its inquisitorial capacity, and a grand jury, grand juries did not publish the evidence on which they were bound to form a decision, because it could be only an *ex-parte* statement, which, however, might influence the opinion or verdict of a petty jury. But it was essential to the proceedings in which the house was engaged to publish documents on which it was, ultimately, to form its decision.—Mr. Sheridan, in conclusion of his reply, begged of gentlemen not to mistake his motion,



motion, which was not by any means to rescind the order to which it referred, but to have it ascertained by a committee of privileges, whether any, or what modification of it was necessary.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer entirely concurred in most of what had fallen from Mr. Windham, though he was not prepared to carry his concurrence to the full extent of that right honourable gentleman's opinion. But he thought it necessary, for the dignity of the house, to maintain the privilege that any member has to call for the clearing of the gallery without argument.

On a division of the house there appeared

For Mr. Sheridan's motion 80.  
Against it 166.

There is in human nature a very strong and active principle of imitation. It appears in earliest childhood, and has the happy effect of exciting and strengthening the powers of both body and mind. In sea-port towns children amuse themselves with the construction of ships with paper or pasteboard: in military stations with drums and wooden arms, and wheeling like soldiers. At every period of life mankind have a strong propensity to imitate their superiors. In the metropolis, the seat of the government, the middling and lower classes ape the proceedings and debates in parliament, from much the same principle that the boys play the parts of soldiers and sailors. In every ale-house club, they

dispute on all political, and sometimes other subjects, and are engaged in *forming resolutions, making motions, seconding motions, and supporting or opposing motions*. Debating societies are instituted, meeting twice a week, where any one, of either sex, is admitted, and may have an opportunity of displaying his oratorical powers, or admiring those of others, at the small expense of one shilling. This became a kind of trade or business. The president, or manager, paid for the room and candles; what remained of the admission money, after defraying this expense, went into his own pocket. Among these heteroclitical assemblies, was one which assumed the pompous title of the *British Forum*. The president was called *John Gale Jones*.\* The vote for enforcing the standing order for the exclusion of strangers, and what passed on that occasion in the House of Commons, was made the subject of discussion in the *British Forum*. The following placard was every where stuck upon the walls of the metropolis, "WINDHAM and YORKE. *British Forum*, 33, Bedford-street, Covent Garden. Monday, February 19, 1810. QUESTION. 'Which was a greater outrage on the public feeling, Mr. Yorke's enforcement of the standing order to exclude strangers from the House of Commons, or Mr Windham's recent attack on the liberty of the press?' Last Monday, after an interesting discussion, it was unanimously decided, that the en-

\* This, we understand, is the same Jones, the apothecary, that was wont, it may be recollected, to make a great figure among the field demagogues, and the members of the Corresponding Societies, from 1791 to 1794: for an account of which see Vol. XXXVI. of this Work, (1794). p. 266.



forcement of the standing order for shutting out strangers from the gallery of the House of Commons, ought to be censured as an insidious and ill-timed attack on the liberties of the press, as tending to aggravate the discontents of the people, and to render their representatives objects of jealous suspicion.—The present question was brought forward as a comparative inquiry, and may be justly expected to furnish a contested and interesting debate. Printed by J. Dean, 57, Wardour-street."

Mr. Yorke having stated this in the House of Commons, February the 19th, John Dean was ordered to attend at the bar of that house to-morrow. He attended on that day, at the bar of the house accordingly; and being asked what he had to say for himself respecting the offence he had committed, declared that he had been employed to print the paper by John Gale Jones. It was moved by Mr. Yorke, and voted *nem. con.* "that the said John Dean, in having printed the said paper, had been guilty of a high breach of the privilege of that house." Dean was committed to the custody of the Serjeant at Arms, and Jones ordered to attend to-morrow, February the 21st. John Gale Jones being brought to the bar, the Speaker stated to him what had been declared by the printer, and asked him what he had to say in his own behalf? Mr. Jones answered, "I acknowledge, Sir, that I was the author of that paper; and I am extremely sorry that the printer of it has suffered inconvenience on my account." Jones, at the desire of the Speaker, repeated what he had said; and the question being put to him, if he had

any thing more to say in his own behalf, declared that "in what he had done he was not actuated by any disrespect to the privileges of the house, or the persons of any of its members individually. He had always considered it to be the privilege of every Englishman to animadvert on public measures, and the conduct of public men. But, in looking over the paper in question again, he found that he had erred. He begged to express his sincere contrition, and threw himself on the mercy of that honourable house—that house which, as an important branch of the constitution, had always had his unfeigned respect." The Speaker then put the question, that the said John Gale Jones had been guilty of a gross breach of the privileges of that house; which was carried *nem. con.*

Mr. Yorke then rose and said that, after the vote just passed, it was impossible not to follow it up by some further resolution, which should mark how sensible the house itself was of the insult offered to its high authority by the person now at the bar; and, by making a proper example, warn such persons against taking upon them to comment in such a way upon the proceedings of that house, and the conduct of its members. He therefore moved, "that John Gale Jones, for his offence, be committed to his Majesty's gaol of Newgate." The question being put was carried *nem. con.*—As to John Dean, he was, at the intercession of Mr. Yorke, on presenting a petition humbly praying for forgiveness, and being reprimanded by the Speaker, discharged out of custody without paying any fees.—It was ordered, *nem. con.* that what had been



been said by Mr. Speaker, in reprimanding the said John Gale Jones, should be entered in the journals of that house.

The attention of the House of Commons was again called to Jones, March the 12th, by Sir Francis Burdett, who lamented exceedingly that, in consequence of indisposition, he had not been present when John Gale Jones was committed to Newgate for a breach of the privileges of that house. He knew it was at all times much easier to prevent the adoption of a measure, than to induce the house to retract a resolution. He could not, however, discharge his duty if he did not still endeavour to induce the house to retract a step which they were not authorized to take.—The house, he contended, and parliament were different: there must, consequently, be a difference in the extent of the privileges which they might, separately, or in conjunction with the other house of parliament, be supposed to possess. On this ground, he maintained that the imprisonment of John Gale Jones was an infringement of the law of the land, and a subversion of the principles of the constitution.—The question was, if the House of Commons had a right to imprison a person, not a member of that house, for an offence punishable by the ordinary course of law; and by a vote, for that purpose, deprive the people of their imprescriptible rights?—In this question there was involved the consideration of two distinct qualities: privilege and power. Privilege the house possessed for its own protection: power was a right to be exercised over others. Privilege they were to exercise to

prevent the crown from molesting them in their proceedings; as a shield to themselves, not as a scourge to the rest of the commons. That this was the real nature of the privilege of the House of Commons, he deduced from a variety of cases in parliamentary history, up to the long parliament: when, from the peculiar circumstances of the country, in order to resist the arbitrary encroachments of a despotic prince, the House of Commons found it absolutely necessary in the struggle, not only to extend their privileges, but to assume powers, the exercise of which abolished the House of Lords, brought the King to the block, and ultimately dissolved the whole frame of the government.—But these surely were not sources sufficiently clear, nor times sufficiently analogous, to countenance similar proceedings, under a legal, settled, and established system of government.

Sir Francis stated a case,\* in which the judges of the King's Bench were summoned by the House of Lords to appear before them, and answer to a complaint made against them by a petition to the House of Lords, respecting a decision of that court. This the judges refused to do. They denied the jurisdiction of the House of Lords; insisted on their undoubted right as Englishmen to a trial by a jury of their equals, if in any thing they were accused of having done wrong, and claimed the benefit of being tried according to the known course of the common law.—They relied on *Magna Charta*, which they said was made for them as well as others; and maintained, that all powers and

\* That of Bridgeman *versus* Holt, in 1697.



privileges in the kingdom, even the highest, were circumscribed by the laws, and had their limits. In the courts of Westminster, they said, the law was determined by one party, and the fact ascertained by another. But in the jurisdiction assumed by the Lords, in the present case, the fact would be ascertained, and the law determined by the same party; and, if they should be punished by the Lords, that would not prevent their being called to answer again in the courts of Westminster-hall, or be used below as a *recovery*, or acquittal: so that they might be punished twice for the same offence.—A Court of Record only had a power of commitment: that house was not a Court of Record; therefore that house did not possess the right of commitment. Let the house then, said Sir Francis Burdett, apply this reasoning to the case before them. In that case the common law, *magna charta*, and the trial by jury, had been violated. They found Mr. Jones imprisoned for an act the illegality of which had not been proved—the facts not ascertained. A great variety of cases could be adduced where the house had interposed, but not one in which it had gone to the extent to which it had proceeded in the present instance. It was unnecessary to multiply cases. They must all be acquainted with the case of the *Middlesex Journal*, in 1771, when the messenger of the House of Commons was sent by their order to arrest the printer: instead of which, the printer took up the messenger, and brought him before Crosby, and the Aldermen Wilkes and Oliver.—Notwithstanding this outrage, the

house did not presume to touch any of the offending parties, except its own members, the Lord Mayor and Alderman Oliver; passing over the printer, the journalist, and Alderman Wilkes, who was, at that time, not a member of the house: than which disaffirmance of its power a stronger proof could not be conceived.

The warrant of commitment, too, he contended, was illegal in all its parts, but eminently so in its conclusion. A warrant must conclude with the words, “till the party be delivered by the due course of the law.” The warrant for committing Jones ended with the words “during the pleasure of the house.”—Lord Coke laid it down explicitly, that no man could be sent to prison without trial and judgment. The privilege talked of would make the house as great as king, lords, and commons. He might be told this was a privilege of parliament. He answered, No. It was a privilege assumed only by one branch of the legislature. It resembled the by-laws of a corporation, sufficient to bind themselves, but not to overturn the law of the land. If gentlemen should shew resolutions favourable to the exercise of that right as a privilege of the house, he could shew others of a contrary principle. Sir Fletcher Norton had said, that he would pay no more attention to a resolution of the House of Commons than that of a set of drunken porters at an ale-house. The observation was coarse, but just. If the members were of opinion that a resolution of that house was equal to that of all the branches of the constitution, they would agree



agree in rejecting his proposition. But if, with him, they thought that they could not overturn the law of the land, and the acts of parliament solemnly passed, by any assumed power exercised by that house alone, they would agree with him, that John Gale Jones must be discharged: with a motion for which purpose Sir Francis concluded.

Mr. C. W. Wynne said, that if a motion had been brought forward for the liberation of John Jones, on the grounds of the contrition for the offence which he had confessed at the bar, he should not have objected to it. But the proposal of that liberation was interwoven by the honourable baronet with other topics, to which he could by no means subscribe. Mr. Wynne produced instances of commitment prior to the long parliament. With regard to libels, he admitted that no instance of committal on such a charge was met with prior to the reign of Elizabeth. But the fact was, that in the periods which immediately succeeded the invention of printing, there was no such thing as the liberty of the press, which now existed, so happily for this country. To this valuable privilege he believed, that our present pre-eminence above all other nations was to be attributed.—The principle on which the protection of members from arrest, lest by such arrest they should be prevented from attending their duty in that house, was clearly indisputable: and it appeared to him to be equally clear, that libels, or any other means of interfering with the due performance of a member's duty, should be equally provided against. The same rea-

sons which justified a court of law in punishing any contempt, or interruption of its proceedings pleaded in favour of the privilege exercised by that house in the case which gave rise to the present discussion.—The Attorney General cited a number of cases to shew the indisputable right of that, and of the other house of parliament, to commit for any contempt or breach of their privileges. As to the words of the warrant of committal, “during the pleasure of the house,” so particularly dwelt upon by the honourable baronet, these words were also the subject of considerable discussion in the case of Crosby. But the result was, that they were found to be those usual in all similar cases.—Mr. Creevey thought that the right of committal, in such cases as had been referred to, justly and necessarily belonged to that house. Therefore, although he was disposed to vote for the liberation of John Gale Jones, he could not agree to the proposition as founded on the general doctrines laid down by his honourable friend. A declaration to the same effect, in favour of John Gale Jones, was made by Lord Folkstone, though he could not go the whole length of his honourable friend's proposition. Lord Folkstone maintained that the house was competent, by its own authority, to punish any contempt or interruption of its proceedings. He denied, however, that the publication of a libel was to be regarded as a contempt. For, if a libel and a contempt of court were held to be equivalent, how came Hart and White to be brought to trial for a libel on the court of King's Bench? If they had been held equivalent that  
been



court would at once have committed those then without a trial.

The Solicitor General said, that the question before the house was, whether Jones, convicted on his own confession by the unanimous vote of the house of a gross breach of privilege (which contained in itself a gross and scandalous contempt), and punished for his offence in the way that appeared most fitting to the house, was guilty or not? As far as the present practice could be traced, it was found to be legal and constitutional. It was open to Jones to apply by petition; and, for his own part, he might agree to his discharge in this way, the next moment after the disposition of the question as it now stood: but he would not, and he trusted the house would not relax now, after hearing the kind of arguments adduced by the honourable baronet. If they did, it would be said that they yielded because they doubted their own right.

Mr. Sheridan said, that he should certainly vote for the release of Mr. John Jones, but not on the principles contained in the honourable baronet's speech. Why should Jones fall an unwilling sacrifice to doctrines which he never propagated, and perhaps never entertained? Did he ever say, with the honourable baronet, that the house had no jurisdiction over any persons, except its own members?—

Mr. Sheridan, in the course of his discussion of this subject, shewed, as he had indeed done on other occasions, in a very masterly manner, the advantages accruing from the liberty of the press. On this subject he told a very important anecdote. Lord North had

attempted, at the conclusion of the American war, to exclude the public from the House of Commons. He had the power, and exercised it for above a session and a half. What was the consequence? Every county had its parliament, and every village in the empire its delegates. Clubs assembled, and societies sprung up for the discussion of their rights, and the examination of their grievances. The result, however, was, that the minister seeing his mistake, restored the usual opportunity of communication between the people and their representatives. If he had not done so, no one knew what might have happened. He remembered well that much mischief was apprehended: but the danger was dissipated by the restoration of that freedom which was the most effectual foe to that kind of danger.—Mr. Sheridan being anxious to rescue the house from its warfare with the British Forum, moved the amendment, “that John Gale Jones should be discharged, in consequence of the contrition he had expressed for his offence against the privileges of the house, and the period he had been imprisoned in Newgate.” This amendment being delivered to the Speaker, he observed, in reply to a question that had been put to him by Mr. Sheridan, that an application should be made to the house by petition from the prisoner.—The amendment being read,

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that he could not see why the house should be called upon on the very day on which they had heard a doctrine avowed that implicated the existence of  
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their privileges, to discharge a person whom they had unanimously declared to have been guilty of a breach of their privileges.—The Bill of Rights was intended to protect constitutional meetings, legally convened, for discussing the conduct of public men. But corporation meetings or county meetings, legally convened by the sheriffs, were not to be confounded with spouting clubs.—Mr. Perceval called on the house to weigh well the consequences of making the case of John Gale Jones a precedent. Some stress had been laid on the expressions of contrition made use of by Jones at the bar. But the house had unanimously agreed, after that confession, to commit him. Therefore some subsequent acknowledgment was necessary.

Sir Francis Burdett argued that the legal meaning of contempt was that which throws obstructions in the way of the proceedings of any court. But how were the proceedings of that house obstructed by a libel?—He insisted that the *lex parliamentaria*, that had been so much talked of, was binding upon their own members, but not upon others.—It was likewise a most material objection to the right of commitment claimed by the house, that they could not proportion the punishment to the offence: as an individual might, possibly, be confined seven years, or, if a dissolution of parliament were to take place, only five minutes.

The amendment was negatived without a division: but, upon the original motion, the house divided. For it, 14. Against it 153.

On Saturday the 24th of March,

there appeared in Cobbet's Weekly Political Register, a Letter inscribed, SIR FRANCIS BURDETT TO HIS CONSTITUENTS, DENYING THE POWER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS TO IMPRISON THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND: accompanied with the argument by which he had endeavoured to convince the gentlemen of the House of Commons, that their acts, in the case of Mr. Jones, were illegal; laid before them, he said, in a more full and connected way, than could possibly be done by parliamentary reporters. This publication was brought under the notice of the House of Commons, March the 26th, by Mr. Lethbridge, at whose desire the question was put by the Speaker to Sir Francis Burdett, whether he acknowledged himself to be the author? Sir Francis having answered in the affirmative, Mr. Lethbridge gave notice of a motion on the subject. Next day, in consequence of this notice, Mr. Lethbridge rose, with a degree of pain and embarrassment, which, he declared, he had never felt before, to make a complaint against one of the United Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, who, in his opinion, had violated the privileges of the house. He did not mean to enter upon the subject itself, but only to lay on the table the document which the honourable baronet, who was the object of the motion he had to make, had admitted to have been published by his authority. For the purpose of saving the time of the house, he had marked certain passages in that document, which, in his opinion, more particularly justified him in the charge which he had preferred against the honourable

baronet.



baronet. Mr. Lethbridge then gave in at the table, Cobbet's Weekly Register of Saturday, the 24th of March, 1810: and Sir Francis Burdett's papers were read by the clerk.

Among the most offensive and obnoxious passages, pointed out by Mr. Lethbridge, in Sir Francis Burdett's letter and argument, were the following: "the House of Commons having passed a vote which amounts to a declaration that an order of theirs is to be of more importance than *magna charta*, and the laws of the land; I think it my duty to lay my sentiments thereon before my constituents, whose character as freemen, and even whose personal safety, depend, in a great degree, on the decision of this question; a question of no less importance than this—whether our liberty be still to be secured by the laws of our forefathers, or be to lie at the absolute mercy of a part of our fellow-subjects, *collected together by means which it is not necessary for me to describe.*"

"If they" (the House of Commons) "have the absolute power of imprisoning and releasing, why may they not send their prisoner to York gaol as well as to a gaol in London? Why not confine men in solitary cells, or load them with chains and bolts? They have not gone these lengths yet. But what is to restrain them, if they are to be the sole judges of the extent of their own powers, and if they are to exercise those powers without any control, and without leaving the parties whom they choose to punish any mode of appeal, any means of redress?"

"By proceeding thus, they may

have exercised a jurisdiction not vested in them; a jurisdiction beyond the limits of king, lords, and commons; while *Magna Charta* remains unrepealed; and repealed it never can be till England shall have found her grave in the corruption of the House of Commons."

"But no wonder when they have so entirely departed from the ends of their institution, as was offered to be proved by Mr. Madocks, and acknowledged by themselves in the never-to-be-forgotten morning of the 11th of May, 1809, when from being the lower, or inferior, (for it is the same sense, one being an English, the other a Latin word) branch of the legislature, they have become, by burgage tenure, the proprietors of the whole representation, and in that capacity, inflated with their high-flown fanciful ideas of majesty, and tricked out in the trappings of royalty, think privilege and protection beneath their dignity, assume the sword of prerogative, and lord it equally over the king and the people."

Sir Francis Burdett said, that in writing the Address to his Constituents, and the arguments that accompanied it, he had no idea that he was infringing any privilege of that house. Was it to be supposed that the simple act of arguing on the powers of the Commons was a crime? Would not the house endure even an abstract doubt of their powers? He was willing to abide by the fact and argument of what he had written. He would stand the issue. But, if it was the pleasure of the house that he should now withdraw, he was ready to with-



draw. The Speaker stated that this was, in similar cases, the uniform usage. Sir Francis Burdett accordingly withdrew: after which Mr. Lethbridge proposed the two following resolutions, for the adoption of the house.

“ 1st. Resolved that the letter signed Francis Burdett, and the further argument which was published in the paper called Cobbet's Weekly Register, on the 24th of this instant, is a libellous and scandalous paper reflecting upon the just rights and privileges of this house.”

“ 2d. That Sir Francis Burdett, who suffered the above articles to be printed with his name, and by his authority, has been guilty of a violation of the privileges of this house.” The motion was seconded by Mr. Blachford. After enumerating various precedents for adopting the resolutions, he asked how they could hesitate to adopt them when they recollected the spirit and the advocates of jacobinism that were in the country? Their numbers, whether in leaders or disciples, were but few. But their object was to dispute, and to bring into discredit, the authority of that house. If that spirit should not be checked in time, it would not only take away the dignity, the character, and authority of that house, but destroy the very existence of it, as a branch of the legislature. The discussion of the resolutions was adjourned till next day, March the 28th: when Mr. Sheridan expressed his conviction that it must be equally the wish of both sides of the house that the discussion relative to the Scheldt expedition should not be interrupted. But besides that very

weighty consideration, if ever there was a case, in which precipitancy and rashness were to be avoided, it was the present. It was not a plain and simple question, on which the house could decide immediately. There were two distinct questions involved in it. 1st. As to the right of the House of Commons to imprison. 2d. As to the character of the terms with which the argument had been accompanied: terms, with respect to the precise import of which, there might be a difference of opinion. He contended, that the proper and constitutional course was, to refer the matter to a committee of privileges. Mr. Sheridan concluded with moving, “ that the committee of privileges should resume its sitting on that day se'nnight, and that the paper complained of should be referred to it.” Some debate about the necessity of moving this, in point of form, as an amendment on the original question, was superseded by a motion made by Mr. Brand, as an amendment to the original question, that the debate be adjourned till to-morrow se'nnight. A conversation ensued on this question of adjournment, in which most of the speakers entered into the merits of the original question.

Sir Samuel Romilly said, that any man had a right to discuss every great constitutional question, whether of original power or constituted authority. He might shew his folly in arguing a point in which no other man could agree with him, but still he had a right to do so. There might be inflammatory language in the paper in question; but, at the same time, there was great ability in the reasoning,



soning, and all the great authorities and precedents on the subject, were given and argued on with much learning. He agreed that there were offensive paragraphs in the paper: but did they amount to a libel? He dared to say that gentlemen, much better acquainted with the nature of a libel than he could pretend to be, would be prepared to answer this question; and he should be obliged to some of them to favour the house with an opinion on this subject.—He hoped the house would take some time to deliberate before they came to a decision on a question of such importance.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer could not conceive how any one, possessed of the sense and information of his honourable and learned friend, could doubt that the paper in question was distinctly a libel.—This opinion he supported by an examination of the paper. The main business of the argument, he observed, was to prove that the house had not a right to commit a stranger for a breach of privilege: for the right of committing a member was admitted. Now, that was a case of doubt on which the honourable baronet had a right to argue as fully as he chose in the house. But it behoved him to take care in what manner he wrote or spoke on the subject out of the house. It did not follow that that which it was lawful to say in the house before a decision, was lawful to say out of the house after a decision: and still less lawful was it to recommend resistance to that decision.—Where would be the impartiality of the house, if, after committing Mr. Jones for a breach

of privilege, they should treat a member who, with a better knowledge of those privileges, had violated them, with more indulgence? If they hesitated to pronounce that against the honourable baronet, which they had not hesitated to pronounce against a poor and obscure offender, they would sink low, indeed, in the public estimation. Grossly libellous as the proceeding of John Gale Jones had been, it was trifling and contemptible, when compared with that of the honourable baronet.—As to the right of the House of Commons to commit strangers to custody, it was confirmed by precedents, a number of which he stated.—It appeared to Mr. Perceval that the house could not hesitate in concurring in the motion for adopting the resolutions proposed by his honourable friend, and he was persuaded that they would not hesitate in doing so.

The Attorney General contended, that if an adjournment took place, it might, perhaps, be attributed to the influence of motives, to the imputation of which the house ought never to expose themselves. It appeared to him that it was only necessary to read the paper in order to be convinced that it was a libel, and a gross violation of the privileges of the House.

The Master of the Rolls observed, that the present case had been forced upon the house. He was sorry for it, because he never knew any good to arise out of such contests that could counterbalance the disadvantages. But the house was brought to the alternative, that, either it must give up its privileges, and, perhaps, in-



cur the imputation of timidity, or assert those privileges with manliness. He would have been happy if means could have been devised for getting out of such a contest. But that was now impracticable; and, in order to bring to the decision as much weight and authority as possible, he would support the proposition for the delay required by those to whom so much weight and authority belonged.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer confessed that, after what he had heard, particularly from his learned friend who had just sat down, that it would appear obstinate and pertinacious in him to press an opinion, to which, however, he still adhered, and refuse to accede to the repeated calls which were made for a further adjournment of the question.

Upon the question being put, the debate was adjourned till tomorrow se'nnight, the 5th of April: on which day the resumed debate, on which the main points on both sides have been already discussed in the preceding pages, (though now placed in new lights) was continued till half after seven on Friday morning; and, in the course of which, speeches were made by not less than thirty members.

Lord Ossulston maintained, on the authority of Chief Justice Holt, that neither House of Parliament could infringe upon the liberty of the subject; that the privileges of parliament were founded on the laws of the land, and could not be in contradiction to those laws.

Sir J. Anstruther asked if nothing was to be considered as an obstruction but what was personally so? Were there no such

thing as constructive obstructions? Impediments which were not really personal, but which had virtually the same effect. Libels come up exactly to the case of obstructive constructions.—If the House of Commons was not judge of its own privileges, and the only judge of those privileges, he did not know how the House of Commons could be said to exist at all. In his judgment their independence was totally gone, when any other power than themselves was allowed to be judge of those privileges. It was objected that, if they were the judges of their own privileges, they might make what privileges they pleased. But had they done so? It would be found that, for the last three hundred years, in the same proportion as their authority had become more solid and extended, had their exercise of that power been calm, moderate, and prudent.

Lord Folkstone wished gentlemen fairly to consider the nature of the whole paper. It was written by an honourable member to his constituents, explaining more fully the nature and extent of his arguments than they could have been given by parliamentary reporters. He did not know to what extent members were to be permitted to publish their sentiments. The standing order forbade the publication of the debates. Nevertheless that practice had been long connived at. In former times it would not have been considered as such a grievance, since Andrew Marvel wrote a full account of the proceedings of the House of Commons, to his constituents, every week. Privilege was only exemption, not power. He did not think



think that the letter was a scandalous libel on the privileges of the house.

Sir Samuel Romilly observed, that the House had two questions to discuss: first, whether the publication complained of was a libel; and next, whether it was expedient to acquiesce in the resolutions proposed. For his own part, he still entertained doubts; first, whether this publication was a libel, and next, that it intrenched upon the privileges of that house. He thought the present a case, on which it would be better not to adopt any proceeding, even if, by a severe construction, it could be contended that privilege had been violated. In matters of authority, as well as in religion, severity against heresy, only served to increase the number of its disciples.

Mr. Stephen expressed his astonishment, that those who were peculiarly attached to the democratical part of the constitution, should be willing to allow that house to be trampled on, or to go begging for protection to the courts of law. He had not heard the present question met at all upon its real principles, and true merits. The Judges, though not now removable at the pleasure of the Crown, were still appointed by it. They, however, would no doubt act with impartiality. But then an appeal would lie to the House of Lords. And then the privileges of that house would depend on the other house of parliament.—Mr. Wilberforce too contended that they had no right to give up their own privileges and independence; that was, the privilege and independence of the

people of England, of which the right of commitment was undoubted.—This argument was insisted on, too, by Mr. Whitbread; and also by Mr. Adam, who, with his usual ability, and intimate acquaintance with parliamentary and constitutional history, vindicated the privileges of that house, by proving that they were of old standing, just, and necessary. As to the authorities and precedents, on which it was contended that the publication of a libel was not a breach of the privileges of the House of Commons, Mr. Adam shewed that they were not applicable to the present question.

Mr. W. Wynn contended that Sir Francis Burdett's paper was a gross breach of the privileges of the house, and charged the honourable baronet with having altered and misquoted, in the argument, precedents to serve his own purpose.—General Matthews contended that Sir Francis Burdett, in freely communicating with his constituents, was justified by the practice of the best days of the constitution.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer could scarcely have expected that any man in that house would maintain that the paper was not a libel, considering the violence of the expressions, and that it was evidently published with no other view than that of bringing the house into disesteem and disgrace.—Mr. Sheridan said, if the house were brought into an unpleasant predicament, woe to the late member for Cambridgeshire! He desired to know, from the gentlemen who supported the resolutions, what conclusion they intended to draw from their adoption?—Sir Robert Salisbury



said that, if the resolutions were agreed to, he should propose that Sir Francis Burdett be committed to the Tower.—Several members announced their intention of opposing the resolutions, since it was proposed to follow them up by a punishment not warranted by the offensive matter contained in the paper on the table.

The resolutions, moved by Mr. Lethbridge, were agreed to without a division.—A motion was then made by Sir Robert Salisbury for the commitment of Sir Francis Burdett to the Tower.

An amendment was proposed, that Sir Francis Burdett be reprimanded in his place: upon which the house divided:

Ayes, 152.—Noes, 190.

In consequence of this vote, for the commitment of Sir Francis, the Speaker, on the same morning, at half-past eight o'clock, signed the warrants for commitment, and immediately delivered them to the Serjeant at Arms, to be carried into effect, if possible, by ten o'clock that morning. From the politeness of the Serjeant, in announcing the commission with which he was charged, it was not till about five o'clock in the afternoon that he went to Sir Francis at his house, and saw Sir Francis, who told him that he would be ready to receive him at eleven o'clock next morning; on which the Serjeant retired, conceiving that it was Sir Francis's intention to go with him peaceably to the Tower, at the time stated. About eight o'clock, the Serjeant, Mr. Colman, came again to Sir Francis Burdett's. He was now accompanied by one of the messengers, and told Sir Francis that he

had received a severe reprimand from the Speaker for not having executed the warrant, which he read. Sir Francis then said, that he disputed the legality of the warrant, and that he was determined not to go, if not constrained by actual force, which he was determined to resist as far as in his power. He stated also that he had written to the Speaker of the House of Commons on this subject.

Meanwhile a mob had been assembled before Sir Francis Burdett's house, and was every moment increasing. Mr. Colman, who had called several times before, without being admitted, went again to Sir Francis's house, on Sunday morning, at seven o'clock, attended by a messenger, and some police officers, and knocked at the door several times, but it was not opened. The Serjeant and messenger, by turns, waited in the neighbourhood of Sir Francis's house, for the rest of the day and the night, thinking that he might come out again, as he had once done on Saturday, and that they might have an opportunity of apprehending him. It had become evident, from the number of the populace assembled in Piccadilly, that the warrant could not be executed without force. And the Speaker, having great doubts as to the power he was possessed of by his warrant, sent his warrant to the Attorney General for his opinion, and on that opinion he acted. Late on Sunday evening, the Serjeant went to the Secretary of State's Office to request civil and military assistance for carrying his purpose into effect. And on Monday, April the 9th,

at



at ten o'clock in the forenoon, he went to Sir Francis's house, attended with twenty or thirty police officers, and a detachment of cavalry and infantry, to escort the carriage which he had in waiting, to convey Sir Francis to the Tower. The Serjeant, attended by some police officers, forced an entrance into Sir Francis Burdett's house down by the area, and through the kitchen door. Having left a party of the foot guards in the hall, he went up, with the police officers, into a room, where Sir Francis was with his family, and Mr. Roger O'Connor, brother to the noted Mr. Arthur O'Connor. Sir Francis was employed, at that moment, in making his son read and translate *Magna Charta*.

Mr. Colman told Sir Francis, that, however painful it was to him to proceed in such a way, he had such a force, that it would be quite in vain to make resistance: that he was his prisoner, and must immediately come into the carriage that was prepared for him. Sir Francis repeated the objections he had before made against the warrant, and declared that he would not yield to any thing less than actual force. As the constables were advancing, by order of the Serjeant, to seize him, his brother, and Mr. O'Connor laid hold each of them on one of his arms, and conducted him to the carriage, into which they followed him; but Mr. O'Connor was obliged, by a number of people who had quickly assembled, to come out again. A messenger was left with Sir Francis in the carriage. The Serjeant attended on horseback, and delivered him to the Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower. The

escort proceeded rapidly to the Tower, by the northern skirts of the town, without encountering any material opposition.

The mob, that had assembled near Sir Francis's house, in Piccadilly, and in the adjoining streets, on Friday evening obliged every one that passed to take off his hat and cry, "Burdett for ever!"—They broke the windows of a number of houses: among which were those of Lord Chatham, the Duke of Montrose, Mr. Yorke, Lord Westmoreland, Mr. Wellesley Pole, Lord Dartmouth, Sir John Anstruther, and Mr. Perceval. On Saturday, between twelve and one o'clock, the populace assembled in such great numbers, and grew so tumultuous, that a company of the foot, and another of the horse guards, was sent to disperse them, and the riot act was read by Mr. Read, a police magistrate. Some companies of volunteers also presented themselves, in readiness to support the civil authority. Towards the close of the day, the mob, which had dispersed, began to rally. The detachment of troops was reinforced, and the cavalry had orders not to permit more than two persons to converse together. There was some firing, without ball, for clearing Piccadilly. Some pistols, charged with ball, were fired on both sides, by which divers persons, both of the soldiery and populace, were wounded, though only slightly. But, on the return of the escort from the Tower, the contest was more sanguinary.

At the time when the Serjeant at Arms carried off Sir Francis Burdett from his house, the number of people assembled in Piccadilly



dilly was but small. But the report of his seizure spread rapidly. The streets, through which it was supposed he would pass, were crowded with people, who, being informed that he had passed by a different route, proceeded, their numbers still increasing as they advanced, to Tower-hill. The moment Sir Francis entered the Tower, some pieces of cannon were fired, according to the custom in similar cases. A report was spread that the cannon of the tower had fired on the people, which was credited by numbers of the credulous multitude. Scarcely had the military, on their return from the Tower, entered East Cheap, when they were attacked with showers of stones, brick-bats, and other missiles. The troops, for some time, bore the assault with patience; but finding that the mob grew more and more outrageous and daring, they fired several shots among them, by which two or three lives were lost, and not a few wounded. This kind of warfare was continued till the guards crossed the Thames, by London Bridge, to return through Saint George's Fields, and by Westminster Bridge, to their quarters.

The letter which Sir Francis Burdett had written, agreeably to what he had said to the Serjeant, on Friday evening, to the Speaker, was communicated by him to the house, on Monday, the 9th of April. In this piece, after stating what he conceived to be his duty, both to his Constituents and to the King, Sir Francis Burdett proceeds as follows: "your warrant, Sir, I believe, you know to be illegal. I know it to be so. To superior

force I must submit. But I will not incur the danger of continuing voluntarily to make one of any set of men who shall assume illegally the whole power of the realm; and who have no more right to take myself, or any one of my constituents by force, than I or they possess, to take any one of those who are now guilty of this usurpation. And I would condescend to accept the meanest office, being more desirous of getting out of my present association, than others may be desirous of getting profitably into it.—Since you have begun this correspondence with me, I must beg you to read this, my answer, to those under whose orders you have commenced it. I remain, Sir, &c. &c."

The Speaker having read the letter, stated, that the next thing the house had to dispose of was, whether it should be ordered to lie on the table? The debate, on that question, on the suggestion of C. W. Wynne, was adjourned until the next day, April the 10th: on which day Mr. Curwen, thinking that the course most becoming the dignity of the house would be to take no farther notice of that letter, moved, that the further consideration of it be adjourned to that day six months. This motion was seconded by Mr. Davie Giddy. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that the punishment he had before proposed was for a defiance of the authority of that house. The present letter was but a continuation of the same defiance, and a proof of the same offence. It was, however, a great aggravation to repeat it. He therefore proposed the following resolution: "That the letter which

Sir



Sir Francis Burdett had written to the Speaker was a high aggravation of his offence : but it appearing, from the report of the Serjeant, that the warrant for his commitment to the Tower had been executed, this house did not think it necessary to proceed any farther on the said letter."

A long conversation ensued, in the course of which, the gross impropriety of Sir Francis Burdett's letter to the Speaker was admitted by all, though the whole of his conduct, in provoking a contest with the house, was animadverted on with much less severity by some of the speakers than by others; and, by Sir Samuel Romilly, even defended. Sir Samuel contended that, according to his sentiments, there was no original offence. The letter to the Speaker could not, properly speaking, be called an aggravation.

Captain Parker, in a tone of great indignation, said, that the learned gentleman endeavoured to aid, by his counsels, the efforts of the honourable baronet, to exalt in the country a standard of seditious tumult. But being called to order, by Mr. Ponsonby, he readily acknowledged the impropriety into which he had been hurried, and made an apology, both to Sir Samuel Romilly, and to the house. He could not, however, help expressing his wish that the house would adopt the proper course at once, and expel Sir Francis Burdett. The objection to that seemed to be, that Sir Francis would be returned again. But he was satisfied, that when once the electors of Westminster knew all the particulars of his late conduct, they would never return him to repre-

sent them again in that house. Neither was Mr. Beresford afraid that the electors of Westminster would re-elect that sanguinary man. He would use no other term, because, if he was not sanguinary, he might have maintained his principles, without hazarding the effusion of blood.—Amongst the various grounds of complaint which Mr. Lytleton had against the honourable baronet, he could not pass over his implied promise to the Serjeant at Arms to accompany him to the Tower. He had lived on terms of friendship with that honourable baronet. But this was an act so wholly unworthy of him, that he must for ever abjure him, either as a private or a political friend. Another ground of complaint, on his part, against Sir Francis, was, that from the first to the last moment of his obstinate and unconstitutional resistance, he had been attended in his house by the brother of a notorious and avowed traitor. He did not mean, by any means to say, that Mr. Roger O'Connor was a traitor. But if, what was impossible, he had been in the situation of Sir Francis Burdett, he should not have associated with any man liable to even a shadow of suspicion. He should not have been attended by the brother of Arthur O'Connor, that vile traitor, who employed himself in writing in a paper, published in the English language, at Paris, the most foul, false, and scandalous libels upon the English government and nation : a paper printed in the English language, no doubt, with a view to be circulated for the dissemination of his sedition and treasons in these realms. Was

it



it by the introduction of foreign libels and treasons that the liberty, or public spirit, of this country was to be asserted and animated? All such proceedings of the honourable baronet he should, from the bottom of his heart, disclaim, and was determined to oppose him in every instance.—Mr. Curwen said, that his object was to obtain unanimity, and that, if it was the wish of the house, he had no objection to withdraw his amendment.

Mr. Whitbread could not consent to the word “aggravation” in the original motion, and proposed “flagrant,” as a parliamentary word, and, at the same time, a word sufficiently strong. The Chancellor of the Exchequer being extremely desirous of unanimity, on the present occasion, wished to adopt this suggestion. In order, however, that it might not appear on the journals that the original words, relative to aggravation, had been left out, he requested he might be allowed to propose the words suggested by the honourable gentleman as a part of the original motion. Mr. Whitbread consented. It appearing to be the general sentiment of the house that neither the letter, nor the amendments moved, should appear on the journals, the Speaker said he would give directions accordingly. And the question was put as an original motion, “That it is the opinion of this house, that the said letter is a high and flagrant breach of the privileges of the house: but it appearing, from the report of the Serjeant at Arms,

attending this house, that the warrant of the Speaker, for the commitment of Sir Francis Burdett to the Tower has been executed, this house will not, at this time, proceed further on the said letter.”

*Agreed nem. con.*

Sir Francis Burdett brought an action at law against the Speaker of the House of Commons, for issuing the warrant for his arrest and imprisonment; one against the Serjeant at Arms, generally for executing the warrant, and, particularly, for breaking open the doors of his house, in the execution of it; and another against the Earl of Moira, as the person who kept him incustody in the Tower. The House of Commons ordered the Attorney General to defend them. The plea of defence was, that the warrant being issued by the authority of that house was a legal warrant, and therefore rendered the arrest and imprisonment legal. This plea, as was foreseen, was admitted.\* The privileges of parliament were allowed by the judges of the King’s Bench not to be cognizable in a court of law, but to be a part of the law of the land.—Thus the attempts of Sir Francis Burdett, to overthrow the privileges of the House of Commons, as is usual in all attempts to overturn established authorities, only served to confirm them. It is possible, indeed, that the House of Commons, as well as any of the other two branches of the legislature, might abuse the powers with which they are invested. Nor is it possible to provide against every possible or extreme case, by any

\* For farther particulars respecting the arrest, imprisonment, and release of Sir Francis Burdett, see Appendix to Chronicle, p. 344; and State Papers, p. 439.



system of balancing the one against the other. *Omne simile claudicat*. The metaphor of a constitutional balance of power does not come up to abstract precision. Were the three branches of the British legislature, on any question, to be exactly balanced against each other, and, like belligerent powers, each to be more concerned for the maintenance of its own privileges, than for even the public welfare and safety, the wheel of government must stand still. The understanding between the kingly, the judicial, and the legislative authorities is not, properly speaking, a balance, but a harmonious concert. Montesquieu observes justly, that the spirit, or moving principle of republics is virtue. The same thing, in a great degree, may be affirmed of our mixed constitution. Solid sense, moderation, and a regard to the general interests of the country, must be the arbiters in the case of any difference between the different powers that compose the state. It was the avowed object of Sir F. Burdett, in the fracas he excited, to exalt the judicial power at the expense of the Commons. It was fortunate for the people of this country, and to very few more fortunate than to himself, that the dangers of anarchy and revolution were prevented by the firmness and wisdom of the House of Commons, and of the judges. The privileges of the House of Commons are equally necessary for securing the nation against the attacks open or disguised, of the Crown, and of popular fermentation.—But it was alleged, that the House of Commons may institute a prosecution against libellers through the Attorney General. What if a

ministry disposed to humble that house, and bring it into contempt, should refuse to prosecute? Does the independence of the House of Commons depend on the favour of ministry, or the forms and fallible judgments of the inferior courts? Or, supposing both these suppositions impossible, must the House of Commons submit to insults during the whole of the long vacation, from June to November? This state of humiliation, for so long an interval, could not fail to ruin the purest and best disposed parliament.—It is scarcely possible to imagine that Sir Francis Burdett could expect any other issue of the contest than what took place.

Sir Francis, it may be presumed, was abundantly consoled, and, probably, more than consoled, under his imprisonment in the Tower, by the addresses he received, from different parts of the kingdom, and the petitions that were sent to the House of Commons for his liberation. The first place that petitioned, as might be expected, was Westminster.

On the 17th of April, Lord Cochrane presented a petition from a meeting at Westminster, held that day in Palace Yard. It was entitled a *Petition and Remonstrance*. It might have been more properly stiled a philippic. The house was not petitioned, but *called upon*, to restore to the inhabitants of Westminster their beloved representative, and to take into their consideration a reform in parliament. It contrasted, among other contemptuous expressions, the refusal of the house to inquire into the conduct of Lord Castle-reagh, and Mr. Perceval, when distinctly charged with the sale  
-of



of a seat in that house, with the committal of Sir Francis Burdett to prison, enforced by military power. The petition and remonstrance being read, Lord Cochrane moved, that it should lie on the table. This motion was opposed by several members, on account of the great indecency and impudence of the language. The Chancellor of the Exchequer entered fully into the feelings of these Gentlemen. Yet, in a case of petition, he would rather err on the side of indulgence than of severity, if the question could at all admit of a doubt. If the house should think, that the petition was intended merely as a vehicle of abuse, it ought, undoubtedly, to reject it. If not, then the petition ought, in his opinion, to lie on the table: which, after some further consideration, was ordered.

A petition from Middlesex, was presented on the 2d of May by Mr. Byng, who moved that the petition do lie on the table. The Chancellor of the Exchequer appealed to the house whether there was any member who heard that petition read, that did not conceive it to be rather an experiment to try how far the forbearance of the house would go, in the sufferance of language such as it contained; or whether it could have any other object than to insult, when it went to the length of a direct and declaratory censure of that house? A debate ensued, which was continued, by adjournment, on the next day.

On a division of the house there appeared,

For receiving the petition, 58.  
Against it, 139.

A petition from the Livery of

London for the release, not only of Sir Francis Burdett but Mr. Jones, after a debate, continued by adjournment, from the 8th to the 9th of May, was rejected by 128 against 36.

A second petition from the same party, in which they declared that in their former one they meant nothing disrespectful to the House of Commons, was received.

A petition from the borough of Reading, more respectful to the House of Commons, for the discharge of John Gale Jones and Sir F. Burdett, was ordered to lie on the table. So also were petitions from Berkshire, Nottingham, Kingston-upon-Hull, Rochester; and the Borough of Southwark. A petition from Sheffield was rejected.

For some days before the prorogation of parliament, when prisoners committed by either houses are always liberated, a number of Sir Francis Burdett's most zealous partizans, having formed themselves into what they called a committee of his friends, announced, in the newspapers, the ceremonial to be observed on his going out of prison, as if it had been not a matter of course but a triumph! There was to have been a procession, for numbers and pageantry, beyond any thing of the kind recorded in English history, to accompany the martyr of liberty from Tower Hill to his house, in Piccadilly. The quarters, in which different parties were to assemble, were pointed out; and the order in which they were to march described with great exactness. Banners were prepared, and it was even intended, by some of the greatest zealots, that it should be recommended



recommended to all who could afford it, to wear Sir Francis Burdett's livery, by way of uniform. But it was judged by the more moderate, that this would carry too much the appearance of a symptom and symbol of conspiracy.—Soon after break of day the populace was in motion, and the sound of music was heard in every street. At nine o'clock in the morning, a multitude, consisting chiefly of the parish of St. Ann's, Soho, which they considered as being, in fact, the head-quarters of the Burdettites, proceeded to the Tower, as a guard of honour: and, by ten o'clock, all the places of rendezvous pointed out by the committee were filled with the partizans of Sir Francis. Towards the afternoon the whole line of streets from the Tower to Stratton-street, Piccadilly, was thickly planted with people. Every window and elevated station was occupied. In Piccadilly, scaffoldings were erected. The sides of all the streets were also nearly lined with waggons, teams, and carts, filled with men, women, and children; and every eye was eagerly turned to the quarter from whence the spectacle, so much desired, was expected to come.

In the mean time, measures of prevention had been taken by the civil magistrates, by a proper disposition of military assembled in and about the metropolis.

The different bodies of men, that were to form the procession, wore blue cockades. This badge was also every where to be seen among the multitude that lined the street. Most of the ladies wore the garter blue ribbon. From many houses were suspended rods with ribbons of the same colour. Nu-

merous bodies of the Westminster electors began to repair to the Tower, about one o'clock, preceded by bands of music, and with blue silk colours flying, on which were inscribed various devices; such as "The Constitution," "Trial by Jury," "Magna Charta," "Burdett for ever." The North and West sides of Tower-hill were immensely crowded with people of every description, which prevented the procession from being arranged in the regular order that was intended: for never had greater pains been taken to order disorder and confusion. About three hundred men on horseback arrived at Tower Hill, about two o'clock; among whom was Major Cartwright, and Col. Hanger, mounted on a white horse, with a large oak stick in his hand. They all wore blue cockades. The ramparts of the Tower were filled by soldiers, in their slop dress, and without arms. They were frequently cheered by the people on Tower Hill, but to none of these salutations did the soldiers make any return: whether in this, they were guided by their own good sense, or by orders from their officers.—After a long and anxious expectation of the appearance of Sir Francis Burdett, a soldier in the Tower called out several times to the populace, through a speaking trumpet, "he is gone by water." But no one seemed to credit what he said. A little afterwards one of the constables, posted on Tower Hill, assured the people that Sir Francis Burdett had really gone by water. It is extremely difficult to banish ardent hope and expectation. The constable was not credited for his assertion any more than the soldier who



who had spoken from the Tower. At half past four o'clock, however, three placards were suspended over the gates of the Tower, with the following inscription: "Sir Francis Burdett left the Tower by water, at half past three o'clock." This he was enabled to do, though it was within a few minutes only after the prorogation of parliament was pronounced, by means of a sort of telegraphic communication, established between the Parliament House and the Tower. The news of Sir Francis having gone from the Tower by water, excited not only surprize, but indignation in many. For some time considerable confusion prevailed, and discontent appeared in every countenance. After a short consultation, the Westminster committee resolved to conduct the procession to Sir Francis Burdett's house, in Piccadilly: but it was near half an hour before they could communicate their intention to the whole of those who were to form it. The order of procession being fixed, Colonel Hanger, followed by Major Cartwright, led the van. Immediately at their heels were several gentlemen from the country, on horseback, four abreast, and, after these, a long column of the electors of Westminster on foot, six abreast, and

an immense number of carriages, in some of which were several members of the common council, and many liverymen of London. Next came Sir F. Burdett's phaeton, the horses of which were led by several attendants on each side. A great part of those, who had originally intended to take part in the procession, left Tower Hill, St. John's Street, and the Minories, when it was ascertained that Sir Francis had gone by water, but many others joined it in its progress.

The procession was preceded by horsemen with trumpets, and a long line of people on foot, with blue sashes and ribbons, decorated with the appropriate mottoes and emblems. A close coach appeared in the cavalcade, drawn by the populace, preceded and followed by an immense line of hats with blue ribbons, as deep as the passage through the streets would permit, and surmounted by a number of persons wearing the same livery. This was a hackney coach, with Mr. Jones, the primary cause of all this tumult. When he arrived at Piccadilly, he mounted the roof, and harangued the populace; but, such was the confusion and noise, that not a word was heard of what he said.\*

The grand procession, as it was

\* As it was apprehended that Jones, alleging a right to a trial, would not quit his quarters in Newgate peaceably, it was determined to effect his ejection by a stratagem. As soon as notice was given to Mr. Newman, keeper of Newgate, of the prorogation of parliament, one of the turnkeys informed him that a gentleman wished to speak to him at the lobby door. Mr. Jones immediately descended from his apartment, but seeing nobody in the lobby, the turnkey said, "he is on the outside of the door, where you may speak to him if you please." Mr. Jones had no sooner slipped through than the wicket was barred against him; and all his entreaties for readmission were in vain. He frequently harangued the mob out of the hackney coach window, on the grievance of being both illegally imprisoned, and illegally turned out of prison.



called, reached Piccadilly about eight o'clock. By the efforts of the sheriffs and constables, Piccadilly was nearly cleared by ten o'clock. But parties going off, in various directions, exclaimed, "Lights up!" The summons was instantly obeyed; and the town in a short time displayed a general illumination.

In consequence of Sir Francis Burdett's conduct that day, two members of the Westminster committee waited on him at Wimbledon. Sir Francis said, that his conduct had been the result of the deepest reflection. Their enemies, he said, had been base enough to charge him with the blood that had been shed on the day of his commitment. And had he, by gratifying his personal vanity, been the cause of a single accident, he should have reflected on it with pain for the remainder of his life. The two committee men observed, that his determination ought to have been made known. To this Sir Francis replied, that it was absolutely necessary, that there should be an expression of public sentiment; that this was now complete, and that his being in the procession could not have added thereto. It was generally observed, that Sir Francis had, on this occasion, observed the same artificial conduct towards his political friends, that he did towards the Serjeant at Arms. He might have made the same shew of resistance to the officers of the House of Commons on Friday morning that he did on Monday. But then there would not have been any popular commotion or tumult. Neither would this have taken place if he had announced his in-

tention of not appearing in public on the prorogation of parliament. *An expression of public sentiment* he acknowledged might have been attended with fatal accidents. To these he exposed his friends but not himself. If such accidents had happened, he would have been as much to blame as if he had been present, and shared in the danger. In his retreat there was no sacrifice of personal vanity. This was rather more completely gratified by a display of his popularity and power, though he was not present to animate the populace. Farther still, the popular opinion of the metropolis respecting the person, principles, and views of Sir Francis, had been sufficiently, and somewhat too emphatically, expressed already, by the occurrences of the 9th of April, when he was taken to the Tower. In a word it is difficult to believe that the display of public opinion, which Sir Francis encouraged, was not considered by him as more subservient to his own glory than the welfare of the nation.

From a review of all the petitions, debates, and proceedings respecting John Gale Jones and Sir Francis Burdett, it appears, and it is somewhat curious to observe, that a very considerable portion of the time and attention of the House of Commons, this session, was taken up with questions, arising out of the practice of publishing, from day to day, accounts of the debates in parliament: a practice which, at the same time that it is productive of incalculable advantages to the cause of liberty in this, and even in other countries, cannot fail, on many occasions, to be a source of chagrin



to the members of both houses. Nay, it may be presumed, that it excites chagrin and disgust in most of the speakers on most occasions. For a speech must be reported with great accuracy, and at great length indeed, if it meet with the full approbation of the author. But when to the extreme haste and hurry of writing, and the want of taste and judgment in some instances in the reporters, is added deliberate slight, or injustice, nay and misrepresentation, the iniquitous report becomes really an intolerable grievance. The attention of the House of Commons was called to this subject by Mr. Wallace, on the 16th of April. The way, he said, in which the speeches of some of its members were reported, was a direct breach of its privileges. He did not wish to object to the practice of reporting, nor was it his intention to follow up what he should now say with any motion. He only wished to awaken the house to the situation in which, in consequence of the indulgence of admitting strangers to hear and report the debates, it now stood. He particularly meant to allude to a speech of Sir J. Anstruther's, a short time ago, which had appeared in a morning paper, in such a manner as to throw ridicule on the speaker, being accompanied with annotations, and some parts of it printed in a different character, so as evidently to betray the intention of the reporter. He had also remarked, that the speeches of some of the most distinguished members of that house were totally suppressed; and that, where any allusion was

afterwards made to the arguments or observations of those members, such allusions were also omitted. In this manner did the proceedings of that house go before the public in a mutilated and partial form. If the debates were to be reported at all, they ought to be reported fairly. By a contrary practice, the most destructive system of misrepresentation might be introduced. He felt it to be his imperious duty to call on the house to resort to the measures which might seem necessary on the occasion, if what he had now stated was not taken as a sufficient warning.

Mr. Wortley hoped that some paper would set the example of reporting fairly. Here the conversation dropped.

In the hall where the national assemblies of France, the constituent, the legislative, and the conventional, held their sittings, there was a small gallery appointed for a corps of short-hand writers\*, whose reports, thus in a manner authenticated, possessed nearly the authority of public records. This, which was in fact an appeal to the people, was congruous enough to a democracy. But were it adopted by the British legislature, it is probable that the political constitution actually existing, would soon suffer very considerable derangement. A kind of fourth power thus recognized would be introduced into the State. If all the speeches, too, were faithfully recorded by the bench of tachygraphes, the reports would become so immeasurably voluminous, that they could not be circulated, as now, in newspapers, through which vehicles

\* Tachygraphes.



alone, and not in a number of huge volumes by themselves, they produce an effect on the public mind.

On the other hand, there does not seem to be any other method of securing that impartiality and fidelity which Mr. Wallace and Mr. Wortley, and no doubt the other members, so naturally wished to be established. But, again, if strangers should be excluded from the sittings of parliament, which is scarcely, after so long a connivance, to be thought of by the members, and certainly not to be approved of by the public, the popular part of the Constitution would receive a deep, and, too probably, a fatal wound. It is the liberty of the press, and particularly that of publishing what passes in Parliament, that forms the grand counterpoise to the influence of the Crown, increased and still increasing, (not to say any

thing of growing luxury and corruption) through the greatness and prosperity of the empire.—It is observed, by an eminent French writer\*, “that examples never go out in the same way by which they came.” When the House of Commons first connived at the introduction of booksellers, or their reporters, into the gallery, they were little aware of the consequences that were to follow this indulgence. The whole of these consequences have not, by any means, become apparent: a kind of satellites have fastened themselves on parliament, whom it is irksome and grievous to endure, but whom it would be dangerous, in different respects, altogether to exclude. It is a case of great embarrassment; and in all likelihood will be more and more felt to be so. The whole result of this new order, or power in the state, is by no means yet unfolded.

\* Amelot de la Housseil.



## CHAP. VII.

*Finance.—Ways and Means of the Year for Great Britain and for Ireland.—Affairs of the East India Company.—Offices in Reversion Bill.—Passed in the House of Commons, but thrown out of the House of Lords.—Third Report of the Committee of Finance.—Motion by Mr. Martin respecting Public Economy.—Resolutions on this Subject moved by Mr. Banks—respecting Sinecure Places and exorbitant Salaries or Emoluments.—Offices in Reversion Bill.—Resolutions moved by Mr. Horner, and agreed to respecting Bullion and Foreign Coins, Bank Notes, &c. &c.—Bullion Committee appointed—Their Report—Twelfth Report of the Commissioners of Military Inquiry.—Expulsion of Mr. Hunt, for Peculation, from the House of Commons.*

AS the various matters contained in the last chapter are closely linked together, in the order of cause and effect, and, as the whole arose out of the inquiry into the unfortunate expedition to the Scheldt, it has not been thought proper to interrupt that order in our narrative by the introduction of other debates and proceedings in Parliament, though prior in the order of time. We now proceed from views of past transactions, and debates, and occurrences to which these gave birth, to business of a prospective nature; and, first of all, to the important business of Finance.

House of Commons, Wednesday, May 16.—The House having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, for examining the account of the public debt, and the other public accounts, usually referred to that committee preparatory to the budget, the Chancellor

of the Exchequer rose to submit to the consideration of the committee a general statement of the supplies and ways and means of the year. These, he said, would not only afford the best means of forming a correct judgment how far the country was able to support its present burthens, but be the best answer to those who were accustomed to take gloomy views of the financial situation of the country. It would be highly satisfactory to know, that such had been the produce of our revenue in that very year, when men of great weight and authority in that house anticipated a failure, that instead of the deficit they apprehended, there actually had been a very considerable increase. He should therefore, without farther preliminary observation, proceed to state the supplies already voted, and also the ways and means by which he proposed to lower them.

SUPPLIES,



## SUPPLIES, 1810.

	£.
Navy (exclusive of Ordnance Sea Service).....	19,238,000
Army (including Barracks and Commissariat).....	13,953,606
Do. Ireland.....	2,992,057
Do. Extraordinaries, England.....	2,750,000
Ireland.....	200,000
Unprovided ditto last year.....	20,337,000
Ordnance.....	4,411,000
Miscellaneous (about).....	2,000,000
Vote of Credit, England.....	3,000,000
Ireland.....	200,000
Sicily.....	400,000
Portugal.....	980,000
Joint Charge..	£ 50,566,000

## SEPARATE CHARGES.

Loyalty Loan..	18,776	
Interest on Ex- chequer Bills..	1,600,000	
		1,618,776
Total Supplies..	52,185,000	
Irish Proportion..	6,106,000	
England..	46,079,000	
Irish proportion of £50,566,000	5,936,000	
Ditto Civil List & other charges	170,000	6,106,000

To meet these Supplies, the  
Ways and Means were as follows:

## WAYS AND MEANS.

	£.
Annual Duties .....	3,000,000
Surplus Consolidated Fund, 1809.....	2,661,602
Ditto, 1810 .....	4,400,000
War Taxes .....	19,500,000
Lottery.....	350,000

Exchequer Bills.....	* 5,311,600
Vote of Credit .....	3,000,000
Loan.....	8,000,000

£ 46,223,202

* The Exchequer Bills fund- ed in the present year amount to.....	8,311,600
The like amount to be issued for the service of 1810, will be applied, To discharge Vote of Credit Bills 1809.....	3,000,000
Towards the Sup- ply of the year	5,311,600
	8,311,600

The total of the Ways and  
Means would afford a surplus of  
141,202l. above the total amount  
of the Supplies.

Mr. Perceval then stated mi-  
nutely the grounds on which he  
conceived himself to be warranted  
in taking the different items in  
the Ways and Means at the  
amount above stated. As to the  
loan, he had contracted for it that  
morning, on terms much more  
favourable to the public than had  
ever been known at any former  
period. The amount of interest  
on the money borrowed was but  
4l. 15s. 3d. per cent.; which was  
fifteen shillings per cent. below  
the rate of legal interest.; and on  
the same terms he had contracted  
for four millions for Ireland.  
From a brief survey of the manu-  
factures and commerce of the  
country, the comparative amount  
of the exports and imports at dif-  
ferent periods, the great public  
works which were undertaken  
throughout the country, the great  
roads, canals, and extensive docks  
which were every where establish-  
ing,



ing, with as much spirit and activity as in a time of the most profound and prosperous peace, he inferred that the state of the industry and enterprize of the country was such as to enable the nation to support the burthens it had to bear, and that there could be no reason to consider this as a falling or failing country. It was not only in our internal resources, but in our external means and strength, that the progressive prosperity of this nation was to be traced: This too had, happily, been made out to the conviction of our enemy. It was but a few years since that all he wanted was ships, colonies, an commerce. If the attainment of such objects was his wish, what progress had he made towards their accomplishment? It was only by acquisitions from this country that he was to realize any one of them; and yet all the commerce that belonged to his empire, and all the colonies, he had lost; and the few ships he had remaining, were pent up in ports, without ever daring to put to sea.\* Mr. Perceval concluded with moving, that the terms on which the loan had been contracted for should be approved by that committee; which was agreed to. Resolutions corresponding to the other financial statements of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were also agreed to, and ordered to be reported.

House of Commons, May 30.  
Mr. Foster rose and said, that it was his duty on that day to submit to the consideration of the

committee the amount of the supplies voted, and of the ways and means he proposed to recommend for the service of the present year in Ireland. In doing this, it would be necessary for him to state the situation of the finances of Ireland at the beginning of the year, in order to shew how the consolidated fund stood at that period, and what sum was applicable to the service of the current year. On the 5th of January, 1810, the account stood thus:

## ARREARS AND BALANCES,

January 5, 1810.

Consolidated fund on that day in the Treasury of Ireland.....	£. 1,365,000	
Unpaid of the British Loan.....	424,000	
		<hr/> 1,789,000
Out of which was to be deducted—		
For Quota for the year 1809, due to the British Treasury .. .	1,379,000	
Also demands remaining unpaid, viz.		
Commissioners of 1st Fruits	25,000	
Ditto Bogs	2,000	
Do. Inquiry	2,300	
Do. Inland Navigation....	138,600	
Outstanding Debentures, Lottery Prizes, and Treasury Bills	28,700	
		<hr/> 197,000

\* The Orders in Council had the effect of reducing the customs of France from 2,500,000*l.* to 500,000*l.* being a diminution of 4-5ths of their whole amount.



Brought forward.. 1,379,000

But of this sum not more than the first three items, and 70,000*l.* of the fourth, would probably be required in the course of this year..... 99,000

1,478,000

Surplus of Consolidated Fund therefore remaining applicable for services of the current year..... £. 311,000

He now came to the expenses of the year, which would be found in these

#### CHARGES.

Interest and Sinking Fund on the Public Debt in Ireland.. £. 3,974,000

Quota of 2-17ths of 52,185,000*l.* the total supply of Great Britain (6,106,000 British)..... 6,614,000

Treasury Bills charged on aids of the year ... 541,000

11,129,000

The Ways and Means then to cover the charges already specified, were—

Annual Revenue..... £. 5,000,000

Loan of four millions, British, equal to Irish currency ..... 4,333,000

Loan of four millions four hundred thousand pounds, British, equal to, Irish currency..... 1,516,000

Surplus of the Consolidated Fund applicable to the service of the present year 311,000

Making a total of..... £. 11,160,000

From which deducting the amount of charges already specified ..... 11,129,000

There would remain an excess of Ways and Means, above the charges, of.... 31,000

The two loans, Mr. Foster said, were unquestionably of such an extent, that he could most sincerely have wished they could have been avoided. But as Ireland had but a small capital, and was increasing in her manufactures, such a measure, by withdrawing capital from the operations of industry, might have the effect of repressing the enterprising spirit which led to the improvement and growing progress of manufactures in Ireland. It was with great satisfaction he had to state, that though the charge upon the revenue had increased, yet the revenue had increased in a higher proportion. The real value of the exports in 1800 was five millions; in 1802, a year of peace, eight millions and a quarter; and on the average of 1808 and 1809, twelve millions. The real value of British exports in the same years were, in 1800, forty millions; in 1802, forty-eight millions; and in 1809, forty-five millions; being an increase of 1-9th only, while the exports of Ireland had increased full 7-15ths. The exports of corn from Ireland had never been so large as last year; and the quantity of ground tilled in the present year, afforded, in the event of a favourable season, a prospect of a most abundant crop; a source of wealth to that country, and a necessary supply to this. Mr. Foster proceeded to state to the committee the ways and means, with his reasons for having recourse to them; by which he proposed to provide for the charge of the loan of the present year, which, including management, interest, and sinking fund,

I 4

was



was but 5l. 13s. per cent. and amounted in the whole to 331,269l. The ways and means he proposed were---

	£.
Additional duties on Post Office, 1d. each letter.....	35,000
Customs, on tea and raisins.....	70,000
Stamps for receipts and advertisements.....	30,000
Wines, only 3d. per bottle.....	100,000
Regulation of stores..	18,000
Window tax.....	85,000
<hr/>	
Total..	£. 338,000

Deduct interest and sinking fund on the loan.....	331,269
<hr/>	

Remains a surplus un- touched.....	£. 6,731
<hr/>	

Mr. Foster concluded by moving a string of resolutions for imposing these new taxes, which, after some conversation, were put, and agreed to.

House of Commons, May 31. Mr. R. Dundas moved the order of the day for the House to resolve itself into a committee of the whole house upon the affairs of the East India Company. Mr. Creevy opposed the motion, on the ground, that there was not sufficient information before the house to enable gentlemen to form any correct opinion on the subject to be considered. The question to be gone into in the committee, was, whether the Parliament

should give 1,500,000 of the public money to the India Company. In order to shew how little claim the company had upon the public, he stated briefly the several applications that had been made by the East India Company to that House within the last thirty years; and he concluded, that as the Company had failed in all its promises to the public; as its debt and its capital had so enormously increased during the last thirty years, and as no necessity existed for going into the committee till the House should be in full possession of the requisite information, he meant to oppose the motion of the hon. gentleman, and would take the sense of the House upon it.---Mr. R. Dundas said, that he should not follow the hon. gentleman into his details for the last thirty or forty years; on this point he should only observe, that from the hon. gentleman he had heard it asserted for the first time, that it was a proof of decline for a commercial company to increase its capital for the purposes of trade. The hon. gentleman, towards the close of his speech, had admitted that there was a complete exposition of the affairs of the company down to the latest period already before the House.

For going into the committee, 43. Against it, 7.

Mr. Dundas stated the causes of the difficulties in which the company found itself involved; the chief of which arose from the number of bills presented in this country for payment upon their India debt. It had been the object of the company, however, to confine their loans in India to their



their surplus revenue there; and they had succeeded to a considerable extent in Madras and Bombay, but there were no accounts from Bengal to shew how the plan answered there. But a complete account of all their debts, and of their general situation, would be laid before the house next session. It was evident to every body, that if goods to the amount of 6 or 8,000,000*l.* the property of the company, were under the immediate eye of the crown, that such property would fully defray the loan of 1,500,000*l.* and that it could instantly be appropriated to that purpose. Besides, this debt might be liquidated by the company defraying certain naval expenses in the East Indies, hitherto defrayed by the crown. He further stated, that the government had called upon the company to give licences for individual trade to Africa, the Red Sea, and the southern continent of America. The House, however, would have a future opportunity of regulating the India trade in whatever manner should appear most proper. Mr. Dundas concluded by moving, "That the sum of 1,500,000*l.* should be granted to the East India Company."

Mr. Creevey observed, that Mr. Dundas had only been able to shew a decrease of deficit. He had said nothing of surplus. Increase of investment was not necessarily a source of profit; where the trade was a losing one, it was a means of increased loss. The company, he contended, had completely failed in all their engagements to the public; and, instead of 9,000,000, which they ought

to have paid by this time, they had only paid 500,000*l.* Mr. Dundas observed, that the affairs of the company could not be considered as a mere mercantile concern. They were not to be considered as bankrupt because their commercial profits here could not answer all the demands for the India bills. It might as well be said, that this country was bankrupt, because it could not at once discharge a debt of six hundred millions of pounds.

On a division of the House, there appeared for the motion, 73. Against it 10.

Another debate on the East India Company's Loan Bill took place on the third reading, June 14, when there appeared for the third reading 52; against it, 10. The bill was then passed. On the 20th of June it was read a third time, and passed in the House of Lords.

House of Commons, Jan. 21. Mr. Bankes moved, that the bill of last session for suspending for a limited period the granting of offices in reversion, be read. This being done, he observed, that the propriety of the principle, that places ought not to be granted in reversion, was by that House universally acknowledged. The bills formed on that principle had, however, failed in the House of Lords. It now became the House to shew they were determined to carry into execution that which they had already unanimously resolved. He thought that, after the whole House, and the country also, had shewn so great and unremitting an eagerness and anxiety to pass the bill, it would not be right



right to assume such a thing as that prejudices against it could still remain in the breasts of any persons elsewhere, after so much had been done to allay them first, and afterwards to eradicate them. It could not be doubted but the main object of offices was trust; but this mode of granting them in reversion overturned that principle, and encouraged the dangerous idea, that offices were granted for the benefit of the possessor, and not for the benefit of the public. As to the prerogative of the crown, the bill of last session rather tended to restore the prerogative. The crown, in the disposal of offices, ought to have them to give unencumbered at the time of bestowing them. Upon these grounds he would move, "That leave be given to bring in a bill to make perpetual the act which had just been read."

Mr. Henry Thornton felt the great respect due to the other House: yet he considered that it was the peculiar province of the House of Commons to consider of measures which tended to lighten the burthens of the country. It might be possible that the Lords might be somewhat too precipitate in the rejection of any thing that might appear to invade the royal prerogative. But as to the prerogative of the crown, the bill had a greater tendency to increase, than abridge it. A gift of a place in reversion was not worth a sixth part of the real value of the place when the actual possession could be given. Considering the bill, therefore, as advantageous to the public, and not injurious to the prerogative, he should beg

leave to second the motion.---The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that if they proceeded to alter the prerogative of the crown in any respect, there should at least be sufficient reason stated for such an alteration. When the report of the Finance Committee should be on the table, the House would then judge whether such alteration was necessary. He agreed, that there were many offices which might in future be reformed or abolished; but as he never understood it to be the intention of the supporters of the bill to interfere with the vested rights of any individual, he thought it could be of but little importance, whether the same effect was produced by a temporary bill, or a perpetual bill. He therefore moved as an amendment to the motion, that, for the original, the following words should be substituted: "A bill for continuing and amending the said act for a time to be limited." The amendment being read by the Speaker, Mr. Perceval said, that although he had stated his sentiments, if he perceived the sentiments of the House to be strongly the other way, he would not press a division. After some conversation on Mr. Perceval's proposed amendment, his own and one other voice was all that could be heard in support of it.---The bill having passed in the House of Commons, was, February 26, the day appointed for the second reading, thrown out in the House of Peers.

After Mr. Bankes's motion for leave to bring in the above bill, was disposed of, he made one for the appointment of the Finance Committee;



Committee; which was agreed to, and the committee was, with some alterations, re-appointed.

House of Commons, March 19. Upon the motion of Mr. H. Martin, the House resolved itself into a committee, to take into consideration the third report of the Committee of Finance. He said, among many other observations, if no recommendations had ever been offered from the throne, if no pledges had ever been given by that House, it was impossible to look at the amount of the public revenue, and at the manner in which it was disposed of, and to hesitate about the propriety of taking effectual steps for controlling the public expenditure. When it was known that the whole of the burthens arising out of sinecures amounted to no less a sum than 1,500,000*l.* per annum, could any one question the propriety of taking such steps? He did not mean to state that the whole of this expenditure should be done away: it was proper to make good the several sums voted by parliament. Adverting to a late pamphlet of Mr. George Rose's, he was astonished at the position therein laid down, that the influence of the crown had not been increased since the adoption of Mr. Dunning's celebrated resolution on that subject. Having taken a comparative view of the public receipts and expenditure at the period when Mr. Dunning's resolution was adopted, with a report of the grants and promotions which had taken place in the interval between that period and the present, he put the question, if it was possible that any man of

common sense could subscribe to the opinion that such an augmentation of revenue, and such a variety of appointments, would not operate directly to increase the influence of the crown? Mr. Martin concluded with moving the resolution, "That it was the peculiar duty of that House to promote economy in the public expenditure."—The Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed an amendment, by adding the words, "of all branches of his Majesty's government." The resolution was then proposed from the chair, as thus amended, and agreed to.—Mr. Bankes then rose to state his object in bringing forward certain resolutions. It was to shew in what spirit the House came to the discussion of the subject before them, what principles it meant to adopt with regard to the abolition or regulation of the offices to which the resolutions of the House last sessions referred. He stated the considerations that had induced him to think that it would be the best way to abolish those offices altogether, and to give his Majesty the power of granting pensions to a limited amount, in lieu of the offices abolished. Besides the sinecures there was another description of offices which demanded the attention of the House, namely, those where the emolument was large beyond all proportion to the duty. These also should be regulated, and an allowance made in every instance proportioned to the services performed. There was a third class of offices, and that more numerous than any of the former, namely, those executed by deputy. With respect to



to these, the object of his resolution would be to abolish what was sinecure, and retain what was necessary; reducing the emolument to that for which the duty was performed, with some increase in many cases, no doubt, for the increased responsibility. Mr. Banks illustrated the advantage of rewarding merit by pensions rather than by sinecure offices, by stating the manner in which a great sinecure had been lately applied. A message had been brought down by the minister from his Majesty, recommending the grant of a pension to Lord Wellington. The bill for granting that pension had not passed through the House, when that sinecure,\* falling into the hands of his right hon. friend, was given to Mr. Yorke; of whom he spoke in the handsomest manner, but who had never certainly performed any particular service to the country, for which any one could have dreamt of conferring on him a direct pension to the amount of the emoluments of the sinecure now in his possession.

Mr. Banks read certain resolutions he had formed conformable to the principle he had stated. The first of these he proposed as an amendment upon that which had been read from the chair. The substance of it was, "That it was expedient to abolish sinecures, except such as were connected with the personal service of his Majesty or the Royal Family; to regulate other offices, and to reduce the salaries of such as were executed by deputy, to the sum for which the service was performed, with an al-

lowance for the additional responsibility;—all to be done after the interests in these offices had expired." He concluded by moving, "That a select committee be appointed to examine to what offices the principle he had thrown out could be applied."—The Chancellor of the Exchequer was of opinion, that the House could not, on such slight grounds as those which had been stated by his honourable friend, assent to this change, nor reasonably hope that such a change would have any effect in alleviating public burthens, or removing discontent. The House would therefore do well to consider gravely before it gave in to a proposition so new in itself, and so suddenly submitted to their decision. As to the office bestowed on Mr. Yorke, who certainly had been some time in his Majesty's service, the disposal of it was part of the patronage of the crown, and that his Majesty was at perfect liberty to confer it on any meritorious individual he pleased. Mr. Banks certainly thought, that less than the aggregate amount of the sinecures, indirect pensions, would afford adequate means of rewarding public services. As to the charge of having taken the House by surprise, an individual member could only propose his resolutions in his place: the House was called upon at present merely to settle the principle. He should be extremely glad if the House would allow his resolutions to be printed, that they might be considered with care. To this the Chancellor of

\* The Tellership of the Exchequer.



the Exchequer instantly assented. The Chairman reported progress, and obtained leave for the committee to sit again.

Next day, March 20, Mr. Bankes moved for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the grant of places and pensions in reversion. The bills which the House had already passed for this purpose, had the misfortune to fail in the House of Lords, as well as another bill which had originated in the House of Commons, within the present session. Nevertheless, he thought the mode by which the house was most likely to carry its wishes ultimately into effect was, to shew that it was in earnest, by using every means it might constitutionally adopt. Though a bill of a similar nature, which had originated in that house, had been lost in the other house, still he thought their lordships would not be indisposed to receive another bill, having the same general object in view, but worded in a different manner; and, instead of proposing, as in the former bills, to perpetuate the prohibition, to render it a bill of the suspension of the prerogative from time to time. He moved for leave to bring in that bill.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer did not object to the motion of his honourable friend for leave to bring in the bill, reserving to himself the right of moving in the committee on the bill an amendment of the title, in these words: “for a time to be limited.” Leave was given to bring in the bill.

House of Commons, May 31. Mr. Davie Giddy reported from the

committee of the whole House, to whom it had been referred, to consider further of the third report from the committee on public expenditure, the resolutions which they had directed him to report to the house; which he read in his place, and delivered in at the table.

Resolution 1. “That it is the opinion of this committee, that the utmost attention to economy, in all the branches of public expenditure, consistent with the interests of the public service, is at all times a great and important duty.” This was carried unanimously.

Resolution 2. “That for this purpose, in addition to the useful and effective measures already taken by parliament for the abolition and regulation of various sinecure offices, and offices executed by deputy, it is expedient to extend the like principles of abolition and regulation to such other cases as may appear to require and admit of the same.” Upon this resolution being read, Mr. Bankes moved the following amendment: “That for this purpose, &c. &c. it is expedient, after providing other and sufficient means for enabling his Majesty duly to recompense the faithful discharge of high and effective civil offices, to abolish all offices which have revenue without employment, and to regulate all offices which have revenue extremely disproportionate to employment, excepting only such as are connected with the personal service of his Majesty, or of the Royal Family, regard being had to the existing interests in any offices



offices to be abolished or regulated."\*---It appeared to Mr. Bathurst, that the substitute was likely to become more unpopular than the sinecures, because it held out to the public the semblance of a desire to remove a burthen, while it only got rid of a name; because, in fact, it involved an attempt at delusion. Mr. Long spoke to the same effect. But Lord Milton, Mr. H. Thornton, Mr. Macdonald, Mr. W. Taylor, and Mr. Wilberforce spoke in favour of the amendment. The house divided: for the amendment, 105—against it, 95. The rest of the resolutions were then put and carried.

It is in the Chapter on the Public Expenditure and Income that we are to notice the appointment of the Bullion Committee, which arose out of the embarrassments of our commerce, the grand spring of finance. For some time back we had suffered in our exchanges in foreign markets a loss of not less than from 15 to 20 per cent. From our circulating medium golden coins had almost wholly disappeared: the only medium of circulation in commercial transactions, and dealings of all kinds, was paper currency. The price of gold had risen from 3l. 17s. per ounce, in Bank notes, to 4l. 12s. A prodigious and very distressing

rise had taken place in the price of all commodities. This rise had proceeded in a much higher and more rapid proportion of increase within these last ten or fifteen years, than within any former period of equal duration; and by this rise in prices, or depreciation in the value of our paper currency, the public finances were as much lessened in their value as those of individuals.

House of Commons, Feb. 1. Mr. Horner,† pursuant to notice, rose to move for a variety of accounts and returns respecting the present state of the circulating medium and the bullion trade. He expressed a decided opinion, that it was necessary for the house to make inquiry into the causes of the present high price of bullion, and the consequent effect on the value of the paper currency. For the investigation of this highly interesting question, it was his intention on an early day to move the appointment of a select committee. But it would be not only inconvenient, but indispensable, in the first place, to obtain all such information on the whole of that subject as papers might afford; which information could afterwards be referred to the committee. He did not presume as yet to form a clear or confident conclusion on the subject. It was in order to

\* See Abstract of the Select Committee on Sinecure Places. (STATE PAPERS, p. 473.)

† Some political good arises out of rotten boroughs. Were there no elections of members of parliament besides those made by popular assemblies, men of genius and abilities, without political influence or the venal means of acquiring it, would never find their way into parliament. Mr. Horner was brought in as the representative of one of these boroughs through the influence of a leading member of opposition. Mr. Horner, who is one of the writers in the *Edinburgh Review*, has acquired great reputation by his critical observations on different works on political economy.



arrive at a correct opinion that he wished the house to call for the information, and undertake the inquiry he meant to propose. His present conjecture was, that the high price of gold might be produced partly by a larger circulation of the Bank of England paper than was necessary, and partly by the new circumstances in which the foreign trade of this country was placed. But all this was matter for inquiry. What remedy ought to be provided, would, of course, turn upon what should be ascertained to be the cause of the evil. Mr. Horner concluded with moving, that there be laid before that house "returns of the imports and exports of bullion and foreign coins; the amount of bank notes and dollars; the number of licences to country bankers; an account of the quantity of gold and silver exported by the East India Company to China and the East Indies;" and some other papers. Some members entered a little into the subject of paper currency and the bullion trade; but all agreed that it was a subject well worthy the most serious attention of the house, and that it had been introduced by Mr. Horner in a manner suitable to its importance.

All the resolutions produced by Mr. Horner were agreed to. A committee was appointed for the purposes above stated, and Mr. Horner was chosen chairman. Their report was not given in to the House of Commons till the evening of the day preceding the prorogation of parliament. It was

printed, and copies ordered for the members about the middle of August.\*

The Bullion Committee, after a patient and laborious investigation, were decidedly of opinion, that the evils into the causes of which they were commissioned to inquire, were to be attributed to an excessive issue and circulation of Bank of England paper: "a general rise of all prices, a rise in the market price of gold, and a fall of the foreign exchanges, will be the effect of an excessive quantity of circulating medium in a country which has adopted a currency not exportable to other countries, or not convertible at will into a coin that is convertible." But, though the Bank of England notes were in reality at a discount, that discount, in the judgment of the committee, did not arise from want of credit, or confidence in the funds and stability of the Bank, but merely from over issue. The remedy proposed by the committee for the unnatural and distressing state of our circulating medium, was stated by the committee in these words:

"According to the best judgment your committee has been enabled to form, no sufficient remedy for the present, or security for the future, can be pointed out, except the repeal of the law which suspends the cash payments of the Bank of England.

"In effecting so important a change, your committee are of opinion that some difficulties must be encountered, and that there are some contingent dangers to the Bank, against which it ought most

\* The great number of tables it contained, with accounts in ciphers, made it impossible to publish it sooner.



carefully and strongly to be guarded. But all these may be effectually provided for, by intrusting to the discretion of the Bank itself the charge of conducting and completing the operation, and by allowing to the Bank so ample a period of time for conducting it, as will be more than sufficient to effect its completion. To the discretion, experience, and integrity of the directors of the Bank, your committee believe that parliament may safely intrust the charge of effecting that which parliament may in its wisdom determine upon as necessary to be effected; and that the directors of that great institution, far from making themselves a party with those who have a temporary interest in spreading alarm, will take a much larger view of the permanent interests of the Bank, as indissolubly blended with those of the public. The particular mode of gradually effecting the resumption of cash payments ought therefore, in the opinion of your committee, to be left in a great measure to the discretion of the Bank, and parliament ought to do little more than to fix, definitively, the time at which cash payments are to become, as before, compulsory. The period allowed ought to be ample, in order that the Bank directors may feel their way; and that, having a constant watch upon the varying circumstances that ought to guide them, and availing themselves only of favourable circumstances, they may tread back their steps slowly, and may preserve both the course of their own affairs as a company, and that of public and commercial credit, not only safe but unembarrassed.

“With this view, your committee would suggest that the restriction on cash payments cannot safely be removed at an earlier period than two years from the present time; but your committee are of opinion, that early provision ought to be made by parliament for terminating, by the end of that period, the operation of the several statutes which have imposed and continued that restriction.

“In suggesting this period of two years, your committee have not overlooked the circumstance, that as the law stands at present, the Bank would be compelled to pay in cash at the end of six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace; so that, if peace were to be concluded within that period, the recommendation of your committee might seem to have the effect of postponing instead of accelerating the resumption of payments. But your committee are of opinion, that if peace were immediately to be ratified, in the present state of our circulation it would be most hazardous to compel the bank to pay cash in six months, and would be found wholly impracticable. Indeed, the restoration of peace, by opening new fields of commercial enterprise, would multiply instead of abridging the demands upon the Bank for discount, and would render it peculiarly distressing to the commercial world if the Bank were suddenly and materially to restrict their issues. Your committee are therefore of opinion, that even if peace should intervene, two years should be given to the Bank for resuming its payments; but that, even if the war should be prolonged, cash payments



payments should be resumed by the end of that period.

“Although the details of the best mode of returning to cash payments ought to be left to the discretion of the Bank of England, as already stated, certain provisions would be necessary under the authority of parliament, both for the convenience of the Bank itself and for the security of the other banking establishments in this country and in Ireland.

“Your committee conceive it may be convenient for the Bank to be permitted to issue notes under the value of 5l. for some little time after it had resumed payments in specie.

“It will be convenient also for the chartered banks of Ireland and Scotland, and all the country banks, that they should not be compelled to pay in specie until some time after the resumption of payments in cash by the Bank of England; but that they should continue for a short period upon their present footing, of being liable to pay their own notes on demand in Bank of England paper.”

The substance of this report was immediately circulated in the newspapers, and a correct edition of the whole was published on the 20th of September. The alarm which this occasioned among the bankers, and the merchants who were accustomed to look to the Bank for discounting their bills, was followed by many failures in mercantile houses in London, as well as of some country banks.

The fifth report of the committee on public expenditure presented to the House of Commons

this session, exposes various instances of default and delinquency, in the misapplication and embezzlement of the public money. The committee express their opinion, that great temptation and opportunity to the commission of similar offences are afforded by the loose, inaccurate, and irregular manner in which the accounts were audited; and proceed to inquire how those accounts might be examined in a speedy, regular, and effectual manner. The committee of inquiry commonly do their duty well, and give not only the most important information, but propose the wisest measures for the adoption of the legislature. But they are for the most part suffered to lie on the table as merely so much dead letter: yet this is not always the case. On the 23d of May Mr. Calcraft moved, that the twelfth report of the commissioners of military inquiry be read. This being done, he stated, that notwithstanding the act that had passed to restrict the treasurer of the ordnance from drawing on the Bank, unless for the public, Mr. Hunt, a member of that house, the late treasurer, had drawn on the Bank, in the names of persons who were connected with the ordnance, 10,000l. nearly the whole of which he owed to the public. He was sorry to say, that many similar occurrences had not been taken notice of by the house. He should mention only that of Gen. Delancey, who was indebted to the public 100,000l. and yet possessed the rank and pay of a general in the service.\* By such things the public feelings were in-

\* See Vol. XLIX. (1807) Hist. Eur. p. 101.



sulted. He concluded by moving the following resolution: "That Joseph Hunt, Esq. late treasurer, had been guilty of a violation of the act of the 46th of his Majesty, for regulating the office of treasurer of the ordnance, and of misapplying certain sums of public money whilst he held that office:" which was agreed to *nem. con.* He then moved, "That for the said offences Joseph Hunt, Esq. be expelled this house." This resolution was also agreed to *nem. con.*\*

This session was passed what was called the Embezzlement Bill; which was brought into the House of Commons by Sir John Newport. A collector had absconded with 27,000*l.* of the public money in his hands, and had afterwards been taken with 7000*l.* of it in his possession. In that case, if the clerk of the collector had been guilty, he would have suffered death. But as the law at present stood, no adequate punishment could be inflicted on the principal, and therefore the law officers had not thought it desirable to proceed against him. It was to remedy this glaring defect in law that Sir John Newport brought forward the embezzlement bill.—Mr. Rose observed, that gentlemen of respectability would not be desirous of engaging in the public service in places of great trust, with the penalty of transportation hanging over them, as would be the case if this bill were to pass. Sir John

Newport said, when he considered that the right honourable gentleman must have been a party to the passing of a bill imposing the penalty of death on the clerk or cashier of a banker for embezzlement; and also to the act for rendering it a transportable offence to shoot, ensnare, or kill a deer in a close, park, or paddock, he could not help admiring his tender sensibility on an occasion where the son or brother of a great man might be affected. But it was the duty of the house to mete out equal justice to all; to have but one and the same law for the rich and for the poor. Could they forget the cases of Mr. Villiers † and Mr. Hunt, as well as others which had recently occurred, and reflect on the consequences of such cases remaining unpunished, and yet think the punishment of transportation too severe for the crime of fraudulently embezzling or making use of the public money? It would be for a jury to determine what was the embezzlement.

The Solicitor General observed, that at present the embezzlement of public money was punishable by unlimited fine and imprisonment, and even pillory, while at the same time all his property, his person also, and all the property of his sureties, were subject to the writs of extent for the security of the debt due to the public. By the present measure, however, supposing a public defaulter to flee

\* Mr. Hunt had received notice to attend during the discussion in his place; but he had gone for the benefit of his health to Lisbon, from whence he was not in haste to return.

† Vide extract of the fifth Report of the Committee on Public Expenditure. STATE PAPERS, p. 448.



the country, not only the property of his securities, but even any estates he himself might leave behind him might be free, as the debt must merge in the felony.— Sir Samuel Romilly said, that this,

which was indeed a great objection, might be obviated by leaving out the word *felony*. So thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The bill, with this and some other amendments, was passed.



## CHAP. VIII.

*Mr. Brand's Motion for Parliamentary Reform negatived.—Mr. Gratian's Motion for a Committee on the Catholic Petitions.—Debated—Negatived.—A Motion to the same Effect in the House of Lords, by the Earl of Donoughmore, negatived.—Measures adopted by the Legislature for Conciliating the Attachment of the Irish Nation.—Motion by Sir Samuel Romilly for bringing under the Consideration of the House of Commons some Parts of the Criminal Law of this Country—Agreed to, and leave given to bring in a Bill for that Purpose.—Objections to the Bill.—Debates.—The Bill rejected.—Motion by Sir Samuel Romilly for carrying into Execution the Acts already passed for the Erection of Penitentiary Houses, for confining and employing Convicts.—The Principle of this System approved, but some Time required for complete Information on the Subject.—Debates on the necessity of Delay.—Sir Samuel Romilly's Motion withdrawn for the present.—Vexatious Arrests Bill.—Insolvent Debtors Bill.—Scotch Judicature Bill.—State of the Slave Trade.—Address to His Majesty for his using his Influence with Foreign Powers, and the Execution of the Laws in this Country for the effectual Abolition of that Commerce.—Relief of the Poor Clergy in Scotland, and in England.—Motion by the Marquis of Lansdown, relative to the Campaign in Spain.—And by Earl Grey on the State of the Nation.*

**H**OUSE of Commons, May 21. Mr. Brand rose to submit to the consideration of the house the motion, of which he had given notice, respecting parliamentary reform. Having represented the evils resulting from the present state of representation, rotten boroughs under the power of individual proprietors, very opulent and populous places sending no representatives to parliament whatever, &c. &c. he came to propose a remedy, which, he observed, was pointed out by the constitution; of which remedy, or plan of reform, the principal features were the following. He did not mean to touch the right of voting for county members, except by letting

in copyholders, and assimilating the mode of voting in Scotland to the practice in this country. He proposed to disfranchise the boroughs, in which the members were returned on the nomination of individuals: and as the numbers in the House of Commons would be diminished in that proportion, to transfer the right of returning such members to populous towns, and to apply any surplus to populous counties. He recommended that the duration of parliament should be made triennial, with a concurrent arrangement for collecting the votes by districts and parishes. He did not think that all persons holding offices should be excluded from that house,



house, but ascertained that, with a view to the independence of parliament, persons holding offices without responsibility should not be suffered to have seats in that house. On these grounds he brought forward his present motion; and he trusted the house would give it all the attention it deserved. Of one thing he was sure, that they must either have a temperate reform, or a military government.—However partial he might be to his own plan, his intention was, in the first instance, to move for a committee, in which it might undergo a vigilant revision, and he would have an opportunity of adopting any amendments that might be recommended.—He concluded by moving, “That a Committee be appointed to inquire into the state of the representation of the people in parliament, and of the most efficacious means of rendering it more complete, and to report the same, with their observations thereupon, to the house.

After a long debate, in which the usual arguments were urged *pro* and *con*, the motion was lost by a great majority.

Ayes, 115; Noes, 234.

Before the question was put, Mr. Brand, after replying to certain arguments against his plan, declared, that whatever the fate of his motion might be, on the present occasion, he should think it his duty to bring it forward again and again.

Another great standing question was submitted to the House of Commons on the 13th of May; when a motion was made by Mr. Grattan, for a committee to consider the Roman catholic petitions.

He stated his intention to rest his motion on two grounds, the domestic nomination of catholic bishops, and the civil capacities of the Irish catholics.—Mr. Grattan on this, as on former occasions of discussing the same, or other great questions, displayed the utmost precision and subtlety of argument, energy of language, and sublimity of eloquence. He is the most accomplished English orator within the memory of the present age: the great Earl of Chatham not excepted. He is clear, concise, fervent, and rapid. He gives edge to his speeches by metaphysical acumen, and sublimity by the stores of learning; and above all by connecting the affairs of earth with the laws and providence of heaven. His speech, on the present occasion, was well arranged, and animated throughout; the following are a few specimens. The charges against catholics, that they hold the doctrine of no faith with heretics; that the Pope is infallible, and has a power to absolve from moral obligation, &c. &c. &c. he refuted by three arguments, the last of which was, that the truth of the charges was impossible. “For,” said Mr. Grattan, “they amount to a criminality which would have rendered the catholic incapable of civil government, or foreign relationship. It amounts to a transfer of allegiance, and a dissolution of the elements of human society. The existence of society and of government in catholic nations, is the practical answer. But there is another answer more authoritative and conclusive. The charge is irreconcilable to the truth or the Christian religion. It supposes  
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the catholic to be more depraved than the pagan or idolater. But the catholics are by far the majority of the Christians. It would follow that the majority of the worshippers of Christ are worse than the worshippers of Jove or of Mahomet. But this is not all. They are, according to this charge, rendered thus execrable by their religion. It would follow that the design of Christianity had been defeated; that Omniscience had been blind, Omnipotence baffled; and that what we call redemption, was the increase of sin, and decrease of salvation. That is to say that, the Christian religion is not divine."——

"What, have you taken away the Irish parliament, and then do you tell the Irish catholics that by the fundamental laws of the land they must be excluded from yours? Did Mr. Pitt, when he held out the well-known expectations to the catholics? Did his cabinet?—Come, let us examine the laws alluded to: the declaration of right, and the limitation of the descent of the crown. I bow to these sacred instruments. The declaration of rights is a modest document of intelligible liberty, founded on two great propositions, first, that civil and religious liberty is the inheritance of the people; second, that the violation of this inheritance is a forfeiture of the crown. I see here no catholic disability.—We will send for the other great instrument, the limitation of the crown. It is a limitation of the crown to certain descriptions of persons being protestants, in consequence of a forfeiture by the preceding family incurred for the attempt to

take from the subject his civil and religious liberty. The opponents of the catholics suppose that the words "being protestants," import not merely that no catholic should be a king, but that no catholic should be a free subject: that the catholics being rendered incapable of the crown, were rendered incapable of enjoying civil capacities. This interpretation I submit to be inadmissible. It raises a code of inability by implication. It confounds two powers which are essentially distinct; the power of limiting the descent of the crown, and a power of destroying the inheritance of the people. It makes the act of settlement, with regard to the catholic and his posterity, commit the very violation for which it deprives the house of Stuart of the throne, and at once transfers his allegiance, and takes away his birth-right.

"With regard to the objection to the catholic claims, founded in the oath of the king, 'to preserve the protestant reformed religion as by law established,' the comment of the anti-catholics, is, that by law established is meant law not to be altered, and that any alteration of that law, to favour the catholic, would endanger the protestant church. This interpretation, in every shape and reference, I hold to be destitute of reason and justice. It supposes the king to be sworn in his legislative capacity, which is a false supposition. It supposes the oath of the king to be intended as a check on the advice of his two houses of parliament, another false supposition. It supposes the laws regarding the different religions in these countries



tries to be irrevocable. A provision in a statute that a law should not be repealed, is void. The legislature has not the power to make it. The comment inverts the order of things. It makes rights revocable and penalties everlasting. Farther, this comment takes from the jurisdiction of parliament the whole code of laws respecting the different religions that exist in the kingdom, and, of course, disinherits the legislature of its supreme power. Further still, it supposes the protestant church to rest on pains and penalties inflicted on the professors of another religion: that is to say, it rests the word of God on an act of power, and makes what is a scandal to religion the support of the church. And, finally, it supposes the chief magistrate to have made a covenant against the civil liberties of a great portion of his subjects, and to have called on his God to witness the horrid obligation.

“ We are told that the catholics do most ardently desire situations in the parliament, and in the state; and that they would use both, to overturn the settlements of property, and the establishment of the church. I do allow self-defence to be a legitimate cause of restriction; but the danger must be evident. Ere that the catholics can, by a law, repeal the settlement of property, they must be the parliament. Supposing them, in spite of all difficulties, to have become the parliament, how would that parliament act on property? First, that parliament must possess the property of the country, otherwise it could not be the parliament. Again, the catholics have made

great purchases since 1778, founded on protestant titles; and the catholic tenantry hold under protestant landlords to a very great extent. The bulk of catholic property depends on protestant titles. The danger alleged arises, then, from two impossibilities. First, that the catholics will be the parliament. Secondly, that they will, then, use their power to destroy their property.—As to the danger of religion, to disfranchise the catholics, for the support of the church, is a proposition in breach of a moral duty against the people by whom the church is paid, and the principles of that religion for which the church is supported. It is a proposition that sacrifices to the imaginary danger of the ecclesiastical establishment, not only the people, but the Deity—that is, the attributes of the Deity; and supposes that holy and pious corporation, the church establishment, to do what it could not conceive, much less perpetrate, to shoulder God out of the church, and the people out of the constitution. Let us try the sanctity of this policy by making it part of our prayers, and to suppose a clergyman thus to recite the Christian duties: ‘ Do as you would be done by, love your enemies, love your neighbours as yourselves, and so may God incline your hearts to love one another.’

“ Bigotry is now no more than a spent fury. In 1709, you set up the popedom. In 1791, you established popedom in the North of America. In 1803, you conveyed the catholic religion, with all its rites and ceremonies, to South America. In 1809, you sent to Spain and Portugal two armies, to support



support in both, and in full power, the rights and the splendors of the Romish church. You employed Irish men and Irish money in these expeditions: and will you now disqualify the Irish for popery? France out of the question, there is not a catholic on the globe whom you have not embraced, except your fellow subjects. To that embrace I now recommend you."

Mr. Grattan's motion for a committee to consider the Roman catholic petitions, was seconded by Sir John Hippesley, in a long speech, in which he supported the positions of Mr. Grattan, by details of facts and circumstances\*. By the time Sir John Hippesley had finished his speech, it was a very late hour; and Mr. O'Hara moved an adjournment. It was agreed, after a short conversation, to resume the debate on Thursday next.—It was resumed May the 25th. In the course of this night's long debate, Lord Castlereagh took notice of circumstances that had occurred since the question was last under consideration, which called for the most serious attention. He regretted to find that increased obstacles to the further extension of political indulgence to the catholics had arisen out of their own conduct and declarations. He had never considered that the pretensions of the catholics to further indulgence rested upon a claim of right.—The disingenuous, shuffling, and inconsistent conduct of Dr. Milner, a titular Roman catholic bishop, and the accredited agent of the Irish Roman catho-

lics in this country, was animadverted on, with just severity, by speakers on both sides of the question.

Mr. Whitbread said, "I must not forget Dr. Milner, who, if he had been created for the purpose of sowing dissention among the catholics themselves, and unfounded distrust of their friends, could not have succeeded better than he has done. I think even the Chancellor of the Exchequer must have been pleased with the honest triumph of my right hon. friend (Mr. Ponsonby) over that reverend divine." The debate was adjourned to Friday, the 1st of June.

Mr. Bernard, though extremely desirous of conciliating the affections of his catholic countrymen, when he considered the late resolutions of the general catholic committee in Ireland, refusing to give to the government any control whatever over the appointment of the catholic bishops,—could never, for one, consent to give the catholics a share in legislation or power, so long as they adhered to that principle.

Other speakers expressed similar sentiments. The debate had been protracted to a very late hour, when, on a division of the house, there appeared for Mr. Grattan's motion, 109. Against it, 213.

A motion to the same effect, and with no better success, was made, June 6, in the House of Lords, by the Earl of Donoughmore. It was introduced by a speech of considerable length, as well as ability and eloquence.—"Cease," said his lordship,

\* This speech, authenticated by the author, was published by Mr. Faulder, Bond Street.



“above all things, to calumniate the glorious settlement of 1688, by imputing any narrow principle of exclusion to that consummation and triumph of political freedom. The truly great man, under whose banners our ancestors made their successful struggle,—that tried friend of liberty, civil and religious, is known to have consented with great reluctance to the infliction, on any portion of his subjects, of those disabilities, which in this country were rendered perhaps indispensable by a sad and over-powering necessity. But nothing can justify their continuance after their necessity has ceased to exist; and what noble lord will put his hand to his heart, and say that we are not already arrived at that happy period?”

Though it was not thought prudent by the legislature to grant the claims of the Irish Roman catholics, without certain precautions and conditions, due attention, and such as had a tendency to conciliate attachment, was paid to the Irish nation in other respects. In 1807, Ireland was in such a state, that the government of that day did not think they would be justified in undertaking to secure the tranquillity of that country, unless they were armed with the powers of the insurrection act. To repeal that act, Mr. Wellesley Pole, in the House of Commons, May 30, moved for leave to bring in a bill. It was with the most sincere pleasure he could state, that the government of Ireland, after the fullest investigation, had come to the resolution, that the continuance of the act was not, under the present circumstances, necessary. No lover of the constitution, he

was persuaded, could wish to see such a law on the statute book, unless the circumstances of the times rendered it necessary. The act in question, however, in addition to that part of it which might be properly called the insurrection act, contained some provisions which ought to be re-enacted, and rendered permanent. Agreeably to the statements given by Mr. W. Pole, leave was given to bring in bills for repealing the Irish insurrection act; for the more effectually preventing the administering and taking of unlawful oaths in Ireland, and for the protection of magistrates and witnesses in criminal cases; and for continuing for two years, and from thence until the end of the then next session of parliament, and amend an act of the 47th of his present Majesty, for preventing improper persons from having arms in Ireland. Leave was given to bring in these three bills, and, through the usual course, they passed into laws. Laws were also enacted for amending the laws relative to the sale of flax-seed and hemp-seed in Ireland; for encouraging the consumption of malt liquor in Ireland; and for respiting certain fines imposed on stills in Ireland; and for the encouragement of licensed distillers in Ireland.

While these and other bills were on their progress through the houses of parliament, for the general improvement, some were passed, and others brought under the consideration of parliament, relating to the civil laws, and to the state of religion in the country.

On the ninth of February, Sir Samuel Romilly proposed to the House of Commons some alterations



terations in the criminal laws of the country. The indiscriminate application, he said, of the sentence of death to offences exhibiting very different degrees of turpitude, had long been a subject of complaint in this country. Nothing, in his opinion, could be more erroneous or mischievous than, that certain punishments should be allotted to particular offences; and that the laws so laid down, should not be acted on, and peremptorily enforced. Our law, as it now stood, instead of operating as a preventative, was a manifest cause of the commission of crimes. The infliction of capital punishments was the cause of crimes, by holding out a prospect of impunity. The character of the age, the circumstances of the times rendered it impossible, that all the convictions for stealing in shops or private houses, and other offences of that class, should be carried into execution. Judges, jurors, prosecutors, and the crown were all responsible for the statutes in those cases to be carried into effect. On an average of 7,196 persons committed in the years 1808 and 1809, for those offences which the law calls capital, only one had been executed. If an offender against the laws were quite certain that punishment would most assuredly follow, the slightest degree of punishment altogether unavoidable, would be sufficient to deter him from offending. He had it in view, therefore, to move for "leave to bring in, 1st. a bill to amend the act of King William, as to privately stealing in shops, warehouses, &c. to the value of five shillings. 2dly. A bill to amend the act of Anne, as to

stealing in a dwelling-house to the value of forty shillings. 3dly. A bill to amend the act of George II. as to stealing on navigable rivers, &c. to the value of forty shillings."

On the motion for leave to bring in the first of these, Mr. Windham observed, that whatever might be the limits applied to discretion, there must still be not only a gradation of offences, but of guilt, in different perpetrators of the same legal offence; and that there must necessarily exist in some living tribunal a power to proportion the punishment to the degree of moral guilt. Now it would be much better, that this discretion should rest with the judges than with juries. The Solicitor General and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were of the same opinion. Leave, however, was granted to bring in the bills, *nem. con.* The report of the committee on these bills was brought up on the first of May, and the amendments proposed severally agreed to.

But on the question, "that the bills be engrossed," a long debate arose. Mr. Herbert asked, if the punishments in use were not to be retained, where were we to seek for others to be substituted for them? Such as might be necessary to put down occasional acts of violence; for instance, those of the White-boys of Ireland, or rather banditti? Sir John Newport contended, that crimes were more effectually prevented by the certainty, than the severity of punishment.—Mr. Davie Giddy said, that in his view of the subject a certain degree of arbitrary discretion was absolutely necessary in all administrations of justice; and this, he



he said, he would much rather see lodged in the hands of the judges than the juries. The Attorney General argued, that the law, as it stood, had all the power of punishment and prevention given by the bills, and the power of death in addition. Mr. Frankland said, that however sanguinary our criminal code might be in appearance, there was not, upon its practical application, so mild a system under the sun. In fact, many of our laws were preserved only in *terrorem*. There was a discretion of punishing desertion with death, in the military code, and yet hardly one of 10,000 deserters was put to death. Our criminal code had grown out of our commercial system. In a country too, where political and personal freedom was so much enjoyed as among us, our criminal statutes must of course be numerous and severe. He was averse to weakening the penal code, the effect of which would be more mischievous than the house was aware of. It would be better to leave the application of the criminal laws to the conscience of the juries, the discretion of the judge, and the royal mercy, whenever it should be necessary.

Mr. Wilberforce asked how experience argued upon this question? Why that the infliction of capital punishments had become comparatively unfrequent and unnecessary? Out of 1000 sentenced, only one was executed. Hence it was clear that the law was unnecessary; and that the exception was the rule, while the rule was the exception. He could not help considering the severity of our penal code as inconsistent, in many instances, with

justice and humanity, and as a disgrace to the character of the country. He strongly recommended the general establishment of the system of penitentiary houses.

The Solicitor General admitted, that it would be very beautiful if the law could be so contrived, as that a precise punishment should be proposed for every individual offence, without leaving any thing to the discretion of those by whom the law was administered. But it would be wholly impracticable. Let any one try his hand at such a particularization, and he would soon find the impossibility of it. And even if it could be accomplished, so far from insuring a certainty of punishment, it would give the criminal the greatest opportunities for escape, both in the mode in which the indictment must necessarily be drawn up, and in the hesitation which juries would entertain in consequence. This consideration seems to be of great weight. He instanced several cases in which criminals had speculated on their crimes being only transportable offences; but it seemed, the dread of a capital punishment was to operate on a prosecutor, on witnesses, on the jury, on every body, but the individual tempted to commit the crime. Was that a rational supposition? Under all these circumstances, the Solicitor General thought the present system better than that proposed to be substituted.

The Master of the Rolls said it was evident, that either the law or the practice must be wrong; and which ever was wrong ought to be remedied. Now the practice



tice of not inflicting the punishment denounced by the law, came every day before the public and under the inspection of parliament, and yet no fault had been found with it. There was no disposition to censure the judges or his Majesty's advisers for not putting the law in execution. It did therefore appear to him to be most clear, that in the public opinion the laws appeared too severe in their punishments. It was wrong in any country, that the laws should be in direct opposition to public opinion; but it would be particularly improper in this country, where offences were tried by a jury, and where laws contrary to the general opinion were not likely to be well executed. In fact, there appeared to be an universal confederacy in this country against the criminal law as it now stood. He approved of the bill proposed by his honourable and learned friend: he thought it better qualified than the present system for preventing crimes, by rendering punishment more certain.

Mr. Canning said, that the question before the house, was not whether they should extinguish the discretionary power of the judges, but how far it might be proper to limit its range. The whole amount of the change went to take from them the power of dispensing life or death; and to that he could see no objection. It would be desirable to remove from juries all temptation to perjury; and, by doing away the severer punishment, increase the probability of the offenders being visited by the less.

The Chancellor of the Exche-

quer observed, that the number of cases mentioned to prove the defective state of the law, tended to establish its perfection, as in all those cases the severity of the sentence had been ameliorated, and the appropriate punishment inflicted. This proved at least, that the execution of the law was not so much too severe. It seemed that the severity was rather in the amendment, as its object was not to get rid of severity of punishment, but merely severity of denunciation. The effect of the bill would be to make offences more frequent; and he cautioned those who might be disposed to support it, to beware, lest in consequence of it, it should become necessary for them again to have recourse to the legislature, and not only revive the law, but put it in execution.

Sir Samuel Romilly, in the course of a reply to the principal objections to the bill, insisted chiefly on the point, that house robbing had considerably increased for some years past, which he could impute only to the circumstance of the law not being enforced.

On a division of the house, the numbers were, for the bill, 31. Against it, 33.

Sir Samuel Romilly, nothing discouraged by the rejection of his bill by so small a majority, three days thereafter moved for a return of the number of persons committed throughout England and Wales, in the years 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, and 1809, both at assizes and petty sessions, stating the crimes with which those so committed were charged — the number against whom no charges were



were found—those discharged by proclamation—those convicted—those acquitted of the capital part of the charge—the sentences pronounced, and the executions which took place within the periods alluded to.” This motion, after some little conversation, was agreed to.

House of Commons, May 9.—Sir Samuel Romilly stated, that the subject to which he had now to direct their attention, was of no less importance than what he had already submitted to their judgment. In considering punishments, as they operated to the prevention of crimes, they might be divided into three classes. The principle of the first was, that the punishment of the individual should operate on society in the way of terror. The second was, to put it out of the power of the person offending to commit crimes in future, either for a certain time specified in the sentence, or for ever. The principle of the third was, the reformation of the offending party. This third mode, he feared, had been very much neglected of late years, though he was ready to allow, that there were many very honourable exceptions in the conduct of the different counties which had established penitentiaries; of which he proceeded to shew the great advantages. He was not, however, an advocate for solitary imprisonment, unless combined with useful labour.

Mr. Secretary Ryder agreed in many of the general observations made by his right honourable friend. He thought it would be best to put off the discussion for the present, and he should take

all manner of pains to inform himself fully on the subject before it should be again discussed.

Mr. Frankland too, Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. W. Pole spoke in recommendation of the penitentiary system.

Mr. Windham did not expect much good from the establishment of penitentiary houses. He did not object altogether to the principle; but if such houses should be established on the plan proposed, he should be very jealous as to the manner in which the religious instruction was inculcated. Sir Samuel Romilly, with the consent of the house, withdrew his motion for the present, and fixed it for a future day.

This motion Sir Samuel made on the 5th of June. He stated that the object of his motion was to carry into execution a plan for rendering the administration of the laws more effectual, which held out a better prospect of reforming criminals, and of attaining all the other objects of all the penal laws, than any that had hitherto been found practicable. It was a plan that had been formed by some of the wisest men in this country: Mr. Justice Blackstone, Mr. Howard, and Mr. Eden, now Lord Auckland. The great objects which they proposed to themselves were, to reform criminals, by selecting them from their former associates; separating those of whom hopes might be entertained from those who were desperate; teaching them useful trades; accustoming them to habits of industry; giving them religious instruction; and providing them with a recommendation to the world, and the means of obtaining an



an honest livelihood after the expiration of the term of their punishment. In the opinion of Mr. Justice Blackstone, it was a system that united in itself so many advantages, that he did not hesitate to declare that, "if properly executed, such a reformation might be effected in the lower classes of mankind, and such a gradual scale of punishment affixed to all gradations of guilt, as might in time supersede the necessity of punishments, except for very atrocious crimes." Sir Samuel Romilly proceeded to display the advantages to be expected from the penitentiary system, the evils attending the want of it, the horrid state of our prisons, the inefficacy of the hulks, and transportation to Botany Bay, whether for the inspiration of terror or the reformation of the individual punished, and the justice due even to convicted criminals.

Mr. Secretary Ryder concurred so much in the general principles laid down on the subject of penitentiary houses, that he could not but agree in the motion of his learned friend. At the same time, he was sorry that he had brought this subject before the house at a time when some gentlemen did entertain a hope that at so late a period of the session it would not have been agitated; and particularly, because the house was not in possession of such satisfactory information as could enable it to form a competent opinion on this subject. He illustrated the truth of this last position, and expressed a hope, that the honourable and learned gentleman would be disposed to withdraw his motion for the present, upon the positive un-

derstanding, that at an early period of next session of parliament it would be entertained in a manner more suitable to its importance. Mr. Ryder declared himself to be so friendly to the measure of penitentiary houses, that his cordial support should not be wanting to its attainment early in the next session.

Mr. Abercromby said, that if the object of the present motion had been to introduce any sudden or violent change of the law; or to introduce a new mode of punishment, there might have been some foundation for the objections which had been urged by Mr. Ryder. But, on the contrary, the present motion proceed on principles which had been already discussed and adopted; and called upon the house to stimulate the executive government to give effect to a law which had the sanction of both that and the other house of parliament, and which had too long lain dormant in the statute book.

Mr. Bathurst thought that the system proposed must be attended with many important advantages. But he stated some considerations which induced him to think, that the house would do well in not carrying this motion in the present session of parliament. Though he was, however, of opinion that further delay was necessary, he was not insensible to the imprudent remissness of government in suffering a plan like this to lie dormant on the statute book for upwards of thirty years.

Mr. Wilberforce spoke very warmly in recommendation of the system of penitentiary houses. If, said he, we wanted argument in addition



addition to the encouraging prospect the system itself holds out, let us look to the effect of it upon the happiness of the different countries wherein it has received encouragement. He concluded by saying, that, recollecting how frequently that plan had been near to maturity, and not discovering any necessity for further delay, he should support the motion.

The Solicitor General had no hesitation in declaring his opinion, that the mode of punishment now almost universally adopted, was not calculated to produce on the mind of the offender any sense of his disgraceful situation, or to amend his habits. If there was a chance of producing that good, the excellent principle on which the penitentiary houses were founded, was that by which it was to be accomplished. On this point he dwelt at considerable length. But he said, that they should seek in vain for the advantages appertaining to that system, if they did not assure themselves, in the first instance, that they had adopted the wisest and safest course. He was persuaded they should derive much useful and important information from a little delay. Another reason which induced him to think that more deliberation was requisite in coming to a decisive conclusion on that subject was, the propriety of considering whether it would not be better, instead of confining the plan to the metropolis, to extend it to all the counties of England. He was also extremely anxious to know the names of those persons who were prepared to come forward to second the efforts of the executive government, and add strength and

vigour to the plan. It might farther be necessary to consider whether one great penitentiary house, or several small ones, would be preferable.

Mr. Whitbread was a strenuous advocate for the system now, for the third time, brought under the consideration of the house. To this he wished to proceed immediately. By delay, other objects would intervene to divert the attention of the legislature. The public attention would be otherwise occupied, and they should hear no more of the penitentiary houses. Yet, he was not so sanguine as to suppose that the old system could be done away all at once; nor was he persuaded that they could put every offender, whose case did not call for the last and severest measure of punishment, into a penitentiary house. He had heard Mr. Howard say, that solitary confinement was a punishment too severe for human reason to endure; that he had seen instances of the cruelty and harshness of it carried to an extent that made him shudder. "I have myself," said Mr. Whitbread, "seen a person committed to solitary confinement for two years; but I trust I shall never behold another instance of the same kind again; and I only hope, that those who administer the justice of the country will reflect on the sentiment of the immortal Howard, that solitary imprisonment is too severe for mankind to endure."

What is here so humanely stated and urged by Mr. Whitbread, opens a curious vista to the inquirers into the philosophy of the human mind. As common sense is preserved and strengthened  
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by varied views and occupations; so unvaried occupation and continued sameness in the train of our thoughts, leads, by the magnifying power of attention, to fanaticism and madness.\*

Sir Samuel Romilly concluded an eloquent speech, in reply to the opponents of his motion, as follows: "Let me conjure the house to reflect how much time has passed since the legislature enacted, that penitentiary houses should be erected; that though the ground for erecting them had been purchased at great expense to the public, nothing effectual has yet been done towards their establishment; that the want of them, in the mean time, is every day more sensibly felt; that other punishments are found to be ineffectual; that crimes have become more frequent, offenders more daring and desperate, public morals more outraged, and the laws more despised;—and then to say, whether we ought to persevere in the system which has hitherto been followed, and whether we ought to defer, even though it be only to another session, a measure from which so much good is to be expected." The house then divided—Ayes, 52; Noes, 69.

Mr. Bathurst then moved, "That this house will early in the next session of parliament take into consideration the means of most beneficially carrying into effect the acts of the 19th and 34th

of his present Majesty's reign, for the establishment and regulation of penitentiary houses." This resolution was agreed to *nem. con.*

The Vexatious Arrests Bill, the principal object of which was to increase the amount for which a person might be arrested, from 10*l.* to 20*l.* passed through the committee in the House of Lords, June 14; and the Insolvent Debtors Bill, June 20. The Scotch Judicature Bill† was read a third time in the House of Lords, and passed, June 14.—For a list of other laws enacted this session, see *Appen. Chron.* p. 324.

House of Commons, June 15. Mr. Brougham rose, pursuant to notice, to call the attention of the house to the state of the slave trade; a subject on which he spoke at very great length, and with his usual ability and eloquence. While on the one hand it appeared, from the documents he formerly moved for, that nothing had been done to circumscribe the foreign slave trade, it was now found that this abominable commerce—though it did not deserve the name of commerce, but rather that of crime, had not completely ceased even in this country. After the trial that had been given to the abolition law, he was now prepared to go much farther, and to declare at once that it ought to be made felony. He pledged himself to bring in a bill

\* Dr. Witherspoon, who was called from his pastoral charge in Scotland, about forty years ago, to be the principal of a college in America, published some years before, a pamphlet in which he produces instances of players having worked themselves up into a persuasion, that the theatrical was a real world, and the only world worth attending to. The contempt of painters for all other pursuits and accomplishments than their own, is proverbial.

† See Vol. LI. (1809) *HIST. EUR.* p. 170.



to that effect early in the ensuing session. But he earnestly hoped that, in the mean time, the house would leave nothing unattempted that might tend to diminish the great evils complained of, and to give effect to one of the most holy of our laws. He concluded with moving an humble address to his Majesty, acknowledging with gratitude his Majesty's endeavours to induce foreign nations to concur in relinquishing the disgraceful African slave trade, regretting that those efforts had been attended with so little success; and beseeching his Majesty to persevere in those measures which might tend to induce his allies, and such other foreign states as he might be able to negotiate with, to co-operate with this country in a general abolition of the slave trade, and to concur in the adoption of such measures as might assist in the effectual execution of the laws already passed for that purpose; stating, that certain persons in this country had continued in a clandestine and fraudulent manner the detestable traffic in slaves, and humbly praying his Majesty to cause to be given to the commanders of his Majesty's ships and vessels of war, the officers of his Majesty's customs, and the other persons in his Majesty's service, whose situation enabled them to detect and suppress those abuses, such orders as might effectually check practices equally contemptuous to the authority of parliament, and derogatory to the interests and honour of the country.—All the members who spoke on this occasion supported the principle of the motion. Mr.

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Maryatt, the colonial agent for Trinidad, as well as an eminent West-India merchant, condemned the slave trade, on principles of humanity and justice, in a very strong and impressive manner. Mr. Hibbert, also an eminent West-India planter and merchant, though he had at another time objected to the abolition of the slave trade on the ground of its inexpediency and impracticability, knew what was his duty in deference to what was now the law of the country. He reminded the house, however, that the proposition before them shewed, that hitherto experience had only confirmed his opinion; for we had no reason, he said, to reckon on those favourable events which had given us as it were almost an entire control over the intercourse between Africa and the West Indies.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer highly approved the leading sentiments in the speech of Sir Samuel Romilly, and the measure he had proposed, which should always have his sincere and zealous support. There was only one passage in the address proposed which he could not so entirely approve as he did of all the rest, viz. that which went to pledge the house to the adoption of some measure next sessions. Even that general engagement to adopt *some* measure on the subject, could not be quite regularly, in point of form, be inserted in an address from that house to his Majesty. The address, if amended in that point, should have his most hearty support. Mr. Stephen agreed that it would be better to keep that part out of the address, and put it into  
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the form of a separate resolution; but he saw no objection whatever to the house now resolving that such a measure as was generally described should be taken early in the next session of parliament.— Mr. Brougham had no objection whatever to separate the resolution, pledging the house, from the address. The address, thus separated, was agreed to *nem. con.*

Mr. Brougham then moved, “That this house has learnt, with great surprize and indignation, the attempts which have been recently made to evade the prohibitions of the act abolishing the African slave trade; and that this house will, early in the next session of parliament, take into consideration such measures as may tend to prevent such daring violations of the law.” This resolution was also carried, *nem. con.*

In the House of Lords, June 18, Lord Vassal Holland moved an address to his Majesty, praying, that further steps might be taken to induce foreign powers to abolish the slave trade. The address was agreed to, *nem. dis.*

This session an act was passed for an augmentation of parochial stipends, in certain cases, in Scotland. No stipend to be under 150*l.* A bill was also in progress for the relief of the poor clergy in England.

The House of Lords being, June 18, in a committee on the Appropriation Bill, Lord Vassal Holland objected to the appropriation of 100,000*l.* to Queen Anne’s bounty to the poorer clergy. He thought that the relief of the poorer clergy might be effected in a manner much less objectionable than by adding to the burthens of

the people, by means of the higher benefices, either by taxing them in certain proportions, or in some other mode; and that certain benefices where no duty was attached, might be suspended, and the profits appropriated to a fund for the relief of the poorer clergy. Some regulation might also be made with respect to livings in the gift of the crown. The relief proposed was a mere temporary grant, and did not form part of any permanent system for ameliorating the situation of the poorer clergy.

The Earl of Harrowby admitted that the extent of our present burthens was very great; but this consideration did not prevent us from supplying every necessary demand, nay, even the demands of taste and splendour. With regard to a general tax on the higher clergy, about three-fifths of the livings in this country were in lay patronage, and the advowsons were part of the estates of the proprietors, bought and sold like other estates. The taxing of the higher clergy for the relief of the poorer class, was also an approach towards the principle of levelling. He had always thought that the inequality of preferment was a great advantage, and intimately connected with an episcopal establishment, as affording the means of incitement to diligence, and rewarding distinction. As to the suspension, for a time, of the profits of certain dignities, it would really be so unproductive in point of amount, if confined to a few, and so subversive of a constituent part of our present establishment, if extended to many, that he was not willing to borrow from a Ro-

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man catholic church, even for the relief of the poor, a practice which she had usually adopted for enriching the affluent. It had been said, that the measure proposed was incomplete: this was undoubtedly true, and no man regretted it more than himself. It had been hoped that some more comprehensive plan might have been submitted to parliament this session; but it was a subject of great extent and considerable difficulty, and more information was necessary. Lord Harrowby having replied to Lord Vassal Holland's objections to the appropriation of 100,000*l.* to Queen Anne's bounty for the poorer clergy, proceeded to state the case of this class, which appeared, from the information received since last year, still stronger, and also to suggest means by which this evil might be gradually remedied;—not to propose a plan for the adoption of their lordships, but to throw out hints which might be improved by others into a plan fit to be adopted. Lord Harrowby, in the course of his speech, stated a paltry and most pitiful practice, degrading in the highest degree to the character of the church. It was a practice with the non-resident incumbents of livings of 70*l.* 60*l.* and even of 50*l.* a year, to put into their own pockets a portion of this wretched pittance, and to leave much less than the wages of a day labourer for the subsistence of their curates.—The Earl of Stanhope praised the sincerity, candour, and openness of Lord Harrowby, which he contrasted with the affected obscurity and evasions of many of his colleagues. In his present speech there was

much to approve; but if similar observations had fallen from his (Lord Stanhope's) lips, he would have been charged as the libeller of the church, and the plague knew what—for what, said the noble earl; in defence of this grant?—that the church of England was poor, and utterly unable to hold up against its numerous foes, unless it should be supported in all its strength and dignity. Lord Melville had said, that the kirk of Scotland was founded on the rock of poverty. Did Lord Harrowby mean to say, that the only way to support their religious establishment was by voting to it the public money? But he could tell the noble earl, that those dissenters, those *foes to the church*, as he had perhaps rather warmly designated them, would still continue to increase, when they found that the advocates of the church establishment conceived that its best means of security was to be continually applying for public money; and as long as they, its prelates, were translated and preferred, not for their religious merits, but their slavish support of the minister of the day.—Lord V. Holland too, in an animated reply to Lord Harrowby, maintained, that an increase of salary to the church establishment was no security of the increase of their followers, but rather of the reverse. After a few words from the Earl of Liverpool and Lord Harrowby, in reply to Lord Stanhope, in favour of the grant, the bill passed through a committee, and was ordered to be reported without any amendment.

Next day, June 19, Lord Viscount Sidmouth stated a great, increasing,



creasing, and alarming evil, arising from a want of a sufficient number of places of worship in the established church in populous parishes. In consequence of this want of accommodation, many communicants of the established church were induced, rather than not attend any place of worship, to attend dissenting meeting-houses. This, he said, was a subject that demanded the most serious consideration; and in order that the house might have information before them relative to it in the next session, his lordship moved an address to his Majesty, praying, "That the archbishops and bishops might be directed to prepare, in their respective dioceses, to be laid before the house next session, a statement of the number of places of worship of the established church, in parishes having a population of 1000 and upwards, with the number of persons such places of worship are capable of containing; and also the number of dissenting meeting-houses in such parishes." The motion was agreed to.

When the session began to draw to a close, it became natural, as at its commencement, to bring under the consideration of parliament the great subject that, for the present was paramount to all others, and to which so many other subjects of discussion had more or less a reference.

House of Lords, June 8.—The Marquis of Lansdown, in pursuance of the notice he had given, rose to call their lordships' attention to the affairs of Spain, the papers concerning which had so long lain on the table. He begged to remind their lordships, that the

same ministers, under whose jumble of generals the disgraceful and lamentable convention of Cintra was made; the same ministers, under whose auspices the gallant and able Sir John Moore and his army were sacrificed, still remained intrusted with the direction of the military resources and affairs of this country. It was clear, from a letter of the late Mr. Secretary Canning to Mr. Frère, that ministers knew they were in an error in expecting any aid from the auxiliary forces of Spain; yet they had undertaken a second campaign, and embarked another army in the same cause; acting precisely on the same principles which had before led to failure. Lord Lansdown proceeded to illustrate their incurable incapacity, blindness, and incorrigible presumption and obstinacy, by a number of facts relating to their conduct, not only respecting the campaigns in Spain, but the whole war, there and in other quarters. Towards the conclusion of his speech, he said, he did cherish the hope, and would cherish it to the last, that if ever Europe was saved, this country would be an important agent in that great event. But it could never be accomplished by rash expeditions, without consulting the means of our allies. The desirable object was to be achieved only by a prudent use of our resources. Such was not the use made by his Majesty's present counsellors; and it was important that their lordships should be convinced of this, from the inefficiency of what they had already attempted. The more so, indeed, that their lordships were in some measure parties in the calamities that attended our arms,



arms, by passing over, without notice, the errors of the former campaign. On these grounds he moved two resolutions, which were to the following effect :

1. " That it appears to this house, after the most attentive examination of the papers laid before them relative to the late campaign in Spain; that the safety of the army was improvidently and uselessly risked, and every loss and calamity suffered, without ground on which to expect any good result ; and, that the whole did end in the retreat of the army.

2. " That previous to entering on this campaign, ministers did not procure the necessary information of the state of Spain, and of its military resources ; of the supplies that could be afforded, &c. &c. ; and that the result of this rashness and ignorance was a result the most calamitous."

This gave rise to a short debate ; the principal topics of which have been discussed again and again in the debate on the king's speech, the motion for a vote of thanks to Lord Wellington, and on other occasions.

The Marquis of Wellesley, in the course of a very animated and eloquent speech in reply to Lord Lansdown, hit off the character of Buonaparte with singular brevity and felicity. " Experience had sufficiently shewn, that there were no means, however unprincipled, that Buonaparte would scruple to employ for the attainment of his ends. To him force and fraud were alike : force, that would stoop to all the base artifices of fraud ; and fraud, that would come armed with all the fierce violence of force." The Marquis concluded

with a pathetic exhortation to stand by Spain, in which there was still life, and a high and proud spirit of patriotism, to the last.—The Earl of Moira observed, that from the whole of the statements and animadversions of the noble marquis, not one sound position could be deduced hostile to the resolution before the house. It was the good or bad conduct of his Majesty's ministers, with regard to the late campaign, alone, that was the present question. Much as he wished for success to the Spanish cause, his conviction was, if it were meant to manage matters as they had hitherto been managed by his Majesty's ministers, it would be better at once to bring all our troops away from the peninsula. Yet he begged not to be understood as one who would recommend the desertion of Spain, while any prospect of success remained : on the contrary, he would afford every possible aid towards combining and concentrating the energies of the Spanish people for the attainment of their great object.

The question being loudly called for, the house divided : For the Marquis of Lansdown's motion, 33. Against it, 65.

House of Lords, June 13. The Earl of Grey submitted to the consideration of the house the state of the nation. He called their serious attention to those causes which, in his mind, had produced the dangers that pressed upon them in the present emergency, and to the policy which it was incumbent upon them to adopt, in order that they might be enabled effectually to meet, and ultimately to surmount them. Lord Grey con-



cluded a speech of extraordinary length with a series of resolutions, which might serve as a pretty copious, as well as faithful abridgment of his speech, if even these could be brought with propriety within the limits, or were in any tolerable degree proportioned to the scale of our narrative. But of these resolutions themselves, forming two close printed pages of double columns, let it suffice to give the substance or spirit—That the house were convinced that peace, so anxiously desired by his Majesty's loyal people, would be best promoted by proving to the world, that we possessed the means of permanently supporting the honour and independence of our country against every species of attack by which the enemy might hope to assail them; that for this purpose it was necessary that his Majesty's government should henceforth adopt a wise and systematical system of policy, regulated not only by a just estimate of our present difficulties, but by a prudent foresight of the probable exigencies of a protracted warfare; that the house entreated his Majesty to see \* the necessity of adopting such measures as might deprive the enemy of all hope of success from a failure of our national resources; that he will therefore actually concur with his parliament in giving effect to economic and systematic arrangements for the conduct of the war, in providing for a recurrence to the true principles of a free commerce and cir-

culatation both at home and abroad; in endeavouring, by a wise and liberal policy, to unite in the bonds of a common interest all classes of his Majesty's subjects, of whatever religious persuasions; and lastly, that he will be graciously pleased to countenance the temperate consideration and deliberate adoption of such timely reforms, both economical and political, as might satisfy his loyal people, that the sacrifices required of them were strictly limited, and faithfully applied to the real interests and safety of the public; and that, both for preventing the growth of any dangerous abuses, and for controlling the conduct of his Majesty's advisers, they [the public] continue effectually to possess those securities which had been the boast of the British government, and were essentially inherent in every free constitution." In short, the substance of both the speech and the resolutions might be summed up in one short proposition, that measures ought to be adopted in all respects of importance the very reverse of what had been pursued by the present administration.

The Earl of Liverpool contended, that a favourable change had taken place in the posture of our affairs. Our commerce and revenue, he said, had increased in a most unexampled manner; the number of vessels taken from the enemy, and those of our allies rescued from their grasp, was immense; the numbers of our army were greatly increased; the French

\* Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, June 13, 1810; in which Lord Grey's speech, authenticated, it is presumed by the author, is given in the first person, at full length.



had been for the first time in any war driven entirely out of the West Indies; the French and Dutch flags were suffered to wave in that hemisphere no more—an advantage which had never been gained before, not even in the war of 1756. The family of Braganza had been removed from French influence and French aggression to the Brazils, whence advantages of importance might be expected to result to this country. Portugal, which had been overrun by the enemy, had seen that enemy expelled by British valour. Spain had been encouraged to struggle with her oppressors by our example. The port of Lisbon was now free; and Cadiz and Ceuta were at present occupied by British, in conjunction with Spanish troops. Such was the real state of things at the period when the noble lord had thought proper to move a censure so severe.

The Earl of Stanhope proposed as an amendment, “That that house would pledge themselves to maintain the law of the land, to which

they deemed the right of trial by jury, and the preserving the liberty of the subject, as indispensable.” The Earl of Suffolk supported the amendment; so also did the Duke of Norfolk. The privileges of parliament, the duke admitted; but only those privileges that were consistent and salutary; among which he could not class that privilege, the recent discussion of which had caused so much discontent and alarm. Other lords spoke on the subjects of several of the resolutions. The necessity of some reform in the House of Commons was much insisted on. The question on the amendment was negatived without a division. The question was then put on the original address, and the house divided: for the address 72; against it, 134.

On the 21st of June the royal assent was given to several bills, a speech in his Majesty’s name was delivered by the Lord Chancellor,\* one of his Majesty’s commissioners, and the parliament prorogued to the 21st of August.

\* Vide State Papers, p. 432.



## CHAP. IX.

*Address of the Supreme Junta to the People of Spain after the Battle of Ocana.—Means used for the Defence of the Sierra Morena.—Passage of the French over this Chain of Mountains into Andalusia.—General Sebastiani marches against Grenada—Marshal Victor against Cadiz.—The City and Province of Grenada reduced under the Power of the French.—Manifesto of King Joseph Buonaparte to the Spanish Nation.—Seville surrendered to the French without resistance.—Address of King Joseph to his Soldiers.—The Supreme Junta retire to the Isle of Leon.—Timid and treacherous Conduct of not a few Individuals of this Body.—Miserable Intrigues among the Junta.—Character of the Junta.—They become Objects of general Hatred and Contempt.—Forced to dissolve themselves.—Cadiz saved, even in defiance of the Counteraction of the Junta by the Patriotism and Military Conduct of the Duke of Albuquerque.—Patriotic Ardour and Exertions of the People of Spain, particularly the Inhabitants of Cadiz.—Junta appointed for the Government, ad interim, of Cadiz.—Selfish and paltry Views of this Junta, and shameful Conduct towards the Duke of Albuquerque.—This Duke deprived of his military Command in the Isle of Leon, and sent Ambassador to England.—Recalled by the newly-appointed Regency.—His Death—Funeral in London—and Eulogiums on his Character.—Blockade and Defence of Cadiz.*

THE great battle of Ocana, fought on the 19th of November, 1809, by which the main army of the Spaniards, amounting to 50,000 men, was destroyed or dispersed, \* was considered by Buonaparte as decisive; and he hastened at last to plant his eagles on the ramparts of Cadiz and the towers of Lisbon. The grand French army which was concentrated in December, 1809, in the territory between Madrid and Toledo, about the middle of January, 1810, drew near to the foot of the Sierra Morena.

After the disasters of Ocana,

the Supreme Junta published an address to the people of Spain, for the purpose of animating their patriotism, quieting their apprehensions, and encouraging their hopes. † “If,” they said, “good fortune and military skill have ravished the victory, they have not deprived us of that valour which ultimately prevails over skill and subdues fortune. The brazen wall raised by the perfidy and injustice of the French betwixt us and them, can never be overthrown by transient misfortunes. Where is the Spaniard, who, even amidst the difficulties to which he is

\* See Vol. LI. (1809) HIST. EUR. p. 196.

† Seville, December 20, 1809.



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doomed by the rigour of fortune, would dare to proclaim a wish to become a Frenchman? The Supreme Junta, the organ of the wishes of all good patriots, has taken measures suitable to the dangers of the moment. The Supreme Junta has come to a resolution, according to a decree of the 4th of April last, that all the effects of the churches, not necessary to the performance of divine service, shall be immediately sent to the mint at Seville with the utmost exactness; that there shall forthwith be opened a forced loan of half the gold and silver possessed by individuals; that an extraordinary contribution be levied on all classes of the state; that all sinecure and useless places shall be abolished as they become vacant; that there be opened in Spain six millions of dollars, and forty millions in America; that a tax be imposed on all carriages of luxury; that our armies be reinforced by 100,000 men; that 100,000 lances be formed, and as many poignards, to be distributed in the provinces; that the whole Sierra, from Santa Ollala to the kingdom of Grenada, be inspected by able engineers; that all the companies of the different corps of the army shall be commanded by officers properly qualified, and in sufficient numbers; that besides the measures taken for furnishing the army with arms and other articles in place of those they have lost, the Junta will make every exertion for recovering the muskets distributed among the peasants. Three commissioners

were appointed, and had already set out on their mission, with full powers to remedy the disaster of Ocona, and to prevent the recurrence of the like in future."

The Spaniards selected the best positions in the Sierra for defence, formed entrenchments, erected batteries, intersected the roads by deep cuts in some places, and planted mines for blowing them up in others. But the species of natural defence, on so extended a line as that presented by the Sierra Morena, avails but little, as had been repeatedly proved in our times, by the passage of the French over the mountains of Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. It is easily overcome by the improved instrumentality and operations of modern warfare.

The French army, on the 20th and 21st of January, infantry and cavalry, forced their way through the mountains, chiefly by the passes of Puerto del Rey, Col de Muladar, and Despena Perros. But it was necessary to send the heavy artillery round by Aranjuez. The Spaniards scarcely made any resistance: they were driven from their entrenchments with the bayonet. The intersections of the roads, and derangements occasioned by the explosion of the mines, did not retard the march of the French a quarter of an hour. Six thousand Spaniards, of whom a considerable portion were officers, were made prisoners; the rest fled, or were dispersed. The greater part of them escaped to Sierra Susanna, in the province of Jaen.\* Their magazines and ord-

\* Lettre de Marescal Duc de Dalmatia au Prince de Neufchatel, Major General. Baylen, 22 Jan. 1810.



nance fell, of course, into the hands of the victors; who, having crossed the Morena mountains, directed their march on Baylen, Jaen, Cordova, Carmona, and Seville. Detachments were sent into various quarters for overawing the country, keeping open their communications, collecting provisions, and raising contributions. At Jaen and Cordova the French found great quantities of ammunition and stores; at Jaen, 44 pieces of ordnance, and 6000 muskets; at Cordova, 6000 muskets and an arsenal. The pieces of different calibres that fell into their hands at these two cities, together with those that were found here and there in the mountains, amounted to not fewer than eighty.

From Jaen, Sebastiani was ordered by Soult, the general in chief in this expedition, January 27, to march with his division to Grenada. The wrecks of the Spanish army, after the battle of Ocana and the passage of the Sierra, re-united under the generals Ariesaga and Frère, to the number of 7000 foot and 3000 cavalry, were also on their way to throw themselves into Grenada. Sebastiani came up and attacked them on the other side, that is to say, the side next Grenada, of Alcala Real, whither the park of artillery at Badajoz had been removed, and where some divisions that had fled from the Sierra Morena had rallied. Two hundred of them fell: about an equal number was taken. The infantry was dispersed. Ariesaga abandoning his artillery, retreated with the remains of his cavalry to Murcia.

Grenada, alarmed at these

events, on the 28th of January opened its gates to the French general. He was greeted by the universal acclamation of an immense multitude of people. No one fled. All in the public employments of the state, and all men of rank and property, were ardent in their professions of attachment, and eager to take an oath of allegiance to King Joseph. At Grenada was found a battalion of troops, one thousand strong, all of them strangers, and most of them Swiss, formerly belonging to the army of General Dupont, who had gone over to the patriots. They were terribly afraid of punishment, but were offered pardon, on the condition of entering into the service of the Emperor; which they accepted. Plentiful stores and provisions were found at Grenada. General Sebastiani, to secure peaceable possession of both the capital and the whole province, threw a garrison, from 12 to 15,000 men, into the fortress of Alhambra, which was put into a proper state of defence, and provisioned for six months.

It was among the instructions of the commander in chief, at this period, to General Soult, to Sebastiani to proceed from the reduction of Grenada to that of Malaga. This city was in a state of great commotion; a circumstance which determined the French general to march against it sooner than he intended. An old colonel, of the name of Aballo, had seized on the government of the town, and shipped off the old authorities, civil and military, as well as such of the principal inhabitants as were suspected of favouring the French usurpation.

A number



A number of priests and monks had been employed night and day in preaching a crusade against the French infidels. Both the inhabitants of Malaga, and of the mountainous country around, had taken up arms. A Capuchin friar was appointed their general. All the colonels and other officers were also monks. The insurrection had become alarming. Six thousand men had seized the great pass into the mountain, and deep trenches were dug for securing the roads leading to it from the plain. The inhabitants of Alhama too, were in a state of insurrection. General Sebastiani, therefore, setting out, February 5th, with the advanced guard of his army from Antequara, drove the insurgents from their fastnesses in the mountains to Malaga. Here they rallied in a great, but disorderly mass, having with them a great train of artillery and a detachment of cavalry. They withstood the musketry and artillery of the French infantry with great courage and obstinate valour; but they gave way to an impetuous charge of the French cavalry. Fifteen hundred of the insurgents, among whom were many priests and monks, were found dead on the field of battle. The French entered the city of Malaga with the flying Spaniards. The contest, had for a few moments been kept up by a fire from the windows of houses and at the crossings of the streets, when the inhabitants made their submission. Next day, the inhabitants of Velez-Malaga arrested

the ringleaders of this new insurrection, and sent them to the imperial army, requesting that they might be brought to justice. The possession of Malaga was a point of great importance to the invaders, as it cut off the communication between the maritime provinces of Spain, on the east side, and the country in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar and Cadiz: and not only this, the whole peninsula was cut in two parts by a military cord. The communication between the eastern and the western provinces of Spain, was intersected by a line of posts extending from Bayonne, by Burgos and Valladolid, to Madrid; and from thence by Toledo, Andujar, and Jaen, to the gulph of Malaga. At Malaga were found 143 pieces of cannon of different calibres, and a considerable quantity of ammunition and provisions. Such of the inhabitants as could not reconcile themselves to the idea of submitting to the French, found refuge in three English ships of war in the harbour. All English merchandize found in Malaga was sequestrated.\*

After the passage of the Morena, both King Joseph, who accompanied the army as the nominal commander, and his generals, seemed to think that the conquest of Spain was completed. Soult, in a letter to Berthier, from Cordova, January 27, says, "The inhabitants of Andalusia shew the best dispositions possible. They remain all of them quietly at their homes, with the exception of some ringleaders of the insurrection. Their countenances are open and

\* Lettre de Mareschal Duc de Dalmatia au Prince de Neufchatel, Major General. Seville, 10 Fevrier, 1810.



placid, and plainly indicate the utmost satisfaction at the termination of a terrible war, and the frightful tyranny of the Junta. At the time when the troops of his Majesty entered Andalusia, they were holding their assemblies for appointing deputies to the Cortes. Some of these deputies, particularly those from Grenada, had already gone to the Isle of Leon; but on the arrival of the French army, they began to come back. They were balloting for men to serve in the armies, to the amount of one-fourth part of the population; but all this is at an end. The King is every where received with enthusiastic joy. In short, from what is seen in Andalusia, it appears that the whole nation is sick—tired of their sufferings, and desirous of submitting to government.” It has been alleged, that the Andalusians, with the exception of the citizens of Cadiz, have not shewn such a determined and resolute spirit of resistance of French usurpation as the inhabitants of the north and east of Spain: but it is to be recollected, that it was the usual policy of Buonaparte, in all his official statements, to make such representations of things as had a tendency to excite distrust among the provinces of Spain, and to subject the whole to the contempt of the world. Extenuations and exaggerations in such statements have at all times been common, and at all times suspected; but never before had recourse been had to the artillery of such bare-

faced fabrications and downright lies as those which are manifest in the papers published by the authority, and under the direction of Buonapare. So penetrating a genius must have been sensible that the operation of this machinery could not last very long. But if it served his purpose, which he calculated, it would seem, might be effected in a short time, he probably thought it sufficient.

At Cordova, January 29, King Joseph Buonaparte issued a manifesto to the Spanish nation, in which he told them, that men of understanding and reflection were sensible, that for more than a century, the progress of events\* which governs all things, had determined that Spain should be the friend and ally of France. When an extraordinary revolution precipitated from the throne the family that reigned in France, the Spanish branch of the Bourbons ought either to have supported the elder, or to have expected and reconciled themselves to the idea of falling with it. The princes of the house of Bourbon, not daring to appeal to arms, had renounced the crown, and stipulated for their particular interests. The grandees of Spain, the generals, the chief men of the nation had taken an oath of allegiance to him at Madrid. The battle at Baylen and the aid of the English, turned weak heads and timid hearts, though the contest now decided, was never doubtful. But still the most enlightened and conscientious men retained their allegiance to him. If internal peace

\* *La force de choses*—Fate.—Joseph, as well as Napoleon, appears to be a fatalist. But, in truth, this piece appears to have been composed by Napoleon.

should



should not be re-established, who could foresee the consequences of such blind obstinacy? It was the interest of France to preserve the integrity and the independence of Spain: but if Spain remained an enemy, France must seek to weaken, dismember, and destroy her. God, he said, who read the hearts of all men, knew his motives for speaking to them in that manner. Their immutable destiny was not yet pronounced. He exhorted them not to suffer themselves to be any longer the dupes of passions excited by the common enemy; but to listen to their reason, which would tell them, that the French soldiers were friends ready to defend them. "Rally (said Joseph) around me, and let this day be to Spain a new era of glory and happiness."

There is one passage in King Joseph's proclamation to the Spaniards, at which most of the sovereign princes of Europe may well prick up their ears: "The kings of Spain ought either to have supported the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, or expected, and reconciled themselves to the idea of falling with it." On the same ground, and in the same spirit, Buonaparte may tell his vassal kings, and some others not yet falling quite into that class of princes, that they ought to attribute the French revolution, and all the evils flowing from thence, not to him, but to themselves, who had not the sense to unite for resisting it. He may by and by tell them, that they had betrayed their people, and neither deserved, nor were fit to exercise sovereign authority. In the same strain,

a letter was addressed by General O'Farrel, who had gone over to King Joseph from the Spanish army, to his old companions in arms. "The former dynasty," he said, "from decrepitude, and that decay which is incident to every thing of human origin, had ruined and lost all the nerves of force and power." He added a consideration, omitted, though not forgotten, by the author of the manifesto, that "there was an inseparable and insurmountable connection between the *very blood* of the second branch of the Bourbon family, and hatred towards a neighbour, whose power was above all controul or resistance." This attempt of General O'Farrel's to justify the perpetration of one crime by that of another, was not likely to meet with much success with the Spaniards; but, on the contrary, to excite abhorrence and indignation.

On the 31st of January, the advanced guard of the French army under General Victor, appeared before Seville. The fortifications that had been thrown up around it, were of immense extent. They would have required 60,000 men to man them. The garrison was only 7000. It was utterly incapable of resistance. Heralds were sent at three different times to the French camp, offering to surrender on terms. Seville, they said, being the capital of Andalusia, was not to be considered as a city of an inferior order. They wished to stipulate for its independence, and the particular distinction which they thought due to it. Among other conditions, they demanded, as if Seville had represented the  
Spanish



Spanish nation, that the Cortes should be assembled. The conditions required were refused. But Victor gave a very gracious answer. Religion was to be respected, and security promised of persons and property: officers only were to be quartered and taken care of in private houses; the soldiers to be lodged in convents and barracks. The garrison was to have their choice either of continuing their services among the troops of his catholic majesty, Joseph, or to return to their homes, having first laid down their arms, and made their submissions to the king. Two hundred pieces of ordnance, of which one hundred and forty were battering cannon, fell into the hands of the French; and a great quantity of arms, ammunition and provisions.

Seville, satisfied with these declarations, opened its gates on the first of February, at 10 o'clock, a. m. and at three o'clock, p. m. King Joseph made his entry, amidst the acclamations of the populace.

The following are extracts from King Joseph's general orders to his army, given from the royal camp at Seville, where his whole army had arrived on the first of February; which, as well as the proclamation to the Spaniards, if not the actual composition of Napoleon, prepared for the eventual occasion, is an excellent imitation of his style and manner. "Soldiers, the war which the emperor has just terminated so gloriously with Austria, had revived the hopes of the cabinet of England. Her armies were advancing for the conquest of Madrid. She believed

the French army to be weakened by the diversion on the Danube; so little were they acquainted with the power of the grand empire. The troops of the insurrection, abandoned by their pretended allies, made their last effort at the moment when peace was signed at Vienna. Ocana confounded their mad projects. You contemplated in them only bewildered men, pushed on to a precipice by the common enemy. It was your pleasure that they should be saved; I have received them as children. The barriers interposed by nature between the north and south of Spain, have fallen down. You have found none but friends on this side of the Sierra Morena. Jaen, Cordova, Grenada, and Seville, have opened their gates: you have overrun these provinces in your wonted spirit of peace and good order; and you have every where found peace, plenty, and a good reception. French soldiers, how shall I testify my sense of what I owe you? The Emperor shall be made acquainted with your conduct. It is the will of the King of Spain, that between the two columns of Hercules a third shall be erected, that shall carry to the most distant posterity, and the navigators of the two worlds, the knowledge of the chiefs and French corps that have conquered Spain." For the erection of this third column, the Marshal Duke of Belluno, Victor, was ordered to march with the first corps on Cadiz. The Marshal Duke of Treviso, Mortier, with the fifth corps, was ordered to march against Badajoz on the 4th of Feb. leaving only one brigade at Seville. On the Guadiana he



he was to communicate with the second corps, that of General Regnier, who was to be under his orders, and to have an eye on what passed in the valley of the Tagus.\*

The Supreme Junta, on the approach of the French army to the Guadalquiver, fled to the Isle of Leon. Most of them had been employed, even from the time when the French appeared at the foot of the Sierra mountain, in sending off their money and most valuable effects to Cadiz, and in selling as many things as they could, for ready money, to the English. One of their members, Count Tilly, found means of going to Philadelphia with an immense fortune; not less, it was said, than three millions of dollars. Some made their submissions to Joseph, and said that others were going to follow their example.

This Junta, in number eighty-six, had endeavoured to acquire popularity by taking off the duties most odious to the people; but they never possessed the esteem and confidence of the nation. The greater part of the provinces paid them but little submission; and all of them retained in their own hands the administration of the finances. The Central and Supreme Junta, without sufficient authority to call forth and direct the resources of the kingdom, neither represented the king nor the aristocracy, nor the people. It was an assembly too numerous for unity of design and promptitude of action; and too limited in its organization, to be the re-

presentatives of the Spanish nation. The Junta bestowed on themselves titles, ribbons, and each 60,000 livres per annum. They were suspected of a secret desire, if not a determined resolution, to compromise matters, for their own private interests, like Morla; or, at least, to possess the means of doing so. To this was ascribed, not without a strong appearance of reason, their refusal to admit a due British force, after the retreat of Sir John Moore, into Cadiz, as a point of security, support, and retreat, in case of disaster,—and to prevent the Spanish and English ships from falling into the hands of the enemy. Yet the argument by which they excused their opposition to the admission of the English, was not unpalatable. The fortress of Cadiz, they said, situate at a great distance from the enemy, and easy to be defended both by sea and land, needed not for its security any additional force. If a conjuncture should arise when reinforcements might be necessary, these could easily be brought from different points; but such an event was yet far off. The Junta declared that they were by no means jealous of the English; but that they were under the necessity of respecting the public opinion, on which their authority was founded. Counter orders were given to 7000 English troops, under General Sherbrook, on their way from Lisbon to Seville and Cadiz, though the English general was far from making any pretensions to the command of the Spa-

\* Lettres de Soult a Berthier, Fevrier 2 et 3. Seville.



nish garrison; and it was settled by the Junta, that the English who might disembark in the bay of Cadiz, should be stationed at Santa Maria, St. Lucar, Xeres, and some other places. But their wish was that they might be sent to Catalonia; and that the whole English army in the peninsula should be split into different detachments, to be attached to the several Spanish corps. To quiet, however, the apprehensions of the English, they consented to the admission of two English regiments into Cadiz, on the solemn promise that they should on no account remain in the fortress of Cadiz. The British minister, Mr. Frère, according to instructions from home, urged the necessity of having some strong position on the sea shore, for the purpose of receiving reinforcements, or retreating if necessary. If the Spaniards would not consent to the admission of British troops into Cadiz, his Britannic Majesty did not reproach the Spanish government, or complain of that resolution. But if it should remain insensible to what appeared to be so greatly conducive to its interests, as well as essential to the interests of an English army in Spain, his Britannic Majesty must withdraw for the present, and leave the contest between Spain and France to the sole military efforts and means of the Spaniards; yet his Majesty would remain faithful to his engagements. Portugal had not hesitated, or made the smallest objections to the admission of a British

army: a considerable British army was at that moment in possession of its fortresses, and a port for embarkation in case of disaster. The British army, with the assistance of the Portuguese, might be able, not only to protect Portugal, but, in favourable times and places, to cover the adjacent provinces of Spain.\*

Sir Arthur Wellesley, from what he had seen of the proceedings of the Central Junta, was much afraid that, in the distribution of the forces, as well as of offices, they paid less regard to the military defence of the country and the importance of the operations of the campaign, than to miserable intrigues and political objects of very inferior consequence. They reinforced the army of Venegas, though not at all necessary, or desirable in a military point of view, merely because they considered that the dangerous instrument of an army was safer in his hands than those of any other general. They left only 12,000 men in Estremadura, under the Duke of Albuquerque, whom both the Wellesleys, the Marquis and Sir Arthur, regarded as the fittest person in Spain to be generalissimo of the army; because they were unwilling to trust so great a mind and so large a fortune. The duke, from his high rank, great family estates, lofty spirit, and popularity with the army, might not have been so obedient to their orders as either Venegas, or Arriesaga, who succeeded him in the command of the central army.†

\* Correspondence relative to the affairs of Spain and Portugal, published May, 1810, by order of the British Parliament.

† Correspondence relative to the affairs of Spain, &c.



In our last volume it was noticed, that according to the plan concerted between Sir Arthur Wellesley for attacking the French general, Venegas was to advance to Arganda.\*

In reviewing the conduct of the Supreme Junta, we have here an opportunity of mentioning a circumstance in our narrative of the campaign of 1809, inadvertently omitted, which, while it bears directly and very strongly on the character of the Junta, is due to that of Sir Arthur Wellesley.

Sir Arthur proposed to attack Victor on the 23d of July, when he had but 28,000 men. Soult, Ney, and Mortier, were at the distance of 150 miles from him. The allied armies had 58,000 men, to oppose to the 28,000 under General Victor. What from the unaccountable conduct of Gen. Cuesta, and what from *the conduct, as yet unaccounted for of the Junta, in countermanding the orders to Gen. Venegas*, who was to be at Arganda on the 23d of July, Lord Wellington and his army, victorious at Talavera, were compelled to retreat.†

It is scarcely possible to account for all that passed in the Junta otherwise than on the supposition that there were traitors among them. Some of the members, when the Junta was likely to come to any resolution that they deemed hostile to the interests of the usurpers, were in the habit of running out of the hall, crying

Treason! By this means they overawed the members faithful to their country.

The Junta was extremely reluctant to quit the possession of power. The possession of this they seemed to prefer to every consideration. In their arrangements for the convocation of the Cortes, demanded by the whole Spanish nation, they proceeded with studied procrastination. At length it was fixed for March, 1810. The proclamation for assembling the Cortes was brought about by Jovellanos, Calvo, and other members of high rank, against the influence of a number of lawyers who had crept into the Junta. The Junta became at last objects not only of hatred and aversion, but derision: they were afraid, on account of the indignation of the people, to appear in daytime in the streets of Cadiz. The letter of Marshal Soult, conveying intelligence to Paris, is dated the 22d of January; yet no communication on the subject was made to the governor of Cadiz till the 26th; and then it was transmitted not by the Central Junta, but through an irregular channel; and, as if by accident. Marshal Soult, in the letter to Berthier, above quoted, Cordova, Jan. 27, says he had been informed, that the Junta had retreated to Cadiz only for the purpose of being in a situation to treat and capitulate.‡ The information does not appear to have been altogether incorrect.

\* See Vol. LI. HIST. EUR. p. 183.

† Speech of the Marquis of Wellesley in the House of Lords, June 8, 1810.

‡ Soult, in a letter to Berthier, Seville, Feb. 2, observes, as a circumstance corroborative of the hope that Cadiz would not make any resistance, that Venegas, the favourite and confidential general of the Junta, commanded there. But Venegas does not appear to have deserved this confidence.



If it had not been for an accident which could not have been foreseen, and which certainly no means had been taken to prepare, it is highly probable that, in the alarm and confusion into which Cadiz was at first thrown, the design of the French would have been accomplished at once.

On the irruption of the French into Andalusia, General Castanos, who knew, or strongly suspected the traitorous designs of the Junta, sent a confidential letter to the Duke of Albuquerque, commanding the army in Estramadura, apprizing him of his danger, and urging him to proceed with the utmost rapidity to the Isle of Leon. The duke had received commands from the Junta to march in a direction, which, at this crisis, would have been fatal to him, his army, and the cause of Spain; but, being informed of the progress of the enemy through the western chain of the Sierra Morena, he prudently disregarded those mandates, and crossing the Guadalquivir with 10 or 12,000 men at Benconda, marched rapidly by Carmona, Utrera, Xeres, and Arcos, to Cadiz, where they arrived on the 3d of February. When he left Carmona, the advanced posts of the French were very near that place, on their way also to Cadiz, by Seville. He was pursued by the French cavalry as far as Lebrixa, where they gave over the pursuit, finding it in vain. The celerity of the Spanish march astonished them. The duke, in his march even across the swamp near Cadiz, which had been thought at that season of the year impassable for troops, did not lose a single man. Before the arrival of Albuquerque

there were not [in Cadiz much above 1000 troops of the line to defend that important city.

The panic produced at Cadiz by the battle of Ocana, the sudden irruption of the French into the south of Spain, and the flight of the Junta from Seville, by degrees subsided. In all the provinces unoccupied by the French, every man between the age of eighteen and sixty was called upon to enter the lists as a volunteer, and to receive a daily allowance, if required. Carriages in Cadiz, Badajoz, and other towns were laid aside; the mules were put in requisition for the public service, as well as the church and private plate. At Cadiz, the grand object, and that most immediately menaced by the French, patriotism, order, unity, and energy were every where conspicuous. The high clergy, military chiefs at the head of their respective divisions, the rich and the poor, the old and the young, were to be seen working at batteries. The governor of Cadiz immediately ordered a general enlisting of all capable of bearing arms, without exception of classes or conditions, and took the most proper measures for procuring a sufficient quantity of provisions, establishing magazines and hospitals, and, in a word, with unwearied activity and diligence, prepared all possible means of defence and resistance. The Spanish fleet, together with that of the French, which had taken refuge in the harbour of Cadiz after the battle of Trafalgar, were moved to the outer harbour, ready to hoist their sails in case of necessity. An English man of war had been employed for several months

at



at Ferrol in fitting out the Spanish ships there, and they had been sent about the end of October, 1809, to Cadiz. This was one of the effects of Sir John Moore's march through the north of Spain. The number of ships, Spanish and French, that escaped to Cadiz after the battle of Trafalgar, was seven of the line; eight were secured at Ferrol; and five French men of war of different rates devolved to the possession of the Spaniards at the commencement of hostilities; making in all twenty ships of the line. This force was put under the direction of the English admiral Purvis, who rode at anchor with his squadron, five ships of the line, which was soon reinforced by three more, in the harbour of Cadiz. British troops from Gibraltar and Lisbon were received into the Isle of Leon; and an English garrison of 1,200 men was admitted into Ceuta, to co-operate with the Spanish garrison there, which amounted nearly to an equal number.

The threatening aspect of affairs had by this time produced a general anxiety for the establishment of a vigorous government. Great hopes were entertained by the whole nation from the meeting of the Cortes; but perils so imminent did not admit of a moment's delay, and the public mind was too much agitated to be restrained within the limits of any legal forms. No sooner was it known that the Supreme Junta had fled from Seville, than the people of Cadiz took up arms, and having set at liberty the Condé de Montijo and Don Francisco Palafox, who had been imprisoned on a charge of conspiracy against the

government. They surrounded the Junta, demanding the immediate appointment of a regency, and exclaiming against the Supreme Junta as traitors to their country, who had abandoned the passes of the mountains to the French, and then fled to Cadiz with the money they had received from America. The Junta refused to nominate a regency, but admitted Montijo and Palafox as members of their own body, and appointed the Marquis of Romana commander of the army of Castille, in place of the Duke of Parque. At Xeres de la Frontiera, the Archbishop of Laodicea, president of the Junta; Valdez, formerly minister of marine; and Ovaglie, one of the deputies of Estramadura, were seized by the populace, and might have been put to death, had not some persons who had influence with the mob got them shut up in the Carthusian Convent, and detained them there as prisoners of state. On the news of these excesses, General Castanos, who was at the Isle of Leon, exerted himself to procure their liberation, which was effected; but perceiving that their authority was now completely at an end, they had no sooner joined the other members of the Junta in that isle, than they appointed a regency, composed of the Bishop of Orense; Saavedra, the minister of finance; Castanos, capt.-general of Andalusia; Escano, minister of marine; and Fernandez de Leon, minister of the Indies. But this last member appears, in about two weeks thereafter, to have quitted this station to make way for the admission of Miguel de Ardisabal y Uribe. To these five persons they transferred the government



government of the country. The political and military government of the town and fortress of Cadiz was entrusted, *ad interim*, to a Junta, consisting chiefly, not wholly, of merchants. It was presumed that this body would not fail to adopt the most proper measures for the public security of the place. All the ships in the port of Cadiz were put in requisition to convey to the opposite coast and elsewhere a considerable portion of the inhabitants. On the alarm of the approach of the French, the population was increased to the double of its usual number, computed to be 60,000, by fugitives from the valley of the Guadalquivir, in the short interval of twenty-four hours, until at last it became necessary to close the gates on the crowd of supplicants. A great part of these visitors were compelled by the public authorities to depart from Cadiz and the Isle of Leon by sea; and of these a large portion proceeded towards Gibraltar.

By the 6th of February, the French army, for the purpose of blockading Cadiz on the land side, occupied St. Lucar de Barramido, Rota, Puerto de Santa Maria, Puerto Real, Chiclana, and Medina Sidonia. And thus they were in possession of the whole country around. King Joseph, who commanded in chief in person, had his head quarters at St. Mary's, a small town opposite to Cadiz, from whence this city was supplied with water. A spring was afterwards discovered in or near Cadiz, which supplied its place. The French forces were estimated at about 50,000, either before, or in communication with those who were

before Cadiz. There were at this time about 15 or 18,000 men, Spaniards and English, to oppose them; and in a short time after, above 21,000, whereof 16,500 were Spaniards, 4000 English, and 1,700 Portuguese. The first attack on Cadiz was to be made on the land side by the Isle of Leon, which is separated from the continent by a very narrow isthmus, from a quarter to half a mile broad. The form of the isle is irregular; the length about ten miles; the breadth scarcely in any part three. The city of Cadiz is situated at its north west extremity. The island of Leon is fringed by marshy ground, intersected with salt-ponds. The entrance to the isle is by a high road, or causeway, that will scarcely admit four men abreast; and it was defended on both sides by batteries, mounting each eight twelve-pounders. The road was intersected by trenches, filled with water from the small rivulets; and on the borders of the causeway were dykes or fosses. Further onward was a trench 200 feet in breadth, over which there had been a bridge, which was now destroyed. The pass, still more inward by the bridge called Puente de Suaza, was likewise now destroyed. This pass was defended by a series of batteries, each of them mounting about twenty thirty-two pounders. Such were the obstructions which the French had to overcome before they could approach Cadiz. The English, the Portuguese, and the army under the Duke of Albuquerque, were all quartered in the Isle of Leon. Cadiz was garrisoned by the new levies and volunteers. The English auxiliaries were



were commanded by Major-Gen. Graham. The operations of Gen. Victor were combined with those of Sebastiani, who with a part of his corps occupied Antequara, Motril, and Guadix, and communicated with that of Victor by Ronda and Marbella.

General Soult sent a summons, dated Chiclana, Feb. 10, to the Duke of Albuquerque to surrender Cadiz; at the same time inviting him to a conference for settling the terms. The duke stated the strength of the fortress of Cadiz, which had nothing to fear from 100,000 men. There was no comparison between its present state of defence and that in which it had been a few days ago. The most abundant means of fortifying it were at hand, and the Spaniards had not failed to make use of them. It was not the old fortifications that inspired them with confidence, but others superior to these, constructed on the inner side of them, and new works still springing up, and multiplied almost to superfluity. That the Spaniards, faithful to Ferdinand, assisted by the English, would not lay down their arms till they should have recovered their just rights. That they were not to be intimidated by the irruption of the French, who were masters only of the ground they had overran and now occupied. That the Regency which now governed the Spaniards held a close correspondence with all ports on the coasts of Spain, and all the kingdoms and provinces of which it was formed; and armies were organized wherever means could be found of doing so. In return for the interest which his excellency (Marshal Soult) took in the

fortune of the Spaniards inhabiting the Isle and the fortress of Cadiz, the Duke of Albuquerque counselled him to renounce the idea of sacrificing his troops to no purpose; knowing, as he did, the advantages possessed by his own troops, not only in respect of localities, but also that fraternal concord with which they performed all kinds of service together with the English, their intimate allies.—The Duke of Albuquerque conceived it to be his duty further to tell his excellency, that the illustrious British nation, not less generous than magnanimous and brave, had not, as his excellency insinuated, any design of seizing Cadiz. Its only object was, to contribute its aid for its defence by all those means which it so abundantly possessed, which the Spaniards had solicited, and received with gratitude. The defenders of Cadiz should be Spaniards; but they would be supported by English and Portuguese, and by all those who, penetrated with the justice of their cause, would do themselves honour in contributing to the defence of that fortress. The treatment of prisoners should be such as became civilized nations: the Spaniards would not follow the example set by the French troops, in cruelly massacring their Spanish prisoners under the denomination of insurgents, or when, overcome by fatigue, they were not able to keep up with them on their march. The duke concluded by declining the conference to which the marshal had invited him, until, by the restoration of dear Ferdinand VII. to Spain, and the removal of all foreign troops, he should be in a



situation to accept what he would do with pleasure, his obliging offer.

On the 16th of February, the Junta of Cadiz received a written message from King Joseph, by a flag of truce, in which he graciously expressed his readiness to forgive and forget all their offences; represented the ruinous consequences of war, which must annihilate commerce, and destroy the mass of the inhabitants, and requested that persons might be deputed from Cadiz to treat for the security of the Spanish fleet. This note was addressed to three of the leading members of the Junta.—Answer. “The city of Cadiz, faithful to its principles, renounces any other king than Ferdinand VII.”

The Duke of Albuquerque was removed from the command of the army in the Isle of Leon, and General Blake appointed in his stead. But until General Blake, who was employed in collecting the wrecks of the army of Arisaga, should arrive in Cadiz, the command of the army was entrusted provisionally to General Castanos.

The cause and manner of the Duke's removal, which may well appear a matter of surprize and indignation, was as follows:—The duke's little army, on its arrival after a long and rapid march, in the Isle of Leon, was in want of necessaries of all kinds. The only authority at that crisis was the Junta of merchants, above mentioned. To this body the duke applied for clothes, arms, ammunition, accoutrements, and pay; and, in a word, for every thing that his troops stood in need of.

The Junta alleged that it was not in their power to furnish the necessaries demanded. The duke maintained that it was; and declared publicly, that he could not remain at the head of an army in want of every thing with which an army should be provided. The feeble provisory Regency, crouching, and willing to temporize with the Junta, appointed the Duke of Albuquerque ambassador to the court of London; which was only an honourable exile. It was easy to perceive, that treatment so base and injurious, made a deep and painful impression on the feeling mind of that high and heroic spirit. But animated by the same love of his country, which had restrained him from dissolving the Municipal Junta, which he could have done with a word of his mouth, he smothered his resentment for the space of eight months; when, being no longer under any anxiety for the safety of Cadiz, he conceived it to be due both to his own honour and interest, as well as those of his country, to vindicate his honour and reputation. He set himself to write and publish a manifesto, that might serve as an answer to his enemies. It was dated at London, December 12, 1810. In this the duke declared, that he had attended in person the sittings of the Junta of Cadiz as often as possible, to represent the urgent necessity of the troops under his command. His communication was verbal, frank, friendly, and confidential. This intercourse was continued till he was convinced by his own observation, as well as what fell in conversation with individual members of that body, that



that they had not the general interest in contemplation so much as they pretended. From the very commencement of their authority, they strove by all means to acquire the exclusive management of the public revenue. They employed the national funds in commerce, the profits of which were to be appropriated to their own private use; and in this course they deemed the best policy not to press the execution of what was committed to their charge. The most pitiful speculations in the management of the national funds the duke had been made acquainted with from the mouths of several of the members: the destitute state of his army was witnessed by the whole world; but a whole month had passed, without the smallest effort on the part of the Junta to relieve them. "Who," said the duke, "would believe that the Junta of Cadiz should detain in its hands a hundred pieces of cloth, in the hope that, by the management of the public revenue, they should gain, and put in their own pocket three reals per yard?" This was a fact that the duke knew to be certain, and which the Junta would do well to remember, in order to moderate a little the noise with which they vaunted of their patriotism.

This mercenary and venal spirit has brought on the ruin of states once flourishing. That the same spirit should threaten so loudly the extinction of a new political order of affairs in its very commencement, is a fact that seems to be singular and unprecedented in history.

The Junta of Cadiz, on seeing this manifesto, wrote a letter to the Duke of Albuquerque, dated

the 12th of January, 1811, in which they treated the Duke as an impudent calumniator, and an enemy to the public welfare and to his country. Yet they had nothing that they could think plausible to allege against the duke; so far was his character above all reproach, but that his manifesto was dictated by a spirit of vengeance. "Considering yourself," said they, "to be in safety, you have exhaled your venom, without any regard to the fatal consequences that might have followed. It would have been better for your excellency to have said at once, 'My heart sickens and pines at the sight of my own insignificance in the presence of virtue, where no regard is paid to my rank, and where I am considered as nobody; though I alone could do every thing.' You cannot expect any other answer to your publication than; that your impostures shall vanish before clear and irresistible light. The Junta, therefore, is contented with citing you before the august appearance of the national congress." The letter was subscribed by all the individual members of the Junta.

The Cortes pronounced sentence in favour of the duke, and transmitted their resolution on the subject, Isla de Leon, Jan. 14, 1811, to the secretary of the war department, to be communicated to the Council of Regency. They declared that the Duke of Albuquerque, and the army under his command, had deserved well of their country by their services, and particularly by covering the accessible points of the Isla and of Cadiz. It was therefore the will of the Cortes, that the Duke of



Albuquerque, who was desirous of continuing his military career, should be called on by the Regency to return to Spain to be employed in the army. The Council of Regency did not delay a moment to send their orders to Albuquerque, to repair immediately to Galicia, to take the chief command of all the north of Spain, in place of General Mahe, who was appointed to a command in Murcia.

Had these two dispatches reached the Duke of Albuquerque at the same time, it is probable that, from a satisfaction at the conduct of the Cortes, he would have despised the insults offered by the mercantile Junta of Cadiz. But this was not the case. He received the letter from the Junta first; and that by the twopenny-post, with the seal broken. This made an impression on his mind, which his nomination to the chief command in Galicia and all the north of Spain, was not sufficient to efface. The insults of the Junta rankled, and painfully agitated his soul. Contrary to the advice of his friends, who represented how much he should despise them, he spent three days and three nights in drawing up a reply, almost without taking any nourishment. On the fourth, which was the 15th of February, 1811, he was seized with a phrenzy, which on the 18th terminated in his dissolution. Thus perished, in the 37th year of his age, the great pride and hope, at that crisis, of Spain; the victim of high and just indignation, and of sensibility too lively and exquisite. The remains of this young warrior and patriot were deposited in King Henry the

Seventh's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, until they should be removed to his native country. All the ministers of state, foreign ambassadors, French princes deputed by Louis XVIII. and an immense concourse of persons of the higher ranks attended his funeral, which was solemnized with a noble and affecting magnificence, and such as we never witnessed before or since that of Lord Nelson. His eulogy was worthily pronounced in the House of Peers by the Marquis of Wellesley. The assembly of the Cortes poured forth their regrets, together with the praises, due to the man who had been the first to quit the Spanish army in Denmark, and fly to the succour of his country; who had always fought the French with glory; who, in the character of a commander in chief, had defeated them in a variety of actions; and, lastly, who had preserved the ground on which they now stood.

While the French were employed in fortifying all the points of the bay of Cadiz in their possession, the Spaniards, employed also in the erection of redoubts and batteries, and the preparation of other means of defence, were receiving supplies of both money and provisions, as well as reinforcements of troops. The most liberal contributions, in dollars, came in from the Spanish colonies; flour in great abundance was brought by the trading vessels of the United States of America. In the month of May the British force in the Isle of Leon amounted to 7000 men, the Portuguese to 1,500, and the Spaniards to 15,000; making in all, 23,000. A constant communication was kept up between



between Cadiz and the adjacent country by vessels employed for that purpose; so that not only intelligence was obtained, but provisions for supplying the wants of the garrison and inhabitants.

About the middle of March, four Spanish ships of the line, one of 100 guns, and one Portuguese ship of the line, were driven on shore in the bay of Cadiz, and lost in a tempest. The rigging, as well as 6 or 700 of the crews, mostly English, was saved by the humane exertions of the French marines. The greater part of the hulks were burnt. Thirty merchantmen, richly laden, were also driven on shore and lost. The effects of this tremendous gale were also severely felt in the Guadalquiver.

In the night between the 15th and 16th of May, near 2000 French prisoners made their escape on board the hulks of old ships in which they were confined, by taking advantage of the tide and a favourable wind, and cutting their cables, and letting the hulks drift. They were landed from their float-prisons by boats sent to their aid by their countrymen on shore.

The siege of Cadiz went on but slowly. The besiegers were but ill supplied with provisions and ammunition, and exposed to incessant attacks from the parties called GUERRILLAS, from the interior. They were obliged to send out, from time to time, strong detachments for conveying their supplies of provisions; and parties of 150 or 200 horsemen, for even escorting a courier. Thus the Guerillas, by weakening in some degree the line of blockade, operated as a diversion in favour of the garrison of Cadiz.

The besieging army was posted in a semicircle from Santa Maria to St. Pedro, approaching as near as possible to the Spanish outposts. Besieging artillery, with a reinforcement of troops, arrived at the French lines on the 20th of April. Fort Matagorda, one of the outworks situate on the main land opposite Fort Puntales, commanding, in some measure, the entrance into Puntal Roads, about two miles from Cadiz, was taken on the 22d. On this new works were erected, and rafts constructed on the canal of Trocadero. From this point the besiegers took every opportunity of annoying our vessels as they passed and repassed. A constant firing was kept up between Matagorda and the opposite fort of Puntales. The fire of the French batteries was directed chiefly against our gun-boats, and that of ours against their working parties. The distance between Matagorda, on the north, and Puntales, on the south of the canal leading from the outer to the inner harbour of Cadiz, is only two English miles. The French posts on the bay of Cadiz were also annoyed by the English gun-boats. The seamen employed by Buonaparte in the summer of 1809 on the Danube, were sent into Spain to assist in the operations against Cadiz.

In our last volume we had occasion to notice various instances of the exalted patriotism and courage of the Spanish ladies. These were exemplified in a very striking and singular manner at the siege of Cadiz. "Yesterday," says a British officer, "I had the pleasure of seeing a woman that has a captain's commission in the Spanish service.



service. She is dressed like an officer, and commands a battery : she sits on horseback like a man ; and, indeed, you would not know her from a man by her appearance. Her husband was a captain, and in that same battery was killed. On seeing the Spanish soldiers confused at the sight of their dead captain, she instantly took the command, and told them to mind their duty and their country's honour. She continued at the same post for a week, and did not even go to see her husband interred.

The commander of the forces gave her her husband's commission for her bravery.\*"

At the close of the year, the French, who had strong batteries on every side, had began to throw shells into Cadiz. Their shot and shells could both reach the town ; but the distance was so considerable that they produced little or no effect. They had collected an immense number of gun-boats, and threatened a descent on the Isle of Leon.

\* Extract of a letter from an officer of the 79th regiment, received in Glasgow, dated Isla de Leon, May 18, 1810.



## CHAP. X.

*The Operations of the Spaniards and their English Allies, not confined to the defence of Cadiz.—The Mountaineers of Alpujarras excited to arms—and supported—and also the Inhabitants of the Mountains which separate Mercia, Grenada, and Jaen.—These Mountaineers defeated and dispersed.—A combined Expedition from the Port of Cadiz against Moguer—Successful.—French Batteries and Redoubts destroyed by English Gunboats.—A secret Expedition from Gibraltar against Malaga—Unsuccessful.—Reduction, by the French, of the Town and Fortress of Hostalrich in Catalonia.—Fruitless Attempt by General O'Donnell, to raise the Siege of Hostalrich.—Effects of the Reduction of Hostalrich.—Reduction, by the French, of the strong Fortress of Mequinez, in Catalonia.—The Siege of Valencia raised by a Sally of the Spanish Garrison under the Command of Don Ventura Caro.—Reduction of Tortosa, by the French General Souchet, after an obstinate resistance.*

THE operations of the Spaniards and their English allies were not confined to the defence of Cadiz. They acted on the offensive in rousing, encouraging, and aiding the natives in a resistance of the invaders. It has been observed above, that it was a part of the general plan of the French to cut the peninsula into two divisions, by a cordon, extending from Bayonne to the Bay of Malaga, and that the corps under General Sebastiani should communicate with that under General Victor. The mountainous region between Marbella, and the near vicinity of Cadiz, became, therefore, a scene of contest between the contending parties. General Blake, who was employed in Murcia, as above noticed, in collecting the remains and re-organizing the army of Ariezaga,

excited the mountaineers of Alpujarras to arms, and for their encouragement and support, sent out a column from Almeida on Adra, Torbision, and Motril. Alpujarras, or Alpuxarras, is a mountainous district in the kingdom of Grenada, about 17 miles in length from east to west, 11 in breadth, from north to south, and so high that their summits are visible, not only from Gibraltar, but between Ceuta and Tangier, from the coast of Africa. On the advance of the Spaniards to Motril, a French battalion stationed there fell back to Velez Malaga.\*

A detachment of 5000 men under the command of the Spanish General Don Louis Lacey, disembarked at Algesiras, and marched by St. Roche, on the town of Ronda. At this place there was stationed a French force of 6000

\* Soult to Berthier, Grenada, 17th of March, 1810.



men. Being informed of the unexpected arrival of the Spaniards, whose numbers report had greatly exaggerated, and that they were to be attacked by surprise, in the night, they suddenly evacuated Ronda, and fled in great disorder, leaving behind them their arms, provisions, and ammunition: the whole of which fell into the hands of the Spaniards. Though the number of the Spanish regulars was exaggerated, the whole of Lacey's troops, regulars and volunteers, in a few days after his landing, at Algeiras, is said to have amounted to 12,000. All the arms found at Ronda, were distributed among the inhabitants of the mountains. Parties of French were again marched against the insurgents, as the French called them, by General Sebastiani. A murderous warfare was carried on on both sides. The Spaniards were obliged to retreat. The mountaineers were defeated in various actions, but not pacified. All the British officers and men who have had occasion to see any of the Spanish mountaineers, agree in their descriptions of the ferocious and savage appearance and air of the Alpujarrese, and other Spanish mountaineers. They every day were bringing prisoners to Gibraltar, with spoils taken from the Frenchmen they had killed, such as horses, helmets, uniforms, &c. The rustics, who were wont to be clothed like the Russian boors, in sheepskins, were many of them completely accoutred in French uniforms.

Whilst General Blake was making demonstrations in the Alpujerras, and on the sea-coast, where he was supported by two ships of the line, he also raised the

inhabitants of the mountains, which separate Murcia, Grenada, and Jaen. General Sebastiani being ordered to penetrate into Murcia, to drive away the troops that scoured the frontiers of these provinces, set out April 18, and his advanced guard entered Murcia on the 23d. The Spanish force, computed at 15 or 17,000 men, retired, with a good deal of fighting between the French and the rear-guard of the Spaniards, to Alicant, from whence they detached 4000 men to Carthagena.

On the 22d of August a combined expedition set sail from the port of Cadiz against Moguer, a town in the province of Seville, on the river Huelva, below its junction with the Tinto, where a French division was posted under the command of the Duke of Aremberg. The land force consisted chiefly of Spaniards, to the number, it would appear, of from 12 to 1500; but there was also an English division, under the orders of Captain George Cockburn. The land force was commanded by the Spanish General Lacey. Captain Cockburn had charge of the naval part of the expedition. In the evening of the 23d, when the squadron was about four leagues from the entrance of the Huelva, the General intimated to Captain Cockburn his desire to disembark on the coast along which they were sailing, by which means the troops could reach Moguer a good deal sooner than by water. About ten o'clock the troops began to disembark; and the whole, with the horses, ammunition, and other things, being safely landed between one and two o'clock, the General began his march along the



the coast. Eleven English flat-bottomed boats advanced for the purpose of transporting the army over a large branch of the Huelva, which intersects the road to Moguer, and comes a great way to the south and west of Moguer, into the country. By the passage of the Huelva, in the boats, the march was not retarded a moment. It arrived at Moguer, 22 miles from the point of disembarkation, towards eleven in the forenoon, August 24. The Spaniards forgetting their fatigues, proceeded immediately to attack the French; who, not expecting such a visit, were driven from the town almost without resistance. They soon rallied, however, and made several attacks on the advanced Spanish line, in order to recover what they had lost. But the Spaniards stood firm, and repelled their onsets with the utmost bravery. Captain Cockburn in his dispatch to Admiral Sir R. G. Keates, commanding the naval force at Cadiz, speaks in the highest terms of the alacrity and ardour with which the Spaniards sustained the fatigue of a march of 22 miles, after three successive nights past without repose, and of the firmness and valour they displayed in their engagements with the French. These he says had raised his admiration to the highest pitch, and added to the liveliness of his hopes that such a people must ultimately prevail and triumph in such a cause. Of General Lacey he says, that he shewed himself worthy to command such men. The coolness of the General, his ability, and active bravery, qualified him in a singular manner for the kind of service on which he was then

employed. The Spaniards were not less liberal in their praises of the English. In the Regency Gazette Extraordinary of Cadiz, Aug. 30, it is said, "The Spanish and English Marines contributed in the most distinguished manner to the fortunate success of the enterprise; and our allies, and particularly Captain Cockburn, acquired new claims to the gratitude of the Spanish nation."

Some artillery, ammunition, and other articles being landed from the vessels on the night of the 24th, measures were taken for pursuing the enemy. The next day a division advanced, and took possession of the town of Niebla, about ten miles north east from Moguer, to the great joy of the inhabitants, and all the country round. But General Lacey, apprised that the French were on their march in great haste towards Seville, having destroyed the magazines and batteries, and spiked the guns of Moguer, reembarked his troops, and sent them back to Cadiz, where they arrived safely on the 30th of August. Though both Captain Cockburn's letter to the English Admiral, and the Regency Gazette Extraordinary represent the attacks made on the first line of the Spaniards as desperate, it seems difficult to reconcile this with the circumstance that the Spaniards took only 12 prisoners, and that the killed and wounded, left on the field of battle, according to the report of those prisoners, did not exceed 300. The booty taken from the enemy, in trinkets, valuable effects, and some money, was distributed among the troops of the expedition.

The



The English flotilla of gun-boats also destroyed the batteries and redoubts of St. Mary's, and some other points on the Bay of Cadiz. A secret expedition that set sail from Gibraltar, 11th October, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Blaney, against Malaga, produced very different effects from that of the force under the orders of General Lacey. The object of the expedition from Gibraltar, was to take Fort Fangarola, in order to draw the enemy out of Malaga; then to reembark, set sail for that city, and with the assistance of a reinforcement to be sent without delay from Gibraltar, to destroy the enemy's works at Malaga, and drive away the hords of privateers that took shelter in its harbour. It was calculated that Fort Fangarola would surrender without resistance. The expedition consisted of about 4 or 500 English of the 39th regiment, 500 German deserters enrolled and armed at Gibraltar, a number of artillery men, and a Spanish regiment sent over from Ceuta. This armament, the 14th of October, disembarked 3 leagues west from Fangarola, situate about 4 from Malaga. The garrison, 160 men, when a division of the troops under Lord Blaney were within canon-shot, fired upon them with a 24-pounder, and some other pieces of smaller calibre. Lord Blaney had trusted that a herald of truce would do the business. He had not at hand either scaling-ladders or battering-cannon. He brought up some pieces from the ships in the night, and planted them on ground from whence they could play with advantage.

The fire of the garrison ceased about eleven o'clock, A. M. But they sallied out and stormed the battery. The officers of the English division which remained on the flanks of the height on which the battery was raised, while the rest of the troops were moving to the positions assigned by the General, with some artillery men, attacked the assailants, and the battery was cleared. In this gallant exploit Major Grant, who commanded the division of the 89th, was mortally wounded. In a very short time a more numerous party of the French appeared in the midst of the cannon; the battery was taken, and the English, as well as the rest of the troops, took to flight. The arrival of 1,200 men from Malaga, encouraged the French, and struck a panic into the English and Spanish troops. The French from Malaga were disguised in Spanish uniforms; of which stratagem, on their near approach to Fort Fangarole, Lord Blaney was apprised by some French deserters: but his Lordship firmly believed them still to be Spaniards, and threatened to cut off with his own hand the head of any traitor that should fire on the troops that were come to join them. He persevered in the error of mistaking them for friends till the moment they told him he was their prisoner; which happened nearly at the same instant when the battery was taken a second time. It fortunately happened that the 32d regiment, which followed the expedition a few days after its departure from Gibraltar, had landed two companies at the moment when the encounter took place. These



These two companies marched with a firm pace to meet the enemy. They took possession of a height, that commanded that part of the waterside, and supported by the fire of the line of battle ship, in which they had come, withstood the French, and covered the reembarkation of all such of the 89th regiment as had not taken the route of Marabella, with the fugitive Spaniards. This affair of Fangarola was very disgraceful to the expedition, for the French did not exceed half their numbers.

The French, to the number of 12,000 men, having early in February made a fruitless attempt on Valencia, from whence they were driven back with considerable loss, proceeded to lay siege to the castle of Hostalrich, in Catalonia, the reduction of which was necessary to an attack on the important city of Tarragona. The town of Hostalrich was reduced in the month of January. The castle, situated on a steep and rugged mountain, was not to be taken but by blockade. The governor or military commander of the French in Catalonia, at that time, was Marshal Angereau, one of the new Dukes, (Duke of Castiglione). About the middle of February, General O'Donnel drew together Spanish troops of the line from different military stations, with an intent to cut off the French division under the orders of General Souham, and raise the siege of Hostalrich. His

infantry were 12,000, his cavalry 1200. These were joined by some thousands of Miquelets,\* and smugglers. Towards seven o'clock A. M. Feb. 20, the Spaniards were seen advancing in three columns in the plain of Vich. The Miquelets and Smugglers, commanded by Rovira, a physician, occupied the adjacent heights, in the same plan, immediately above Vich. General Souham having observed the movements of the enemy, drew up the whole of his division. O'Donnel attempted to delude the French General by a false attack. A strong party of the Miquelets began the battle with a most vigorous attack on a battalion of French stationed at Gulp, but General Souham ordered the battalion to fall back, without making any other change in his order of battle. A hot fire immediately flew on the whole fronts of the opposite lines. The Spaniards brought forward into the first line, the choice of their troops, including two fine Swiss regiments, who charged the French with great bravery, and at the same instant the cavalry made a movement for turning their left flank. But General Souham dispatched his cavalry to attack them. By this charge the Spanish cavalry were thrown into great disorder, and a great number of Spanish cavaliers were killed. The Spanish General now brought forward the whole of his reserve, and made the most vigorous efforts,

\* Freebooters that occupy the Pyrenean mountains, especially towards the frontier of France, into which they were accustomed formerly sometimes to make incursions like the plundering borderers, before the union, on the Marches between England and Scotland. Their depredations, however, have for many years back been confined to travellers.



to penetrate the French centre; which efforts were continued for the space of three hours in vain. Such was the intrepidity and firmness of the French battalions to whose lot it fell to sustain their repeated shocks. General O'Donnel finding all his attempts to cut through the centre of the line useless, made a desperate effort to turn at the same time both flanks of the French. This manœuvre was also in vain. At every point the Spaniards met with effectual resistance in their attempt to turn the right of the French. At this place and period of the engagement, General Souham received a wound in one of his temples, which occasioned his loss of an eye. He was carried out of the field of battle to have his wound dressed, and in his absence his place of commander in chief was ably supported by Augereau, a General of Brigade in Souham's division. As soon as General Souham's wound was dressed, he returned to the command of his brave troops, and remained with them the whole of that day. The attempt to outflank the French on the left of their line was made by a column of infantry supported by the whole of the cavalry. But the column of infantry, all of them Swiss, was cut off by a regiment of dragoons and another of horsemen. The Swiss, to the number of 1000, laid down their arms, and gave up two standards. This double effort to turn the wings of the French army having failed, the Spaniards gave way at every point, and were pursued with great

slaughter, as far as Maga. The ground, the whole way, was bestrewed with arms and the bodies of dead and wounded men. Those who escaped owed their safety to the vicinity of steep and rugged mountains. Of the Spaniards, 3500 were either killed or wounded, and 3250 sent prisoners to France.

In the mean time, while General Souham was engaged with General O'Donnel, the Italian troops forming the blockade of Hostalrich were attacked by a host of insurgents from all parts of the mountains. But they were soon defeated and dispersed, with not a little slaughter; and, at the same time an attack was made by 2000 Spanish troops of the line, 1500 Miquelets, and 200 cavalry, the whole commanded by a Swiss Colonel, on a French post at Bessola, but they were driven back with the loss of 306 men beyond Olot.\* It appears, even from the French accounts, that the Spaniards, in the battle of Vich, fought with the greatest bravery and resolution; yet it is stated in Augereau's dispatch, that the loss of the French in all the actions of that day, viz. those of Vich, Hostalrich, and Ressa, did not not exceed 148 killed, and 273 wounded! There was no other means used for taking the castle of Hostalrich than a strict blockade, which was made closer and closer. On the night between the 2d and 3d of May, a bold attempt to throw both provisions and a reinforcement of troops into the castle was frustrated by the vigilance and military skill and

\* Letter from Augereau to the Duke of Feltré, minister at war. Gerona, 28th February, 1810.



valour of the besiegers. The Spaniards, however, though defeated, after a stout resistance, took care to send back in time the convoy, which was thus saved from the grasp of the French, who stood much in need of provisions themselves, though not quite so much as the garrison of Hostalrich. The extreme distress of this being known, the General of division Severoli, who commanded the besieging army, on the 11th of May summoned it to surrender. On the night of the 12th, the garrison, under the advantage of an exceedingly thick mist, went out of the fort in profound silence, and the advanced guard fell of course on the French sentinels. One of these was killed, but the other gave the alarm. The French troops were instantly under arms, and pursued the Spaniards with so much celerity, that the whole were either killed or taken. In the fortress of Hostalrich were found 42 large pieces of brass ordnance, and a very considerable quantity of ammunition for war, but an extremely small stock of provision for the month. The reduction of Hostalrich facilitated the carriage by land of provisions to Barcelona, and covered the communication between that place and Gerona. On the 14th of May, 10 P. M. General Suchet, with a division of the 3d corps under his command, became master, after fifteen days of open trenches, and three days firing, of Lerida. There were found in Lerida 100 pieces of cannon of various calibre, one mil-

lion five hundred thousand cartridges, two hundred million pounds of powder, and ten thousand firelocks. The garrison, eight thousand men, were made prisoners of war, including Garcia Conde, the Commander in Chief, and six Colonels. On the 8th of June the fortress of Mequinenza in Catalonia, situate near the confluence of the Segre and Ebro, in the midst of a desert, and justly called the Key of the Ebro, was taken by a body of French troops, under the command of General Suchet. The French found at Mequinenza forty-five pieces of ordnance, four hundred thousand English cartridges, fifty thousand pounds of powder, a great quantity of cast-iron, and provisions for two thousand men for three months.\* An immense booty was also obtained at Lerida; because, from the idea entertained of the strength of that fortress, it had become the depository of the money and valuable effects of many towns and churches.

The great movements in the conduct of the war in the peninsula were prescribed at Paris. We find Berthier, the war minister, transmitting† the orders of his Imperial Majesty, Buonaparte, to Marshal Soult, after the fall of Hostalrich, Lerida, and Mequinenza, to send General Suchet against Tortosa, and Marshal Macdonald, alias the Duke of Tarentum, appointed Governor of Catalonia, in the place of the Duke of Castiglione, against Tarragona. After the reduction of these two

\* Suchet to Berthier, camp before Mequinenza, 8th June, 1810.

† In a Letter dated Dieppe, 27th May, 1810.



places, Suchet, it was stated by the Emperor, would be enabled, with a corps of 30,000 and the artillery necessary for a siege, to march on Valencia and take that town.\* This was the first operation to be then undertaken. It was necessary, above all others; "for," says Berthier, "it has to the present moment continued its attempts from time to time, and cost us a very considerable number of our men." The advantages above mentioned, obtained by General Sebastiani over the insurgents of Grenada and Murcia, were not decisive. For his army had no sooner retreated from the pursuit of the fugitives, and a fruitless attempt to take Valencia, the siege of which had been raised by Don Ventura Caro, uncle to the Marquis of Romana, than parties of insurgents from Valencia began to assemble new bodies of troops in Grenada, and the adjacent provinces. General Suchet, who, about the end of March or beginning of April, invested the town of Valencia with 12,000 men, and 36 pieces of cannon, had entered into a correspondence with some of the inhabitants favourable to the French. It was agreed that an insurrection should take place in the town, during which the Governor was to be hanged, and the enemy admitted. The plot was discovered by Caro, on the day previous to that fixed for its execution. Even some members of the Junta of Valencia had taken a part in the conspiracy.

These, with one or two hundred of the principal inhabitants, were immediately arrested as a measure of safety. And Don Caro having instantly mustered his best troops, marched out, surprised, and attacked the French, and defeated them with great slaughter. On his return a number of the leading conspirators were tried, condemned, and executed.

Agreeably to the orders received from Paris, the 3d corps, after the reduction of Merida and Mequinenza, began to move towards Tortosa. The first division blockaded the Tete de Pont (fortified end of the bridge) on the right bank of the Ebro, opposite to Mequinenza; the second marched to the frontier of Valencia, after detaching a force to the vicinity of Taarnel, to keep in check General Villa Campo, a very bold and active chief, who had become not a little formidable, and to cover the city of Saragossa. The third was stationed on the Lower Ebro, for escorting convoys of provisions, and the train of artillery, and for watching the motions of the Spanish army in Catalonia. From Mequinenza and Caspe, a town of Arragon, situate at the conflux of the Ebro and Guadaloupe, all the way to Tortosa, a road for carriages was cut, waving to the length of thirty leagues, through mountains scarcely passable for mules or travellers on foot. The park of artillery was moved down partly by water-carriage, and partly by land, as far as

\* In the same letter Berthier mentions the astonishment of the Emperor that Soult should leave any arms in the hands of the Spaniards; and also that he did not raise contributions for paying and feeding his army.



Xerta, which was within two leagues of Tortosa.

While the French were employed in their preparations, or what, in the language of the French general who commanded, is called "all the preliminary labours of the siege," the garrison of Tortosa did not fail in the months of July and August to make repeatedly the boldest and most vigorous sallies. On the 3d of August it made a general sally. It advanced on all points at the same time, even under the enemy's entrenchments. The French advanced posts were not able to sustain their shock. But the Elite (the choicest troops) of the army being brought into action, the Spaniards were driven back into the fortress with the loss of some hundreds of their men killed, and about as many prisoners. In this bold enterprize Count D'Abras, the governor of Tortosa, was dangerously wounded. In the end of October and beginning of November, General Villa Campo, who had greatly harassed the posts left for the keeping up Suchet's communications, in the province of Arragon, was defeated in two smart actions, in which he lost six field pieces, and a company of light artillery. On the 26th of November, a French division, under the orders of General Mositier, routed the Valencians at Vinaros, and took a great number of prisoners,—the French say 2500, but, according to the best tables or calculations that have been made on the French exaggeration, about one third of that number.

The efforts made by the Spanish Guerillas to cut off Barcelona

from provisions, and to reduce it by famine, made it necessary that a very strong convoy should be sent for its relief, and for re-opening a communication between that important town and fortress, and other parts of Catalonia. General Suchet did not think it advisable to commence the siege, by the close investment of Tortosa, before the return of that force from Barcelona to the banks of the Ebro, for supporting and co-operating with the 3d corps. But on the approach of this division of the army of Catalonia, which was under the command of General Frère, Suchet marched from Xerta with his army, consisting of twelve battalions, formed into columns, on the morning of the 15th of Dec. on the left side of the Ebro. While a part of the troops carried the position of Col. de L'Alba, the rest formed itself by degrees into a semicircle, the extremities of which were supported by the river above and below Tortosa. The enemy was driven into this inclosure. By the evening the investment was complete. From that day nothing could enter or go out of the place. The artillery was established on the river, at that place 130 fathoms in breadth. A flying bridge was constructed for maintaining a communication between its opposite banks. Dec. 18, all the posts, even the sentinels of the Spaniards, were driven into the fortress. In the night between the 20th and 21st, two thousand labourers, favoured by a violent gale of wind and a thick darkness, opened the first parallel before the two bastions called St. Peter and St. John: its left extremity at the distance of

ten



ten fathom from the wall, and stretching from the margin of the river to the foot of the elevated flat, or table-ground, called the Plateau D'Orleans, an extent of 250 fathom. And at the same time, on the right bank of the Ebro, a trench was opened at the distance of 90 fathom from the Tete de Pont, and batteries were erected and raised on it for flanking the principal attack. On the 22d General Frère's division of the army of Catalonia, arrived to join the besieging army. He was stationed on the Ebro, at the distance of one league below Tortosa to have an eye on the route towards Tarragona, and the sea coast. A battalion of observation was detached from Frère's division to Col. de L'Alba. On the seventh night of the siege, the covert-way was crowned, even before the batteries were completed; a circumstance which Suchet considered as altogether singular, perhaps, in the history of sieges. But not a few of those employed in this work were killed; among whom were five officers of artillery. On three different nights, viz. the 17th, the 24th, and 27th of December, the Spaniards, in columns of about 400 men each, rushed out on the assailants with incredible impetuosity, and for some little time carried all before them. But the flower of the besieging army coming up to the aid of their fellow soldiers, at the critical moment when one party of Spaniards had penetrated, and were burning some gabions in a lodgment in the covert way, and another advancing in great force by the Plateau D'Orleans, drove them back within their walls, kill-

ing numbers of them and making others prisoners. In the mean time the artillery, after surmounting multiplied difficulties, succeeded in bringing over the park of battering cannon to the left bank of the Ebro. The navigation of the river, which varied in its current and depth of water every hour, was extremely difficult; and the erection of batteries was greatly counteracted by a fire from the garrison, which raked all the right bank of the river. A battery, within 50 fathoms of Fort Orleans, was erected in broad day-light, with the aid of a hot fire of musketry, directed against the embrasures of the besieged. On the 29th, by break of day, 45 pieces of cannon, from ten batteries raised on both sides of the river, commenced a fire, which in the space of two hours silenced all that was opposed to them; on the same day the bridge was cut, and the day thereafter entirely broken down. In the night between the 29th and 30th the Spaniards evacuated the Tete de Pont, which was taken possession of by the French. On the 30th there was no firing but from the castle, and on the 31st none at all. The parapets were destroyed; the embrasures were unfit for receiving cannon: two breaches had begun to be made in the wall; parties had descended and passed the ditch; and the miners commenced their subterraneous operations. In these circumstances, in the morning of the 1st of January, 1811, a flag of truce was seen on the summit of the castle. Two officers came to the French General with a letter from the Governor, authorizing



ing them to propose terms of peace. They offered to quit Tortosa immediately on the condition of being sent to Tarragona, or to surrender on conditions within fifteen days, if the place should not be relieved. These proposals were rejected in the most peremptory manner. A fire of shells from mortars and obuses was re-opened on both the town and castle. The miners resumed their labours. On the morning of the 2d a new battery, constructed with extraordinary quickness in the covert-way on the counterscarp of the ditch, played at the distance of fifteen fathoms from the wall, and effected a breach, which was enlarged every hour. Three white flags waved on the ramparts at the same time. The firing was every where continued; in two hours every thing was ready for the assault; and a column was formed for mounting the breach

Heralds of peace presented themselves anew, but orders were given that they should not be received, except on the condition of the first preliminary. This hard condition was accepted; the garrison, reduced from 9 to 8000 men, laid down their standards and arms, defiled as prisoners of war, and under a suitable escort were led as prisoners of war to Saragossa. Among the standards was one presented by the King of Great Britain and Ireland, whom Suchet calls "Le Roi Georges," to the city of Tortosa. The French were put into possession of 177 pieces of ordnance, 9000 firelocks, and a great quantity of bullets, shells, and gunpowder.\* The Governor of Tortosa was sentenced, by a court-martial held at Tarragona, to have his head cut off, for having traitorously given up the fortress committed to his charge to the enemy.

\* General Suchet to the Prince of Neufchatel, Major-General. Tortosa, 4th of January, 1811.



## CHAP. XI.

*The Great Theatre of the War in the Peninsula, the Frontier of Portugal.  
—Reduction by the French of Ciudad Rodrigo—and Almeida.*

IT had been determined in a council of war held in July or August, 1809, that Marshal Soult should attack Ciudad Rodrigo: the reduction of which would cut off the only communication in the hands of the Spanish government with the Northern provinces of the country. And this was to be followed by the siege of the strong fortress of Almeida, which would open an entrance into Portugal. \*The Frontiers of which, accordingly, as Mortier had before been sent against Badajoz, it now became the great theatre of war in the peninsula. The army destined for this warfare was called the central army.

Among the maxims that appear to have been adopted by Buonaparte, it is one to accomplish as many objects as possible by the same troops: which maxim again is intimately connected with the most prominent feature in all his military operations, namely, rapidity of motion. The siege of Badajoz was suspended until the insurrections should be quelled in the south-east of Spain. That of Ciudad Rodrigo suspended until Leon should be completely subdued, Asturias overrun, and Galicia held in check by a formidable force near its frontiers. A small

body of French, three or four thousand, towards the end of December, 1809, entered the capital of Leon, from whence, on their approach, the Spaniards retreated. A corps, which was the 8th, under General Junot, laid siege to Astorga, and held other places in subjection, by a proper distribution of garrisons. A strong division under General Bonnet took possession of Oviedo the capital, extended itself over the whole province of Asturias, and threatened again to penetrate into Galicia. General Bonnet, though engaged in continual encounters with the Guerillas, established communications both with Leon and St. Andero. He could have easily advanced into Galicia, but he received orders to wait in his present positions until his further movements should be determined by future events. Astorga was taken, after a short siege, on the 12th of April. Three thousand five hundred Spaniards, with English firelocks, and wearing English clothes, laid down their arms, and were conducted in two columns to Barneza, from whence they were sent to France. But the whole of the prisoners taken during the siege of Astorga, according to the dispatch of Junot to

\* Correspondence relative to the affairs of Spain and Portugal. The Marquis of Wellesley to Sir Arthur Wellesley, Seville, 30th of August, 1809.



Berthier, amounted to about 5000. The number of the Spaniards killed at the siege, was 1500, and 500 wounded were left in the hospitals. The French found at Astorga 20 pieces of cannon and two mortars. The loss of the French, as stated by Junot, in all the different encounters with the enemy, both in Astorga and the territory around it, was only about 160 killed and 400 wounded. The Spaniards stated, probably with equal exaggeration, that the loss of the French in killed and wounded was not less than 4000. After the fall of Astorga, and not a little subsequent skirmishing with the Guerillas, the 8th corps joined that of Marshal Ney, alias the Duke of Echlingen, before Ciudad Rodrigo.

Marshal Ney entertained a considerable degree of apprehension that General Junot, between whom and himself there was not a good understanding, might not co-operate with him for the reduction of Ciudad Rodrigo with that cordiality and promptitude which circumstances demanded. In the first week of May the half of Ney's corps had already sat down before that place, and for opening trenches he only wanted to know if the Duke of Abrantes was willing to aid him with the garrisons of Zamora and Toro, to relieve his posts of communication, and if it was his intention to support him substantially in case of need. But if the Duke (Junot) should not agree to any of these propositions, then Marshal Ney was determined to undertake the

siege alone, establishing his communication by the Avila. Marshal Soult (Duke of Dalmatia) had written a letter to Ney, April 30, to send a strong party as far as the Tagus for clearing his left. The answer to this letter gives an accurate idea of Ney's situation at this period, and also conveys some notion of that kind of irregular and mountainous warfare, in which the French were now involved. Such a detachment as was required, Marshal Ney observed, must be 1500 men at least, which he was not, at the present moment, in a condition to spare, as the whole of the troops under his command scarcely sufficed to cover the immense range they occupied. He was under the necessity of detaching 3000 men as auxiliaries to the artillery train, for guarding the ovens and magazines he had constructed behind the line of blockade, and protecting convoys from Salamanca. It was necessary to have a strong post at St. Felix, for observing Almeida, and a detachment on the left of the Agueda to cut off all communication between that place and the country around, and counteract the movements of the English. The trenches, too, before Ciudad Rodrigo, for the space of four days, would require 4000 men to work at them; on the whole, there would not remain to him more than 12,000 men in camp ready for fighting, if a battle should become necessary. Yet, under all these disadvantages, he was determined to go on with the siege, and he hoped with success.\*

\* Ney to Soult. Salamanca, 16th of May, 1810.



In the mean time Field Marshal Massena, Prince of Essling, was on his way from Paris to take the command of the army appointed for the conquest of Portugal, to consist of the 2d, 6th, and 8th corps, forming all together a force of about 80,000 men.\* On the 12th of May an officer of the French Staff presented himself before Ciudad Rodrigo, summoning it to surrender. The Governor answered that he would hold no communication with the French, but by the mouth of the cannon.

The siege of Ciudad Rodrigo was long obstructed and retarded by heavy rains, bad roads, the difficult transportance of stores and provisions, and lastly the near vicinity of the allied army of English and Portuguese, under the command of Lord Wellington. The trenches were at length opened on the night between the 15th and 16th of June, by which time Marshal Massena had arrived in the French camp to take the command of the army. The 2d corps, commanded by Regnier, was put under the orders of Massena, and drawing towards Alcantara to manœuvre on the right bank of the Tagus. The 1st, 4th, and 5th corps

were thought abundantly sufficient for Andalusia. By means of these dispositions, the prince of Essling would be enabled to take the fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo; and by order of the Emperor this was stated in a letter from Berthier to King Joseph, dated Havre, 23d May, 1810. In a letter of the same date to Massena, he told him that it appeared from the English Journals, that Lord Wellington's army consisted of 23,000 English and Germans, and 22,000 Portuguese. It was his Majesty's will that the prince should have more troops than were necessary for the present undertaking, in order to beat the English, in the case of their attempting to raise the siege. He was desired to proceed immediately to Ciudad Rodrigo with the 6th and the 8th corps† leaving 2000 dragoons of the 8th to General Kellerman; and also a force of about 10,000 men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, for keeping open his communication with the rear of the army. The 6th corps, with what remained of the 8th, was computed at near 50,000.

The town of Ciudad Rodrigo was completely invested by a body of troops under the orders of Ney

\* It has been conjectured, that Buonaparte was by no means satisfied with the conduct of Soult. This commander, it has been said, after the passage of the Sierra Morena, instead of scattering his troops by sending Sebastiani to Grenada, and Mortier towards Badajoz, should have marched them rapidly in one mass, without the smallest loss of time, to Seville, and then to Cadiz. With a bridge equipage for passing the river of St. Peter, Cadiz would have opened its gates without resistance. So Buonaparte would have acted if he had commanded this expedition in person. *Biographical note of Marshal Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, from General Sarrasin's Philosopher.* Perhaps Marshal Soult, who cannot be supposed to have been at all under the real control of King Joseph, might have marched with greater rapidity, though certainly very little time was lost either at Jaen, Cordova, or Seville. But as to the direction of Sebastiani to Grenada, and of Mortier to the Guadiana, this course may reasonably be presumed to have been prescribed by Buonaparte.

† Massena was then at Salamanca.



on the right bank of the Agüeda, and by another under Junot on the left. A detachment was sent from the corps under Junot, towards St. Felix, to watch and check the motions of the enemy, and cover all the operations of the siege. Batteries were erected by the artillery. The approaches were made through difficult ground composed of various strata, sometimes through solid rock, and streamlets of running water. In the morning of the 25th of June a fire was opened on Ciudad Rodrigo, from 46 pieces of battering cannon, which soon obtained an advantage over that of the garrison. But the Spaniards, who had a very numerous artillery, brought different pieces into play, and poured a shower of shells and bullets from mortars and obuses on the assailants, who, in order to cover their advances, found it necessary to attack two convents, which were taken and retaken several times, and not kept by the French at last until they were partly burnt. Possession was then obtained of the suburb St. Francis, after an obstinate resistance, and several sorties. On the 28th, great damage having been done to the walls, the Governor, Don Andrew Herrasty, was summoned to surrender, but he refused to capitulate. Both the garrison and inhabitants, roused by the monks to a high pitch of religious enthusiasm, appeared determined to stand out to the last extremity. The firing was then recommenced with increased fury. Batteries were erected nearer the walls, in both of which a practi-

cable breach, from 15 to 18 fathoms in width, was made on the 9th of July, in the night of which the explosion of a mine threw the counterscarp into the ditch. This breach being discovered about 4 o'clock, P. M. of the 10th, it was instantly mounted, amidst the cries of *vive l'Empereur*, by three gallant soldiers, who poured the contents of their firelocks among the garrison: whose fire, which had become feeble for some hours, now entirely ceased. The besiegers were marching in columns to the assault, when the white flag appeared. The garrison surrendered at discretion. The French were struck with the appearance of subversion and ruin wherever they turned their eyes. Scarcely was a house to be seen entire, or without some trace of the furious siege it had undergone. Of the troops and inhabitants 2000 were killed. The garrison, to the number of 7000, deposited their arms in the arsenal. There was found at Ciudad Rodrigo 125 pieces of ordinance, mostly bronze, 200,000 weight of powder; and more than a million of cartouches for infantry.\*

The brave garrison of Ciudad Rodrigo was sent to France: but scarcely the half, it was loudly affirmed, ever reached that destination. A great number died of fatigue, and when they had become so weak as to be incapable of keeping pace with their escort they were shot. We have seen that this was declared to be the practice of the French by the Duke of Albuquerque, who had the best

\* The Prince of Essling to the Prince of Neuf Chatel, Camp before Ciudad Rodrigo, 12th July, 1810.



means of knowing the fact, and whose 'character' places him far above the suspicion of having invented and proclaimed a falsehood for the sake of exciting an odium and abhorrence of the ruler of France. Indeed nothing, however atrocious, will appear incredible of Buonaparte, when we reflect how he treated his prisoners on his retreat from Acre.\*

The next operation in the progress of the French army of Portugal was the siege of Almeida. But a considerable time was spent in repairing and strengthening the defences of Ciudad Rodrigo, in waiting for the return of the troops that escorted the Spanish prisoners to Bayonne, and the arrival of some other reinforcements. Parties were sent out to reconnoitre the positions of the Anglo-Portuguese army; whose advanced posts fell back as the French approached. Towards the middle of August, the army under the command of Marshal Massena was posted as follows. Fifteen thousand men of Marshal Ney's corps, under the orders of General Loison, invested Almeida; the remainder of that corps, about 10,000, were at Fort de la Concepcion; 25,000 men under Junot were at St. Felizes, about three miles N. W. from Ciudad Rodrigo. A third corps, of 25,000 men, was at Ciudad Rodrigo and the neighbourhood. These three corps were within two days march of the allies, and some of their divisions not further off, than seven or eight miles. Marshal Massena, the commander

in chief, was at Valdemula, a village near Ciudad Rodrigo, which about three weeks before had been occupied by the English.

On the north side of Portugal General Kellerman, with 12,000 men, menaced Oporto; and, on the south, General Regnier, with about 15 or 18,000, menaced Alentejo. Marshal Massena, August 14, published a proclamation, addressed to the inhabitants of Portugal, announcing that he was at the head of 110,000 men,† destined to take possession of Portugal, and drive away the English. But he protested to the Portuguese, that his master the Emperor, so far from entertaining any sentiment of hostility towards their nation, was their true friend, and a friend who possessed the means of making them the happiest people on earth. The king of England, he said, was actuated solely by narrow and selfish views, while the Emperor of the French was directed in his conduct by the principles of true philanthropy. He concluded by saying, that the time of clemency and generosity was not yet past. But now was the moment to shew by their submission that they were proper objects of protection and kindness. The greatest calamities were denounced in case of resistance. It appears that Massena was not quite so confident in his 110,000 men as he pretended to be: whether it was that he deemed even this great force insufficient for the conquest of Portugal, or that the different corps were found by Massena, as

\* Vol. XLI. [1799] HISTORY OF EUROPE.

† Reckoning the troops, no doubt, commanded by Regnier and Kellerman, both which Generals were under his orders.



has been stated in the Spanish papers, to have fallen through death, disease, or desertion, greatly short of their complements, or the numbers at which they were computed in the dispatches, at the end of May, from Paris. An intercepted letter from Buonaparte to Massena, published in the Spanish and Portuguese Journals, contains an answer to one from the General demanding a reinforcement of not less than 40,000 men. "As to the reinforcement you require," says Napoleon, "it is impossible to send you so many troops at the present moment. As soon as it can be done, you shall receive every assistance possible. Meanwhile you must compel the English to come to a general engagement: if you are victorious, the peninsula is ours; if you are beaten, *which is not improbable*, you will at least have so weakened the enemy, as to find means of making a good retreat." The testimony of letters, said to have been intercepted, and published by the opposite power at war, is very equivocal; and the clause, *which is not improbable*, in the present letter, looks a little suspicious; nevertheless it may have a place here. If authentic, it is important: if fictitious, it is a proof and instance of that miserable policy of publishing lies, to which most belligerent powers of the present times resort, oftener, and more impudently, than those of any former period.

The fortress of Almeida, deemed by General Dumourier, the strongest in Portugal, stands on the top of a high mountain, or rather a lofty mountainous plain, at the distance of 113 miles N. E. from Lisbon. This elevat-

ed plain is divided by a very deep valley, or rather an immense glen, containing in its sinuosities, the rapid river Coa, which, rushing down amidst rifted rocks of granite, after being joined by three small rivers, falls into the Ebro. The Coa runs at the distance of a mile from the town of Almeida. It had six royal bastions of stone, and as many ravelins. There was a good ditch and covered way. Nearly in the centre of the town, on a lofty mound stood the castle and magazines, which were bomb-proof. Within its walls were wells, and at a small distance a fine spring of water. The population of Almeida did not exceed 2500. The fortress was garrisoned by 5000 men, partly English, partly Portuguese, but the whole commanded by British officers. The Governor was Brigadier General Cox.

The trenches were opened before Almeida in the night between the 15th and 16th of August. The attention of the besieged was occupied by a false attack directed against the north side of the town: by the favour of which circumstance, 2000 labourers dug the first parallel, 3 feet in depth and 500 fathoms in length, through a rocky stratum, under the necessity of covering themselves every instant by gabions. The trench was afterwards enlarged by blowing up the rocks. In the night between the 24th and 25th the second parallel was opened, in the rock, within less than 150 fathoms of the place. A terrible fire from the castle obliged the men to quit the trench in the day-time, but they returned and enlarged it by the means of



of the petard the following night. On the 26th, at five A. M. eleven batteries, mounted with 65 pieces of cannon, opened a fire on the fortress, which was returned by the garrison with great vigour. Towards 8 o'clock P. M. a bomb fell within the walls of the castle on a caisson which they were filling with gunpowder at the door of the principal magazine; the flame was communicated to one hundred and fifty thousand weight of powder: the explosion was like the eruption of a volcano. It was supposed by the besiegers that the whole of the place had been blown up. A great quantity of the wrecks fell into the French trenches. By this accident 900 persons were killed, and 400 wounded. Of about 400 artillerymen not one escaped. The conflagration spread, and was continued for the whole night. Next day, Aug. 27th, Marshal Massena went himself to the trenches, and viewed the ravages of the terrible explosion. The castle, the cathedral, and all the neighbouring houses had disappeared. Even before this explosion the fire of the fortress had been silenced, and was heard no more; and the bombardiers had been posted particularly against the town. The Marshal immediately ordered this firing of shells to cease; and sent a flag of truce, offering capitulation, and also a note to the Governor, in which he observed to him that Almeida was in flames, that the whole of his heavy artillery was now mounted on batteries, and that it was impossible that the English army should come to his relief; "surrender then to the

generosity of the armies of His Imperial and Royal Majesty. I offer you honourable terms. Think of what has passed at Ciudad Rodrigo, and of the evils in reserve for Almeida, if you should prolong a useless defence." British officers were instantly sent to have a conference with the French commander, who stated his terms of capitulation. After several hours employed in negociation, the Governor, whose object it had been, as Massena thought, to gain time, refused to accede to them. The French therefore recommenced their fire at 8 o'clock in the evening. It was not till three hours thereafter that Governor Cox signed the capitulation proposed by Massena, dated the 27th of August, 1810. The garrison were to have the honours of war, that is, to march out with their arms, and lay them down on the glacis of the place. The militia to return to their homes, and not to serve during the present war, either against France or her allies. The property of the inhabitants was to be protected, and their religious opinions respected. The plans and memoirs of the place to be given up to the chief engineer of the French army, and the magazines, &c. to the commissaries. The sick and wounded were to be taken care of, at the expense of the French army, and on their recovery to follow the garrison as prisoners to France. Ninety-eight pieces of heavy artillery and seven field pieces fell into the hands of the French, with 300,000 rations of biscuit, 100,000 rations of salt fish, and a great quantity of other provisions.\*

\* Massena to the Prince of Neufchatel, Forte de la Conception, 28th Aug. 1810.  
instead



Of the Portuguese militia, 1200 instead of returning home, entered voluntarily into the service of France, and were employed as pioneers. Part of the 24th Portuguese regiment of the line too, instead of being sent with the rest of the garrison to France, were kept for the service of the French army, as that regiment, Massena says, had manifested a good disposition: they were placed under the command of Portuguese officers who were warmly attached to the French, and hated the English: 112 Portuguese cannoniers, and 40 horsemen, also offered

themselves, and were admitted into the French service. "But," says Massena, "I shall always have an eye on these troops, and take care to place them only in the least important stations.\*

It was the division of Ney's corps, under the orders of General Loison, that pushed the sieges of both Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo. The other troops had not in those enterprises discharged a firelock. They were however employed in covering the sieges, as well as in other movements, preliminary to Massena's intended march to Lisbon.

\* Massena to the Prince of Neufchatel, Fort de la Conception, 30th Aug. 1810.



## CHAP. XII.

*Plan of Lord Wellington for the Defence of Portugal, and at the same time supporting the Cause of Spain.—His Army for near Three Months after his Retreat from Talavera, how stationed.—His Army augmented by Portuguese Troops, disciplined by Field Marshal Beresford.—How quartered in and after the Month of February.—Their Positions when they come nearly in contact with the Enemy advancing on Portugal—And their Line of Retreat on strong and impregnable Fortifications near Lisbon—After the Surrender of Almeida, Lord Wellington begins to retreat and concentrate his Forces.—Marshal Massena, at the head of the French Army of Portugal, pursues.—Lord Wellington, for impeding as much as possible the Advance of the Enemy into the interior of the Country, obliges the Inhabitants to quit their Homes, and remove or destroy all that could be of use to the Enemy. The Plan of Massena for turning the left Flank of the Allies, frustrated by Lord Wellington.—Battle of Buzaco.—The French repulsed in an Attack on the Position of the Allies; but they turn the Left of the Allies, and advance on Coimbra, whither Lord Wellington, with the main body of his Army, arrives before him.—Retreat of Lord Wellington to his Lines at Torres Vedras.—These described.—Difficulties in which the French are involved, being drawn into a Snare by the military Genius of Lord Wellington.—Their sufferings, particularly from want of Provisions.—Their Positions at first in front of the Allies.—Skirmishes.—Massena hemmed in on all Sides.—His Operations confined to Self-defence against the Allies, and against Famine.—Relative Positions of the French and the Allied Army of Portugal at the close of 1810.*

**I**T is now time to return to Lord Wellington, commander in chief of the British army, whom in our last volume\* we left at Merida, on his retreat from Talavera. The reasons were then stated why his lordship declined any further co-operation with the Spanish army at that time. But he was not pressed by the most urgent necessity, nor in extreme haste to retire immediately out of Spain; and if he should retire into Portugal, it was his intention to

proceed no farther than the frontier, where he should in reality be as serviceable to the Spanish government, as he should be in the position they had pointed out to him; nay, and even more serviceable.—Pursuant to this plan, the allied army was stationed for near three months between Merida and Badajoz; from whence he was obliged to retreat beyond the Spanish frontier, by the necessity of defending Portugal. The events of the war in Old Castille, rendered

\* Vol. LI. HIST. EUR. p. 193.



it necessary for Lord Wellington to retreat from Badajoz in December to the north of the Tagus. It enjoyed repose for some time at Lisbon, and in the vicinity of that capital. In February, the English army, augmented by Portuguese troops, disciplined by the General Marshal Beresford, were quartered on an extended line, comprehending Oporto, Lamego, Vizeu, Coimbra, Abrantes, and Santarem. From the vicinity of Abrantes and Santarem, General Hill, with a considerable body of cavalry, descended to the Guadiana, to watch and check the enemy, who had appeared before Badajoz. The more remote situations in the strong country of Tralos-montes was not defended. A party of the enemy had approached the city of Braganza, and, after having summoned it to surrender, withdrew from the vicinity without success. It is unnecessary to follow the Anglo-Portuguese army in all their changes of position in the months of March and April, during the greater part of which months Lord Wellington's head quarters were at Vizeu. It will be sufficient to notice their positions when they came nearly into contact, with the enemy advancing towards, and engaged in the reduction of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida. The front of the army was as follows: It was distributed into five divisions; the first under Gen. Spencer, about 6000, lay at Celerico, about twenty miles distant from the grand French army. The second, commanded by General Hill, about 8000, was placed as the central division in the mountains at Portalegre, between the Tagus and the Guadiana, from whence it

looked down on the frontier of Spain. The third division, under General Cole, was stationed at Guarda, which was the principal post, and twenty miles distant from the French lines: it was about 10,000 strong. The fourth division, 4000, commanded by General Picton, lay at a village called Pen-hell. The fifth division, under General Crawford, was stationed half way between the principal corps of the English army at Guarda and the French lines at Ciudad Rodrigo, that is, about ten miles from each. But this fifth division was constantly shifting its position, advancing, which it sometimes did even as far as St. Felizes, or retrograding according to contingent circumstances. The Portuguese troops, under the command of General Beresford, in the end of July joined Lord Wellington, whose head quarters were at Celerico. All these divisions were posted in the mountains, or their slopes descending gradually into the plain, at the farther end of which stood Ciudad Rodrigo. Thus there lay between the two armies this plain, which was in breadth ten miles.

Between the principal British station at Guarda and Lisbon there was a distance of 190 miles, which is a march of twenty days. There are three roads leading from Lisbon to the frontier of Spain: first, one by Abrantes; second, by Elvas; and a third by Coimbra. The route of the British army in its progress northward lay by Abrantes. The first post of great importance on this route is Santarem. It is strongly situated on heights, at the distance of forty-five miles from Lisbon. It commands



mands the great eastern road, and forms the defence of Lisbon against an enemy advancing from the Spanish frontier: it is flanked on the south-east by the Tagus, and on the north-east by exceedingly steep mountains; it is further strengthened by fortifications, which command the road that runs between those heights and the river. To give an idea of the extent of Santarem, it will be sufficient to say, that it contains seventeen churches. Santarem bears sad marks of the French invasion in 1808. Junot's army pillaged both churches and altars; they respected nothing but the fortifications. The next important post on the great eastern road to Spain, is Abrantes, distant thirty miles from Santarem; than which, it is of still greater importance. It is seventy miles distant from Lisbon, and one hundred and twenty from Guarda, which was the principal station of the British army: it is situated fast by the Tagus; it was a Roman station; a circumstance which sufficiently indicates its natural strength. It was not fortified. Villa Velha is another military position, inasmuch as it commands another passage over the Tagus. It is environed by rugged and bare mountains, through which the Tagus seems to burst by force. Castello Branco is situate at the foot of another pass. The country around is full of military positions, so strong, that it may be considered as one fortification. Castello Branco was also a Roman station. The citadel and walls are in ruins. It could not stand a siege; but still it is a strong position. Midway between Castello Branco and Guarda is Cavilha. Here the country

begins to rise, to become rugged, and to be covered with heights, forming what in the peninsula are called *Sierras*, or chains of mountains. The Sierra d'Estrellas, or Mountain of Stars, in the immediate vicinity of Covilha, rises to the height of 6000 feet above the level of the sea. It is so steep, that while the stones of some of the houses built thereon are 50 or 60 feet from the ground on one side, their floors, as in the city of Edinburgh, on the opposite side are on a level with it. A city so large and so situated as Covilha, must be of incalculable advantage, in case of a retreat, in opposing an advancing enemy.

From Covilha the ground rises from mountain to mountain to Guarda, the principal station of the English. It stands on one of the mountains of the Sierra d'Estrella, near the source of the Mondego; it has an old castle, and is encompassed by turreted stone walls. Guarda is so situated, that when seen at a distance it looks like a steeple on the summit of the mountain on which it is situate. The roads leading to it are extended over clefts of rocks: it is beyond a doubt the strongest position in Portugal; it is impregnable. So long as Lord Wellington could feed his army at Guarda, he could set the whole power of France at defiance. Guarda might be reduced by famine, but not by force. From Guarda to Ciudad Rodrigo, for a considerable time the head quarters of Massena, the distance is about twenty-five miles; but the two armies were so far advanced beyond their respective head quarters, that divisions of them were sometimes within ten,  
seven,



seven, and even five miles of each other. On the same general line with Guarda, but some miles lower down, and nearer the plain, are the towns or villages of Sabugal, Alfaytes, Coa, Monqulada, and Fort La Conception.

From the heights of Pen-hell, Gelerico, and Guarda, our army could every day see, at no great distance, the French lines in the plain of Ciudad Rodrigo. The cavalry changed their position, advancing or retreating, according to circumstances. Sometimes they descended quite into the plain; when, of course, there was some skirmishing with the French outposts.

Such then were the positions of the British army, and such their line of retreat. For though the course of the campaign rendered it advisable to fall back on Lisbon by the valley of the Mondego and Coimbra, it was no doubt Lord Wellington's first intention to fall back, not by the Coimbra road to Lisbon, but that of Abrantes, which presented so many advantageous positions for opposing, harassing, and wearing out the enemy; in some of which positions too he had left garrisons for covering the flanks of his army, and securing their retreat. With regard to the position of the French army, it lay in general in the great plain, at the feet of the mountains on which the English and Portuguese remained in the encampments. In this plain are situated the city of Badajoz, Ciudad Rodrigo, and, at a certain distance, Valencia. The whole of the divisions were not stationed in the plain; but they were all of them so posted that they could effect a junction before they could

be forced to come to a general engagement.

The great object of the French was to conquer the Peninsula; that of Lord Wellington to preserve Portugal.

The cavalry attached to Brigadier-General Crawford's advanced guard remained in the villages near the fort of La Conception till the 21st of July, when the enemy obliged it to retire towards Almeida, and Fort Conception was destroyed. From that day, till July the 24th, General Crawford continued to occupy a position near Almeida, within 1800 yards of the fort, and his left extended towards Zuma. On the morning of the 24th, shortly after day-light, the enemy attacked him in this position with a body of 7000 infantry and 3000 cavalry. It was the object of the enemy to cut off the division under Crawford from joining the main army. The brigadier, who had only 4000 infantry and 600 cavalry, retired by the bridge across the Coa. A position close in front of the bridge, was maintained as long as it was necessary to give time to the troops that had passed to take up one behind the bridge and the river; and the bridge was afterwards defended with the greatest gallantry. The enemy made three efforts to storm it; all of which were repelled, with very considerable loss on both sides. After it was dark, General Crawford withdrew the troops from the Coa, and retreated to Carvelhal; for it did not enter into the plan on which Lord Wellington conducted the campaign, to support the fifth corps or division of his army in its advanced positions. He had formed a plan



of defensive operations as profound as any we read of in history. While he was employed in making demonstrations on the frontier of Spain, immense fortifications were rising in a line from the sea to the Tagus, at a short distance from Lisbon. To these, which were almost impregnable, it was his plan to retreat, where he would be near his resources, and receive reinforcements. After the surrender of Almeida, he began to retreat slowly and in good order, and to concentrate the different corps of his army, which had been separated for the purpose of watching and guarding other points that were menaced by the French army of Portugal. The troops with which he made head against Massena, at the commencement of the campaign, did not exceed the number of 25,000. On the 19th of September he occupied an advanced position behind the Alva, at Ponte Murcella.

The British troops, when they began to retreat, destroyed all the bridges and mills on the Coa. A division of Portuguese militia, under General Miller, occupied the strong fortress of Chaves; another, under General Silveira, lay on the northern banks of the Douro; and another, under General Trent, in the vicinity of St. John of Pesquiera. So that if the French should advance, as was expected, by Vizeu, they would be harassed by bodies of Portuguese militia. These movements on the part of the British army, were preceded by a proclamation issued by Lord Wellington, the 4th of August, 1810. Having briefly stated the sufferings of such villages on the frontier of Portugal as, con-

siding in the promises of the French, had remained at their homes, and submitted to their authority; sufferings greater than any calamities that could have been inflicted by a cruel enemy; he told them, that there was no safety for them, but in a fixed and determined resolution to impede as much as possible the advance of the enemy into the interior of the country, by removing all that could be of use to the enemy or facilitate his progress. The army under his command would protect as great a portion of the country as possible; but the people alone could preserve their property by placing it beyond the grasp of the enemy. The duty he owed to the Prince Regent of Portugal and the Portuguese nation, constrained him to make use of the power and authority with which he was vested, for the purpose of compelling such persons as might appear to be careless and remiss, to make the necessary exertions for saving themselves from danger, and their country from ruin. For this reason, all magistrates and persons holding offices under government, that should remain in towns and villages after receiving orders from any military officer to depart; and all persons, of whatever class, who should hold any communication, or in any manner assist the enemy, were to be considered as traitors to their country, and judged and punished as such an enormous crime deserved.

While the British army was on its retreat by Ponte Murcella, the whole of the French forces were drawn together in the neighbourhood of Pen-bell, to the number of about 80,000, in pursuit of it. Lord Wellington



Wellington had advanced in his retreat two leagues beyond Coimbra. His left wing occupied the mountains of Ancorba; his right extended to Pen-Acova on the Mondego, at the mouth of the Vouga, about fourteen miles in advance of the enemy, who had pushed his advanced guard as far as Pen-Aheira of Azore. Behind the mountains of Ancorba, and in a parallel direction, was a road, running from north and south between Coimbra and Sardas, at the northern part of the road, which was occupied by the Portuguese militia, under Colonel Trent. A corps of 1000 troops, British and Portuguese, was stationed at Mealhadda, communicating with the forces of Colonel Trent, and the main body of the British army. Marshal Beresford, with his corps of disciplined Portuguese, who had arrived, Sept. 22, at the Sierra de Bestieros, was stationed at the northern extremity of the mountains of Ancorba, and by means of the divisions of Colonel Trent and General Spencer, had effected, by the road just mentioned, a junction with Lord Wellington, who, over and above the advantage of his position in the mountains, brought the Portuguese troops into the line of his operations, and was nearer to his principal resources, while the distance of Massena from his magazines became still greater and greater. Lord Wellington was accompanied in his retreat with the whole population of the country, who destroyed as much as they could of the property they could not carry along with them. In the mean time, General Regnier's corps having arrived at Sabugal and Al-

faytes on the 12th and 13th of September, the French army on the 15th moved from Almeida in great force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, by the towns of Guarda, and Celerico. They surmounted the heights, and descended into the valley of the Mondego. On the same day another strong column passed over the heights of Alverca, forming the left of the chain of Guarda and Mayal-dechava. On the 16th, the British cavalry, under Sir Stapleton Cotton retired from Celerico to the valley of the Mondego.

When two corps of the French army were put in motion for the investment of Ciudad Rodrigo, that under Regnier quitting the neighbourhood of Badajoz, extended itself along the right bank of the Tagus to menace the frontier of Portugal on that side, while at the same time it communicated with the two other corps of the army under Massena by the mountains to the north of the valley of Placentia. Lord Wellington, in order to discomfit this plan of attack, assembled the different corps of the allied army in the neighbourhood of Almeida, and gave it in charge to Gen. Hill, who was then posted at Elvas, to watch the movements of Regnier, and to make a movement on the right bank of the Tagus, in order to cover the road to Castle Branco from Lisbon, which Regnier menaced. In the mean time, a corps of reserve was formed under the orders of General Leith, at Thomar. The moment, accordingly, that the French general began to co-operate directly with Massena, by a movement towards the right bank



bank of the Tagus, General Hill, by a correspondent movement, placed himself on the right of Lord Wellington at Port Alegre, and covered that important point in his front, to support General Hill, and on his right to maintain a communication with the line of the Tagus.

After the fall of Almeida, the plan of Massena began immediately to be unfolded. It was to turn Lord Wellington's left. Lord Wellington, to avoid this danger, retreated through the valley of the Mondego, as above stated, and called the Generals Hill and Leith to join him at the strong position of the bridge of Murcella, on the Alva, where he was determined to make a stand, and dispute the passage with the enemy. But Massena, having perceived this, suddenly altered his plan, repassed the Mondego, and threw himself on the road which leads from Vizeu to Coimbra, to get possession of the resources presented by that city and the territory adjacent, and to proceed from thence in his march to Lisbon. Lord Wellington, penetrating the design of this new movement of Massena, immediately determined to cover Coimbra, not with the intention of maintaining this open town as a permanent station. It could neither be defended for any considerable length of time, nor could have any decisive or material influence on the issue of the campaign. But it was of importance that the inhabitants should have time to retire with their effects. Lord Wellington therefore, with equal judgment and rapidity, re-

passed the Mondego, and threw himself between Massena and Coimbra.

Marshal Massena, on the 19th of September, arrived at Vizeu. "Through ways," says the Marshal, "bristling with rocks, we traversed deserts. Not a soul to be seen. Every thing removed, destroyed, or abandoned. The English had the barbarity to order all who should remain at their homes to be shot. Old men, women, and children—every one fleeing before us." \*

At Vizeu, all the forces of Massena were concentrated on the 21st. Here they were obliged to halt for three days, in order to give time for bringing up the baggage and park of artillery. It was this halt that gave time to Lord Wellington to execute the judicious and brilliant manœuvre of passing from the left to the right of the Mondego. He posted the central division and the left wing of his army on the Sierra Buzaco, which was perpendicular to the course of the Mondego, and covered Coimbra, leaving at Ponte Murcella only the corps under General Hill. Massena left that place on the 24th, and on the 26th arrived in front of the position of Buzaco, occupied, with the exception just mentioned, by the allied English and Portuguese armies. The British cavalry observed the plain in the rear of its left.

The Sierra de Buzaco is a high ridge, extending from the Mondego in a northerly direction. At the highest point of the ridge, about two miles from its termination, is the convent and garden of

\* Intercepted letter from Massena to Berthier.



**Buzaco.** The Sierra de Buzaco is connected by a mountainous tract of country with the Sierra de Caramula: and nearly in a line with the Sierra de Buzaco is another ridge of the same description, called the Sierra de Murcella. All the roads to Coimbra from the eastward, lead over one or other of these Sierras. They are very difficult for the passage of an army, the approach to the top of each of the ridges, on both sides, being mountainous.

Marshal Massena, who was ignorant perhaps of the strength of the allies, and probably did not expect to find them here, made a bold attempt to carry their position. Of the battle of Buzaco, fought on the 27th of September, we have two accounts; one by the French general, Marshal Massena, and one by the commander-in-chief of the allies, Lord Wellington, both agreeing in the main points, that the French made simultaneous attempts to drive the allies from the mountains, in two different quarters: that in these attempts the French displayed both daring and persevering courage, but that they were repulsed by the allies with great slaughter. Lord Wellington's description and narrative, of the truth of which no one will entertain a doubt, will be found in the *Gazette Extraordinary* of Oct. 14, subjoined in this volume in the Appendix to the Chronicle.\* To the particulars contained in Lord Wellington's letter to the Earl of Liverpool, add the following:—During the attack on the Sierra de Buzaco, although nearly the whole of the French army, consisting of the corps of Ney, Junot, and

Regnier, amounting to the number of 70 or 80,000, were under arms, from 20 to 25,000 only were engaged in the action; and of the allied army, from 50 to 60,000 strong, as small a proportion. The line of the allied army was eight miles in extent. The fourth battalion of Portuguese Cassadores attacked a superior body of French with the bayonet, without firing a single shot. A high compliment was paid to the gallantry of the Portuguese by the enemy, who affirmed in his public statements, that Lord Wellington had practised the device of dressing British soldiers in Portuguese uniforms.

While our troops lay on the mountain of Buzaco, Lord Wellington, in the expectation of an attack, gave general orders, "that if the enemy should scramble up the mountain and make an attack, the soldiers should let them come very near them, and then, having first poured the contents of their muskets on them, fall on them with the bayonet."—From the nature of the ground the French artillery could not be brought to bear with effect on the allies, while that of the allies did great execution among the French.—Marshal Massena, during the whole of the engagement, directed all the movements in person. He was seen from our ranks very distinctly. All the marshals or generals of corps, were at the head of their respective divisions. The Portuguese and regular corps, amounted in all, at this period, to 35,000; of which 25,000 were with Lord Wellington. The rest of the Portuguese were distributed in garrisons at Abrantes, Santarem,



Pen-niche, Fort St. Julian, and other forts in the vicinity of Lisbon.

The account given of the battle of Buzaco, commands our attention by its striking dissimilitude to the ordinary dispatches of the French generals, or at least those published by the French government in their name. It wears an air of moderation, consistency, and verisimilitude, and is, in fact, not very greatly at variance with that of Lord Wellington. "Having reconnoitred the position of Busaco," he says, "I directed an attack on the left by the second corps, and on the centre by the sixth: the eighth corps remained in reserve. The position is certainly the strongest in all Portugal. General Regnier, however, gained the top of the ridge, and was beginning to establish himself there, when General Hill, with a corps of 20,000 men, in close column, attacked the troops, who, worn out by fatigue, were beginning to form on the ridge of the mountains, and drove them down. This retreat, supported by a good reserve, was executed in good order, and the second corps resumed its first position. In the centre were the divisions of Loison and Marchand. The first made an attack on the right of the road which leads to the Convent of Buzaco, and the other on the left. Gen. Loison being obliged to climb a very steep mountain to regain the great road, reached it after great exertions; but he had not sufficient time to form there in close column, and to establish himself, when two English columns came up in close order, and protected by a numerous artillery, charged this division, and forced it to retreat. General Marchand, who was to sup-

port this attack, took up a position to check the enemy. The English did not dare to advance above 300 fathoms from their line of battle. The remainder of the day was spent in skirmishing. Having attentively reconnoitred this position, which Lord Wellington would not have ventured to occupy, if he had not, like me, considered it to be extremely strong, my plan was immediately decided on, and I endeavoured to obtain by my manœuvres an advantage which would have cost too many brave men. I sent out reconnoitring parties of infantry and cavalry towards the right and left, and to keep the enemy in doubt as to the course of my movements. From the intelligence I received, I decided on turning the English army by my right. The position of the bridge of Murcella, which the enemy had fortified, and on which he could make a flank movement by the ridge of Pen-Acova, favoured his means of moving thither his whole force in less than two hours, while the road to Sardas, crossing the Col de Caramuela, brought me to Bojaloo, in an open and fertile country. This movement turned the left of the enemy, and gave me the power of manœuvring on his flank. At six in the evening of the 28th, I quitted the position of the Moira, and marched on Bojaloo. The eighth corps, which had not suffered, formed the advanced guard; the sixth corps the main body; and the second the rear guard. All my wounded followed on the carriages of the artillery and baggage train, and on beasts of burthen. The enemy perceiving, after midnight, this manœuvre, marched in great disorder towards Coimbra,



Coimbra, after having blown up all his ammunition, and burnt his magazines." The letter of Massena to the Prince of Neufchâtel, dated Coimbra, October 4, from which this is an extract, was not published in the French journals, but intercepted in Portugal. So fair a statement of so important an event, was never given in any French gazette since the revolution. The loss of the French in killed and wounded is stated by Massena to have been 3000, including a very great number of officers, many of them severely, and some, among whom General Simon, dangerously.\* Gen. Graindorge had died of his wounds.—Perhaps even this great number is short of the truth—and perhaps not much, as we find Massena, from the first to the last of this campaign, constantly soliciting reinforcements. But if it be extenuated, it is not extenuated in the usual proportion. It is about as great as the loss acknowledged by the French gazette, at the battle of Austerlitz.

While the French, having turned the English position at Buzaco, were on their march by a round about way to Coimbra, Lord Wellington, by a more direct road, got there before them; which he did on the 30th of September. But as

Coimbra was not a position in which the superior force of the enemy could be opposed with advantage, he sent his advanced guard to the left bank of the Mondego on that day, and continued his retreat in the best order the next day by Pombal, Leyria, and Alcobaca, to his strongly fortified positions near Torres Vedras, where he arrived on the 9th of October. This march, therefore, from Coimbra, was performed in eight days, without a halt, being an average of fifteen miles per day. The stay of the allies at Coimbra was short; but there was time for destroying the magazines there. Those, however, at Figueras, at the mouth of the Mondego, which were of greater value, fell into the hands of the enemy. When Lord Wellington moved rapidly to the left of the Mondego, he left some corps of cavalry on the right bank, to give more leisure for evacuating Coimbra. The inhabitants of Coimbra, and of all the other places through which the allied army passed, accompanied them in their retreat, carrying along with them their most precious effects. As much as possible of what might be of use to the invaders, was destroyed. The inhabitants of Coimbra, after removing every thing they could carry off, requested our

\* General Simon was brought prisoner to England in the *Apollo* frigate, which was only four days on its passage from Lisbon to Portsmouth, on the 19th of October. He was sent to Odiham, a market town in Hampshire, on his parole of honour; which he broke, and tried to hide himself in London, with the view of making his escape from the island. It was discovered by a person belonging to the Board of Transport, that a correspondence had been established between General Simon, together with a French surgeon and the French government, for the purpose of liberating French prisoners in England. The general and the doctor were found on the 15th of January, 1812, in the back kitchen of a house in Pratt Street, Camden Town, kept by a French woman. A number of other fugitive prisoners were also discovered, and sent, some of them to Bridewell, others to a hulk at Chatham. Simon was sent to the Castle of Dunbarton, in Scotland.



soldiers to take whatever they could carry, and immediately after threw the provisions that remained into the Mondego. The same thing was done at Figueras. The picture drawn by Massena, of this miserable desolation, is not overcharged. "The enemy burns and destroys every thing as he evacuates the country. He forces the inhabitants to abandon their homes on pain of death. Coimbra, a town of 20,000 inhabitants, is deserted. We find no provisions. The army is subsisted on India corn, and vegetables which we find remaining on the ground."\*—Every soul in Coimbra fled, leaving it literally a desert: for the order of the Regency was positive for all to leave their houses, carry off all their goods, or destroy them, and leave nothing for the enemy. The Lisbon road was blocked up with waggons, carts, mules, horses, and bullocks; mothers, their eyes streaming with tears, carrying their screaming infants; young women of genteel condition, also in tears, on foot, and separated in the crowd from their families; men with heavy hearts, but in silent sorrow, and every thing wearing an air of trouble and confusion. All the roads from St. Thomar and the other neighbouring towns to Lisbon, were in like manner full of men, women, and children, with what effects they could bring along with them.

Neither the government of Portugal nor the private families of Lisbon remained untouched at the sight of such distress; distress incurred in the common cause of the Portuguese nation. A proclamation was issued for the succour

of those people in the name of the Prince Regent, Lisbon, October 8, 1810, the preamble of which is as follows: "The duties of humanity requiring that all possible assistance should be afforded to those persons, who, abandoning their homes, have sought an asylum in the capital against the tyranny and oppression of the enemies of this kingdom; and it being incompatible with the duties of the police to allow these unhappy fugitives to perish, exposed to the calamity of a rainy season." The object or drift of this proclamation was, to secure, in the first place, lodging for the strangers. No proprietors of houses, then unoccupied, were to refuse them to the inhabitants of the provinces repairing to the capital from the causes above mentioned; and the hire of such houses was to be regulated by the rate of the last rent, without the least increase. If any proprietor, to avoid this restriction, declined putting up bills to let out his property, he should lose all right to any hire. Such houses should be given gratis to poor families to Christmas, or should pay a fine, corresponding to the rent, for the benefit of such poor families. Poor families, unable to pay, were not to be left without shelter, but lodged in unoccupied houses, according to certain regulations. Another proclamation was issued in the name of the Prince Regent, October 10, the object of which was to permit and facilitate the passage of the fugitives, who might be inclined to pass to the left side of the Tagus, with the view of more easily obtaining the means of subsistence.

\* Letter to Berthier, Coimbra, Oct. 4, 1810, intercepted.



The inhabitants of Lisbon, particularly those of the higher ranks, received the emigrants from the provinces with open arms, and contributed in every possible way to their relief. People of all ranks, and even characters, were united in a common sympathy with their suffering compatriots. Persons but little suspected of possessing tender or generous feelings, shewed both compassion and bounty on the present melancholy occasion. A very powerful sympathy with the suffering Portuguese, was also expressed by the British legislature and nation. The House of Commons voted for their relief 100,000*l.*; and a sum, at least equal to this, was raised by voluntary subscription. And this money was very judiciously employed in the purchase and freightage of such things in this country as the Portuguese were in most immediate want of.

Among the military maxims of Buonaparte, the principal are to bring matters as soon as possible to a decisive engagement, to bear impetuously with superior masses on the main strength of the enemy, and, if he cannot surround him, to separate his wings, by cutting through his centre; but, above all, to surprize him, by dashing forwards to the points of place and time most favourable for action, without waiting for the formation of magazines, or encumbering his army with superfluous baggage: nay, and without always waiting

for the reduction of fortified places lying in the route of his progress. And the advantage of this system of warfare had been proved by the conquest of Milan, in 1796; the victory of Austerlitz, in 1805; that of Jena, in 1807; and of Ratisbon, in 1809. The British army of Portugal, first under the conduct of Sir John Moore, and next under that of Lord Wellington, obliged him to respect, in some measure, the old and common system. He proceeded at first, in the campaign of 1810, with caution; but after the reduction of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida, Massena, acting no doubt according to the outlines of a plan laid down by his master, did not hesitate to advance with the utmost celerity, and without magazines, through the province of Beira to the banks of the Tagus, in Estremadura. He trusted that he should find provisions and stores ready to his hand in Portugal, as he had done in Italy and Germany. And from the character he was naturally induced to form of Lord Wellington, full of ardour, and eager to engage in some instances to all appearances unnecessarily, if not rashly, he could not well imagine that he would oppose to the French the Fabian, or defensive system of warfare. That he did not, in fact, think this a line of conduct to be expected on the part of the English general, he avows in his journal, the *Moniteur*, of the 29th and 30th of Nov. 1810.\*

It

\* “Les obstacles que l’armée de Portugal a rencontre viennent d’une systeme inactif defense profondement combiné, et qui a été executé avec une barbarie unique et inconnu dans nos guerres Européennes (alluding to Lord Wellesley’s former command in India) pour l’honneur des états et de l’humanité.” Buonaparte, in all his statements, is extremely anxious to find faults in the conduct of the generals opposed to



It is of the utmost importance, in war, to penetrate into the character and leading maxims of the adversary. In the present instance Lord Wellington understood Buonaparte better than Buonaparte did Lord Wellington. It seems to have been expected by Massena, that the allied army would have been brought to a general action before Ciudad Rodrigo, or Almeida. And in the French journals it is held out as a reproach to that general, that he did not come to the relief of either of these cities. But it was no part of his plan to risk or weaken his army by such bold attempts; which, if they had succeeded, would not have decided the campaign; and which if they had failed, might have been most disastrous, and even ruinous.

The object of Lord Wellington in this campaign was, to defend Portugal, and at the same time to occupy a considerable French force, which would otherwise have been employed in other parts of Spain, to the subjugation, perhaps, of the whole of the peninsula. On account of his inferiority of numbers, and the raw, undisciplined state of the Portuguese troops, he wisely acted on the defensive. By this system of protracted warfare the Portuguese troops were accustomed to military evolutions and the use of arms, and to the smell and noise of gunpowder. They

were first brought seriously into action, in an advantageous position, on the steep heights of Buzaco. The courage and firmness displayed in the battle of Buzaco, while they contributed materially to the diminution of the French force, augmented the confidence of the allied army. When he found the position of Buzaco no longer tenable, he retreated before the enemy without making any serious demonstration of resistance, till he came nearer to Lisbon, to his resources of both reinforcements and supplies; to positions which he had examined beforehand, which he had fortified with the greatest care, and which were so strong, both by nature and art, that he thought himself authorized there to abide the united efforts of the enemy, and to fight for the ulterior deliverance of Portugal. By the waste and desolation of the country, the French, who had no magazines, and who were incessantly harassed in their rear by the Portuguese militia, must be reduced to great straits for want of provisions. The farther, therefore, they could be drawn into the country the better; and the greater would be the advantages possessed by the British general, near Lisbon, in carrying on his subsequent operations.

The French army entered Coimbra on the first of October, the day on which the main body of the

to him. While, therefore, he is forced to acknowledge that the plan on which Lord Wellington acted, was profoundly combined, he says in the same breath, that it was executed with singular and unheard of barbarity. To have admitted, that he was outdone in the art of war by his adversary, was not to be thought of—No. It was impossible. But he was led into an error by the credit he gave Lord Wellington for a degree of humanity, which, as afterwards appeared, he did not possess. Men are apt to judge of others by themselves; but this, as was experienced by Buonaparte, is sometimes a source of deception.

allies



allies left it. A shew of resistance was made by the British cavalry, that had been left for aiding the retreat of the inhabitants. Massena, on the second, sent forward his advanced guard to Condeixa, from which the allies retreated, and his cavalry to seize and command all the roads terminating in the great highway to Lisbon. He did not find the supplies expected at Coimbra. Provisions of every kind had been carried away or destroyed. His army, we find him stating to Berthier, subsisted on Indian corn, and what leguminous seeds were to be found in the fields and gardens. He set out from Almeida with only thirteen days provisions. He found some at Vizeu: but even before he reached Coimbra, the army had nothing to subsist on but Indian corn, which, the mills being all destroyed, the men carried, instead of biscuit, in their knapsacks. His sick and wounded he left in two entrenched convents at Coimbra, with a guard of only 3500 men. He could not spare a greater number. "The best guard," he said, "was to beat the English, and drive them to their ships." Not doubting, indeed, but the English were in full flight to their ships at Lisbon already; though he had no magazines, and though 20,000 Portuguese militia were in his rear, he set out from Coimbra with the whole of his forces, and followed as hard as possible on the heels of the allies, between whose rear-guard and the French cavalry there was daily skirmishing. It was not till the 14th of October, when he reconnoitred the English fortifications in person, that he discovered his mistake, and the

dangerous predicament into which he had been led by the military genius of Lord Wellington.

The grand position of the allied army was a line of strongly fortified heights, extending from Albandra, on the Tagus, to Torres Vedras, about thirty miles from Lisbon, and from thence to the mouth of the Sissandro. And behind these, two other lines of trenches and redoubts, extending from Ericeyra and Mafra, on the sea, to the Tagus. One of these, which was next to the fortified line of Torres Vedras, might be defended by 20,000 men; the other, which was nearer Lisbon, by half that number. On these was planted an immense power of heavy artillery. But besides this triple line, redoubts were raised at Penniche, Obidos, and other places. Many of the hills were fortified. On the left of the position, the whole of the coast, from Vimeira to the mouth of the Tagus, was studded with redoubts, mounted with heavy artillery. On the right, the banks of the Tagus were flanked by our armed boats. Mines also, ready to spring, were formed in various places. In short, the whole country, from Lisbon almost to the Mondego, appeared like one fortification in the form of a crescent. Within the lines of Torres Vedras, Ericeyra, and Mofra, defended by from 70 to 80,000 fighting men, the allies had collected all the produce of the country through which they had retreated. With Lisbon in their rear, they were abundantly supplied with every thing they wanted.

The French troops, both for subsistence and protection from the



the weather, were disposed in an extensive line of cantonments in front of the allied army. Head quarters were at Alentqueer. Where the villages were at a distance from each other, the chain was completed by temporary huts erected for the soldiers. This line, which comprehended the strong position of Montejunto, extended in an oblique direction from the sea to the Tagus; and the whole of his forces were posted in such a manner that they could be assembled in the space of four hours. The central corps was stationed at Sobral; the right at Otta and Villa Nova, and the left at Villa Franca. A division of dragoons occupied Alentre, for covering his right flank from the attacks of a division of British cavalry stationed at Sissandro. But from the position at Villa Franca they were driven by the flotilla of gun-boats, with a brigade of seamen and another of marines, each 500 strong, under the command of Lieutenant Berkley. Admiral Williams was ordered to proceed up the river with all the boats and pontoons, to superintend the passage of our army across the Tagus, if that should be found expedient. He was provided with flying bridges, and every thing necessary for the purpose.

Massena, having reconnoitred the positions of the allies, confined his operations to the fortification of his own, the taking of Montejunto, and the collection of cattle, grain, and raisins for the subsistence of his army. None of his movements, or changes of positions or detachments, had any other than this last object. This work

alone was sufficiently arduous. His quarters, which were limited, on one side by the Tagus, were straitened more and more on the north-west by the Portuguese militia. General Silveira occupied with his detachment the roads from Almeida to Francoso, Celerico, and Guarda. Colonel Trent, throwing himself into the rear of Massena, entered Coimbra on the 7th of October, and made 5000 prisoners, chiefly sick, and the wounded in the battle of Buzaco. On the day following, Brigadier-General Wilson arrived there with his detachment. They had taken about 350 waggon drivers that had been left behind the French army at Coimbra for collecting provisions. General Wilson, with a detachment of infantry and cavalry, proceeded southward by Condeixa, and occupied the road between Coimbra and Leyria. The Portuguese garrisons of Penniche and Obidos, and the British cavalry, carried on an incessant and destructive warfare on the rear and the right of the French. The detachments sent out to hunt about for provisions, were so closely watched by the Portuguese militia and the British cavalry on the side of Obidos and Ramalhal, that Massena could not be said to be in possession of any other territory in the whole country than that on which his army was posted.\* Not less than 6000 men were constantly employed in conducting, not waggons, but small carts, carrying ammunition, provisions, and officers' baggage to the French. At first they found wheat and millet: the wheat they separated from the husk and boiled; the

\* Lord Wellington to Don Miguel Pereira, Pero-Negro, Oct. 27, 1810.



millet they roasted. But this supply of grain was soon exhausted, or, at least, became so scarce, that none of the common soldiers had any of it: they lived on horned cattle, dried grapes, and other fruit. Flesh, for want of any thing farinaceous, they ate immoderately; and, what was a very distressing privation, they had no salt. Few cattle remained at the end of October; insomuch, that French soldiers began in November to eat the flesh of horses and mules. Although there was still some wheat at head-quarters, there was none at Alentqueer, where the prisoners were kept. The soldiers drove cattle, horses, and mules pell-mell into fields of green millet.\* They were not only in extreme distress for want of provisions. They were in great want of shoes: some of them were barefooted. The following placard was stuck up in a conspicuous place by a French soldier:—"A French soldier should have the heart of a lion, the stomach of a mouse, and the humanity of a brute." This account of the hardships and difficulties that were to be encountered by the French in Portugal, is not on the whole incongruous with the statements of the *Moniteur* of the 29th and 30th of November, under the title of *Reflections on the official dispatches of Lord Wellington* of the 14th of November; though the drift of those papers was to make it appear that the French could not be said to have suffered any serious hardships. "From Almeida to Alentqueer the army did

not meet with 2000 Portuguese. The towns and villages were deserted. Lord Wellington had ordered, on pain of death, the inhabitants of all places near which our army passed, to carry along with them what they could, and to burn what they could not, or throw it into the rivers or tanks. We found the mills destroyed, the wine running in the streets, the grain burnt, the furniture of the houses broken in pieces; not a horse, mule, ass, cow, or goat, to be seen. The army subsisted on biscuit and the herds of cattle in our train. The soldiers, in addition, supplied themselves with maize, cabbages, French beans, and raisins. Rice, maize, French beans, and oil with fish, forming the basis of the food of the Portuguese, we found every where. Beasts were brought from the plains of Thomar, and the isles of the Tagus. Towards the 20th of October, hand-mills were distributed among the regiments, and the soldiers received their daily rations of bread. Magazines of grain were formed, and biscuit baked at Santarem." But we are not told how long this competency lasted. Not a fortnight, according to the report of the Portuguese prisoners, which was confirmed by the French prisoners, and the deserters that came over to the allies almost every day.

When the French approached to Coimbra, some unfortunate families, who had not time or the resolution to take the road to Lisbon with the army, fled to the nearest woods; whither they were

\* Report by French prisoners exchanged in the middle of November.



traced by the French, pillaged, and insulted. Some persons, reputed to be rich, they attempted by the most brutal usage to torment into a disclosure of secreted treasure. When they evacuated Coimbra, the furious soldiers burnt what they could not carry away with them, in the streets. Not a little of what they did attempt to carry off, they threw away on their march to Leyria. This booty falling into the hands of the peasants, was sometimes more than a compensation to individuals who had been plundered of what belonged to them.

A considerable force of the French made some resistance to Colonel Trent's troops at the bridge of Mondego; but they surrendered at discretion, on the promise of protection from the insults of the peasants. Of 5000 prisoners that fell into the hands of the Portuguese, 4000 were sent to Oporto. 3500 muskets were found, all of them charged; which may convey an idea of the effective strength of the French left at Coimbra. It is precisely the number that we have seen stated by Massena. The arms were distributed among the peasants. A great number of cattle was found that had been collected for the subsistence of the French troops. It was extremely difficult to keep the Portuguese, especially the *Ordinanza*, or armed peasants, from plundering their prisoners. Six or eight of those poor men fell victims to the rage of the peasants. Colonel Trent did every thing in his power to protect the French prisoners. Leaving one of his brigades at Coimbra, he went himself with the prisoners to

Oporto; for this was absolutely necessary, so much enraged were the Portuguese against the French army, particularly those in the districts between the Mondego and the Vouga.

The longer that the French general lay inactive in the front of the British lines, the more his difficulties increased. The heavy rains falling at that season of the year, rendered it impossible for him to bring up his heavy artillery. From the same cause the Mondego had overflowed its banks. He was hemmed in on every side. To attack the allies, posted as they were, would have been madness; to retreat northwards, extremely hazardous, if not altogether impossible. The hardships and sufferings of the army for want of provisions, and the danger of absolute famine, have already been described. In these circumstances he had only a choice of difficulties. To endeavour, by enlarging his quarters, to maintain himself on the right bank of the Tagus, until he should receive both a reinforcement of men, together with a supply of stores and provisions, or to make a desperate attempt to cross the Tagus, and support himself in the Alentejo; which, however, he could not have done for any great length of time, as that province is but a poor country. He made a shew, however, for occupying the attention of the allies by the construction of boats, pontoons, and flying bridges, of intending this; while, at the same time, he moved farther up the river, exchanged Alentqueer for Santarem, which he strengthened by adding art to the advantages which it enjoyed by nature, and even



even by laying its environs under water. The French position formed a triangle, of which Santarem and the Tagus were the base; the Zezere one of the legs, and a chain of mountains the other. Bridges were thrown across the Zezere, and a body of troops was stationed at Punhete, which was fortified. In November and December, the cavalry, 9 or 10,000, were dispersed in cantonments along the right of the Tagus, so far as the borders of Upper Beira. Redoubts were constructed at different points on the same side of the river. Thus the circle Massena had to depend on for subsistence was somewhat widened, and he looked forward to the reinforcements and supplies which he expected from Drouet and Gordonne on the one hand, and from Mortier on the other. Drouet's corps, 12,000 strong, with a large convoy, arrived early in December, and, some weeks thereafter, that under Gordonne, nearly equal in number. Towards the end of that month, detachments from the army of Mortier, and that of Soult, to the number of 12 or 14,000, having quitted Andalusia, were on their march on the left of the Tagus, through Estremadura. When Drouet was advancing through the valley of Mondego, Col. Wilson, to avoid an unequal contest, abandoned Coimbra, and retired on Espinhal.

There was now some appearances that seemed to menace a turn of fortune in favour of the French. But Lord Wellington was firm in adhering to his plan, nor ever for a moment doubted of ultimate success. He considered that if the reinforcements sent, or

yet to be sent, should be unable to protect his convoys against the attacks of those numerous bodies of troops that harassed him in flank and rear, and to cover the formation of magazines, they would aggravate the distress arising from the want of necessaries, instead of alleviating it. The ardour and activity of Lord Wellington were suitable to the importance of the crisis. He was very sparing in his diet, and slept in his clothes. He was up every morning at four o'clock, and at five he rode out and visited his advanced posts. The noble enthusiasm with which he was actuated was infused by sympathy. The whole country was under arms. Every thing at Lisbon was military. The city was garrisoned by marines from the English fleet. The garrison of Lisbon was sent to reinforce the army, which was also augmented by the arrival of 10 or 12,000 men, under the Marquis of Romana. The greater part of the British troops had arrived from Cadiz, and other regiments were arriving from time to time from the Mediterranean, Lisbon, and Gibraltar. The seamen and marines were also landed from the fleet, to assist in working the guns in the batteries. The banks of the Tagus on the right were flanked by our armed boats, and seven sloops were sent up the river. Great fortifications were raised on the south of the Tagus, to cover the river and protect the shipping. The peninsula, formed by a creek or small bay at Moita, near Aldea Gallega, on the Tagus, and the bay of St. Ubes, at Settuval, was cut off from the French by a double line of fortifications, mounted



mounted with heavy artillery, and manned, partly, by a body of 3000 seamen. So that the enemy could not advance to Almeida opposite to Lisbon; which it was apprehended might be his intention. The corps of General Hill and General Beresford were posted on the south bank of the river; while in front of the grand line of Torres Vedras, Lord Wellington lay with the main body of the British army at Cartaxo. The British fleet lay between, and on whichever side an attack might be made, was ready to bring over re-

inforcements from the other. The number of troops that could be brought into action, within not many hours, has been variously stated. They seem, as far as we have been able to judge, in point of numbers, to have been pretty nearly equal; that is, on each side from 80 to 90,000. What advantage of numbers there was, probably lay on the side of the allies. Such nearly were the relative positions and force of the French and the allied army of Portugal at the close of 1810.



## CHAP. XIII.

*A French Corps sent against Badajoz.—A kind of false Attack.—The Intention of it.—The main Efforts of the French pointed against the allied Army under Lord Wellington.—Address to the Spanish Nation by the Junta of Badajoz.—Nature of the Warfare carried on by the Guerillas.—Celebrated Chiefs of the Guerillas.—Successes of the Guerillas—unavailing against the steady and combined System of the Enemy.—Great Hopes from the approaching Meeting of the Cortes.—Form of electing the Deputies of the Cortes.—Deputies elected to the Cortes even in the Provinces occupied by the French.—Meeting, Installation, and Transactions of the Cortes.—Political Conduct of King Joseph in Spain.—His Situation there very uneasy and unpleasant.—The Measures adopted for conciliating the Spaniards, by Joseph, condemned by Napoleon.—Atrocities committed by the French Generals in Spain.—The Duke of Orleans invited to—And dismissed.*

A CORPS, under the orders of Mortier, alias the Duke of Treviso, was sent about the beginning, or near the middle of March, against Badajoz. A fruitless attack having been made on that city, the French established themselves in Merida, Zafra, and Santa Maria. The siege of Badajoz was abandoned for a time, from the necessity of forwarding the siege of Cadiz by suppressing the insurrections in Grenada and Murcia: yet still demonstrations were made on Badajoz. There was a good deal of skirmishing. The reconnoitring parties of the French sometimes advanced almost to the glacis of Badajoz. This was in the nature of a false attack, intended no doubt to occupy the army of Estramadura, while the real invasion of Portugal was to be carried on by the route of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida. When the troops under Romana were drawn from Badajoz and Campo Major, and some other points in Estramadura, to join Lord Wel-

lington, they were replaced by Portuguese, united with some English; of whom a great proportion was officers. The siege of Cadiz, in like manner, as above observed, went on but slowly. The main efforts of the French were naturally pointed against the allied army under Lord Wellington. If Marshal Massena should be able to drive the English into the sea, he would be enabled to send out such detachments as could easily reduce Badajoz, perhaps Cadiz.

After the sad reverses of fortune suffered by the Spaniards towards the close of 1809, when they were convinced, by multiplied experience, that their armies were altogether unfit to contend with the French in pitched battles, they had again recourse to that desultory warfare, which had been so wisely recommended by the Junta of Seville at the beginning of the revolution, and which had been carried on for some time with so much success. The Junta of Badajoz



issued a spirited and energetic address to the Spanish nation, rousing them to a defiance of the invaders, even in the midst of their triumphs; and gave orders for raising the greatest possible number of detached corps. It particularly named three, of 150 men each; the third part cavalry. It likewise ordered smaller ones to be raised in proportion to the population of the parishes, or other districts, into which the province of Estramadura was divided, subordinate to the three principal ones. The order of the Junta specified also the weapons to be used. These were only two; the musket, and the cuchillo, or side knife: the musket for attacking the enemy's convoys and detachments by ambush and surprize; and the cuchillo for attacks by night and in the streets. Similar orders were immediately issued by the Junta of Galicia, and of Asturias. But even without the intervention of any public authorities throughout all Spain, even in most of the provinces overrun, and partly occupied by the French, Old Castille, Leon, Navarre, Arragon, Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia, and Grenada, parties were formed to fall suddenly on the French and their partizans, to arrest their convoys, carry off their advanced guards, watch and harass their patrols, surprize stragglers, make an attack when they had the advantage of numbers, and lie in ambush when their safety de-

pended on flight. They were again to re-organize themselves, re-appear, to stand, and to multiply themselves by the rapidity of their marches, and their acquaintance with all the roads and defiles. Among the most renowned chiefs or leaders of the Guerillas, so the parties of armed Spaniards were called, were Longa, in Galicia and Asturias; Mina, in the north of Castille; Santochildes, in Leon; Don Juan Sanchez, near Salamanca; Baron Derroles, in Arragon; and l'Empecinado,\* in the vicinity of Madrid.

The French troops, after the retreat of Lord Wellington, and the total defeat of the main Spanish army under General Arriesaga, were dispersed in different and distant stations, for procuring subsistence, and keeping the territories they had overrun in subjection. The allied army presented a formidable force on the frontier of Spain. The French, in the prosecution of their grand design, the reduction of Cadiz and Lisbon, were obliged to concentrate their forces. This operated as a diversion in favour of the Guerillas. Many places occupied before by the French, fell into the hands of the Guerillas. Among these were Oviedo and Gijon, in Asturias. When the French divisions were drawn together for opposing the united armies of Lord Wellington and General Cuesta, the Guerillas, taking advantage of their absence, scoured the country

\* The *Empecinado*. The appellation by which a gentleman of the name of Martin was distinguished, the whole of whose family had been cut off by the French, and who devoted the whole of his life to revenge. Having witnessed at Aranda Douro the murder of his whole family, in cold blood, by a party of French soldiers, he made his escape, and swore never to sheath his sword while a Frenchman remained in Spain. He quickly collected a troop of 1200 men, which was gradually increased to many thousands.



in different directions. When the French returned, after the retreat from Talavera, to their old quarters, the Guerillas were dispersed, but not subdued; for, on the departure of the French troops from a variety of posts, to join Massena, the Guerillas appeared again in force with increased boldness; and of this alternation of concentrating the French forces for fighting great battles and dispersing the different divisions, for subsistence in a poor and exhausted country, resolute to maintain its independence, there seemed to be no end. In proportion as the Guerillas increased in numbers and daring resolution, it became necessary for the French to send stronger and stronger escorts for protecting their couriers and convoys against those parties, or, as the French called them, bands, who incessantly attacked the enemy in the rear, impeded his communications, cut off his supplies, and, by the booty that fell into their hands, made up in no inconsiderable degree for the ravages committed in the provinces by the invaders. Indeed the misery, to which the country had been reduced, was so great as to drive many young men to the Guerillas as their only means of a livelihood. We find the French generals, in their private dispatches to the government, intercepted, continually deploring the necessity they were under of detaching or separating their divisions, for the pur-

pose of maintaining the public tranquillity in the conquered provinces, overawing the country, and retaining it in subjection. The French, notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers, were unable to invade at once all parts of the country. Harassed on every side by an armed population, they were ignorant of the number of enemies they had to contend with. The Guerillas, dispersed by superior forces in one place, appeared re-organized in another. New bodies of armed men appeared to spring up from the earth after they were supposed to be destroyed.

A convoy destined for the pay of the French army, was intercepted in the night of the 10th of October, by the celebrated partizan, the patriot hero, Mina, between Bayonne and Madrid. The governor of Gomara sent 300 men to reinforce the escort, which was also 300. The whole was dispersed or taken by 500 under Mina, who became master of 12 carts loaded with silver, 60 prisoners, 30 horses, arms, and ammunition.\* A convoy was taken by the Guerillas, of 6000 muskets, and 6000 uniforms, on its way from Bayonne to the troops in Asturias. In the environs of Madrid, a body of 8000 men, under l'Empecinado, made King Joseph himself tremble on his usurped throne. It is stated in a Spanish journal, that about the beginning of September, "the uncle and

\* The following patriotic trait of the intrepid Mina, who so successfully harassed the French in the north of Spain, deserves honourable mention. Among the number of French prisoners made by his party at the end of January, 1810, was the lady of a French general, who offered him a ransom of 6000 piastres. "Send me 6000 stand of arms," said Mina, "and you shall have the lady."



worthy successor of the immortal Mina,\* in the command of his party, had routed near Pampeluna 800 *Ganachies* [apes].” So the Spaniards nick-named the French, as the Americans, in the war with England, called our soldiers *Lobsters*. It would seem that nick-names of enemies are of some use among raw troops, consisting of armed peasantry. It is added in the same paragraph, that this excellent warrior laid Pampeluna itself under contribution, by threatening to starve it. The common escort for a courier to the smallest distance was 200 dragoons; to France 1400. But towards the end of 1810, when the Guerillas had increased prodigiously, in both boldness and numbers, at the same time that the Portuguese militia and ordenanza hung in great force on the rear of Massena, this force was deemed very inadequate indeed to the service. In November, a body of French infantry and cavalry, 3000 strong, passing the Zezere, and crossing the Lower Beria, took the road by the side of Castle Branco to the Spanish border, merely for the purpose of escorting a courier and obtaining information; as appeared from the short time in which they returned to the positions at the bridges of the Zezere and the fort of Punhete.

There was a whole division of French troops under the orders of General Clarapede, appointed for escorting couriers between Ciudad Rodrigo and Santarem. When General Foix was sent, in November, by Massena to Paris, he was escorted by 2000 men. On

his return to the French position at Salamanca, with dispatches for Massena, January 13, 1811, he was escorted by near 3000 men. The success of patriotic skirmishing in Arragon forced Buonaparte to send 4000 gens d'armes into that province from France.

These are a few of the examples of the activity and enterprize of the Guerillas. But, after all, the Guerillas were liable to be cut off in detail, or most easily dispersed; while the French, by seizing the fortresses, ports, cities, and towns, and the roads from one city or town to another, proceeded by sure steps to the conquest of the whole country; of a large portion of which, at the end of 1810, they had uncontrolled, though very unquiet possession. Nothing great can be achieved by mere numbers, without combination or concert. The operations of the Guerillas were accidental and desultory. Even the Spanish armies did not compose one grand army, but were always placed beyond a ready and useful communication with each other. All the elements of a great and glorious army were to be found in Spain; but a spirit was wanting to breathe on the chaos, and reduce it to form. None could be more sensible of this than the Spaniards themselves, and accordingly every eye was directed with fond expectation to the meeting of the Cortes. Nor was it the Spanish nation alone that entertained the most sanguine hopes from this assembly. It was generally thought by intelligent and learned men, that the Cortes would

\* It would appear that Mina, who appears again on the theatre of war, had been obliged to consult for some time his personal safety, being cut off from his party, by flight.



keep alive public spirit, apt to dwindle away, individuals being in a state of isolation. The Cortes was a focus that would collect, retain, and send forth the rays of patriotism, not confined to any particular measure or plan, but ready to vary expedients and measures according to exigencies and public opinion and spirit. The Cortes would shew what this spirit really was; the progress of knowledge, the extent of the understanding, and views of the Spanish nation, and what measure of wisdom and energy it possessed. This nation, disengaged now from all former prejudices and trammels, possessed an original and native vigour; a superabundance of life which would hold on its course, after many deep wounds and cruel amputations.\*.

The form of electing the deputies of the Cortes was as follows: Each parish was at a general meeting to nominate one elector, to be placed at the head of his division. The electors so chosen in the parishes, were to assemble in the principal town or city of the province, to choose a deputy for the general Cortes: and the electors were to be treble the number of the deputies appointed for the province. Such deputies were to be chosen for the extraordinary Cortes by the majority of votes. Each province was to supply one deputy to represent 50,000 of the population, to be regulated according to the last census, which was that of 1797. The provinces,

with their respective proportions of deputies were enumerated. They were in all 32, and the total of such deputies was 208. Sixty-eight supplementary deputies were to be chosen, to act in the event of the death of the former. Each of the provincial Juntas was to appoint a deputy to the general Cortes, either from their own body or otherwise. The cities which sent deputies to the Cortes in 1789,† were each of them to supply deputies on the present occasion. All the elections were to be conducted publicly, and the members were to be assembled at Cadiz, in the Isle of Leon, on the first of March in the present year. None were to be admitted to the duty stated who were under criminal process, who were debtors to the state, who were incompetent from corporeal infirmity, or who were not natives. And no one could be admitted to the situation of elector who was not born in the province for which he was appointed.

The form of election, or the constitution of the Cortes, appears to have been conceived with due regard both to population and property; of which if either greatly preponderate, a state is in danger of falling either into an aristocracy or a democracy.

The election of deputies for the Cortes took place even in the provinces occupied by the French: and this is one of the most remarkable events, and the most characteristic of the public spirit of Spain, that had happened dur-

\* Letters published in the *Courier* newspaper about the beginning of January, 1810, by Mr. T. Coleridge.

† The Cortes assembled at the beginning of the reign of Charles IV. as they had done also at that of Charles II. and at the period of the accession of the Bourbons, and on a few other occasions. But since the time of Philip II. their sittings have been little more than a matter of mere form.



ing the contest in the peninsula. In La Mancha, several parties having assembled, at the head of whom was the intendant, Herro, a philosopher and man of letters, well known in Spain, proceeded successively to the elections, attacking the French in some towns, in order to make the elections afterwards, and in others defending themselves when the elections were going on, and obtaining in all the desired object. The same thing was done in Guadalajara, and other provincial governments and districts. The number of deputies, however, when the Cortes commanded their sittings, was far from being completed: they came in from time to time afterwards.

The above regulations for convoking the Cortes were issued by the Supreme Junta. But on the 14th of February, 1810, the Council of Regency of Spain and the Indies, in the royal name of Ferdinand VII. issued a kind of supplementary decree. Considering the serious and urgent necessity of the aid of the extraordinary Cortes, the deputies of which were to be collected from the Spanish dominions in Europe, Asia, and America, and which legally represented the inhabitants in such congress, on whom depended the restoration and felicity of the whole monarchy, the Council of Regency decreed as follows: "The subsequent governments shall partake in the representation of the Cortes: the viceroyalties of New Spain, Peru, Santa Fé, and Buenos Ayres; and the dependencies of Porto Rico, Cuba, St. Domingo, Guatemala, the interior provinces, Venezuela, Chili, and the Philippine Islands. One deputy shall be nominated for each capital in these

different establishments. The election shall be made by the assembly of the capitals, who shall name first, three persons natives of the province, men of probity, talents, and information, out of which one shall be chosen by lot as the deputy to the Cortes. Any difficulty that shall occur in the course of the election, shall be removed by the immediate determination of the viceroy or governor, in concurrence with the public council. As soon as the election is decided, the deputy shall receive his testimonial from the assembly by which he is elected. From the same he shall receive such instructions as such assembly shall be pleased to give him on general or local concerns, so that he may be prepared for his duty in the Cortes. When he has received such powers and instructions, he shall directly proceed to Europe by the quickest conveyance, and he shall land at the island of Majorca, where the representatives from America shall be convoked to wait the time of the sessions of the Cortes. The electoral assemblies shall determine the payment proper to be made to the deputies for the expenses of their voyages and attendance. But as nothing contributes more to render a representative of the people respectable than temperance and moderation, his subsistence from the time of his arrival at Majorca to the conclusion of his duties in the Cortes, shall be limited to six dollars a day, which is the sum assigned to the deputies from the provinces of Spain. In the same extraordinary Cortes shall be determined the regular means which shall be in future adopted for the election of deputies from those dominions, supplying



supplying and arranging what, from the urgency of the moment and the intricacy of present circumstances, cannot be comprised in the present decree."

The meeting of the Cortes, which, from delays incident to all transactions, and especially those of the Spaniards, had been postponed from time to time, at length took place on the 24th of September. At nine in the morning the deputies of the Cortes met in the Consistorial Hall, from whence, accompanied by the Regency, they proceeded to the cathedral, amidst unceasing acclamations of *God save the nation—Viva la nacion*. On their arrival at the church, mass was celebrated by the Cardinal of Bourbon, and a sermon preached by the bishop of Orense. The deputies then took the prescribed oath, and proceeded to the hall allotted for the sittings of the Cortes. The Council of Regency being seated on the throne, under which was placed the portrait of Ferdinand VII. the president delivered a speech, in which, among other things, he reminded the assembly of the melancholy situation of Spain when the Regency took the government, and exhorted the deputies to a faithful discharge of their important duties. The assembly nominated a president and secretary. A declaration was then drawn up, that the general and extraordinary Cortes of the nation were legally assembled, and that the sovereign power resided in them. They then acknowledged, proclaimed, and swore fealty to Ferdinand VII. and declared the renunciations of Bayonne to be null and void, as they were unjust and violent, and

chiefly on account of their having been made without the consent of the nation. Of the three powers in the state, the legislative, the executive, and the judicial, the assembly reserved to themselves the legislative, but continued the authority of the Regency as the executive power, *pro tempore*, until the establishment of a permanent government, on condition that the Regency should come to the hall, and take the oath of allegiance to the Cortes. With this order the Regency complied. The continuation of the civil and military authorities was decreed. It was decreed, that the Regency should reside wherever the Cortes were, and that none of its members had power to remove themselves to the distance of more than a league, without permission of the Cortes.

An act was passed for raising a new levy of 150,000 men, and for the equipment and subsistence of all the patriotic armies. While Ferdinand VII. was acknowledged king of Spain, and all his possessions beyond the seas declared to be integral parts of the Spanish monarchy, it was decreed that concessions should be made to the transmarine provinces. It was also established as a fundamental law, that the inhabitants of Old Spain had a right to the redress of their grievances. The established religion was retained, to the exclusion of all others. The marriage of a king of Spain not to be valid without the consent of the nation; nor his abdication of the throne; nor his alienation of property.

It was resolved that the Cortes should have the title of Majesty; the Regency and executive authorities



rities that of Highness, till the arrival of Ferdinand VII. and that the same title should be given to the superior tribunals. A deputation from the Junta of Cadiz presented themselves to renounce their powers, and to do homage to the Cortes.

Don Manuel Lapena, accompanied by the generals and chiefs of the corps then in the Isla, presented himself to felicitate that high assembly on its august and much wished-for re-union, and his readiness to take the oath required, in the name of the whole army, not only as *interim* commander-in-chief of the army, but as captain general also of Andalusia. "I am ready," he said, "and all my soldiers, to shed the last drop of our blood for religion, for the country and the king." The general then took the oath, and on the following day stated this to his army in a general order. "I am certain," said he, "that the troops I have the honour to command, are anxious in every way to testify their patriotism and their attachment to our king, Ferdinand, whose rights it is our duty to defend, and which we will defend even at the expense of the last drop of our blood. The hope of saving our country at last revives; and we shall be able to realize it, if to our zealous wishes we add our unremitting endeavours to establish the most correct military discipline, from which victory is inseparable, and to which I shall always endeavour to conduct you."

September 27, the attention of the Cortes was called by Arguelles to an object of the greatest importance—the POLITICAL LIBERTY OF THE PRESS. He was far from

wishing that they should immediately proceed to determine on a point of such high interest and consequence; but if the proposition should be approved, the assembly might appoint a committee, which, taking into consideration all that had already been written on that important subject, might examine and investigate the question, and submit to the Cortes the result of their labours and their reflections, and point out the manner in which it might appear to them that the political liberty might be fixed. Two members supported the motion of Arguelles. Six or seven of the members, who were priests, wished to have the question referred to the decision of the inquisition. But Torrero, another ecclesiastic, ascended the tribune, and in a very animated manner pointed out the evils which had already been experienced from the want of the liberty of the press, and the benefits that would result from its political freedom. "It was necessary that the Cortes should proceed in a course opposite to that which the Central Junta had taken, substituting for the criminal silence and mysterious conduct of that government, the publicity of their sittings, and the liberty of writing upon political subjects. The public," he observed, "had a right, and it was even their duty, to interest themselves in the conduct of their representatives, and to warn them of the errors they might notice in their proceedings; which warning could be given only through the medium of the press. It was always necessary to consult public opinion, whose echo was the press." Al-  
most



most all the members voted for the motion, and a committee, composed of eight members, was appointed accordingly.—It was decreed, that all individuals and public bodies should be at full liberty to print and publish their **POLITICAL** (not religious) sentiments, with the exception of defamatory libels, calumnious libels, those subversive of the fundamental laws of the monarchy, and those that were licentious and contrary to public decorum and morals. Laws that should fix the proof and the punishment in these cases, were afterwards to be passed and promulgated. For examining all works denounced by the executive government, or any public tribunal, a supreme Junta of Censorship, consisting of nine individuals, was to reside at the seat of government; and a similar Junta, of five members, to be established in the capital of every province. Three of the nine members of the Supreme Censorial Council, and two out of the five members of the Provisional Junta, were to be ecclesiastics. A resolution passed for publishing their proceedings in regular journals.

It was resolved, that none of their deputies, whether those now attending, or those that might thereafter be admitted to complete their number, should be permitted during the period of their exercising those functions, nor for a year afterwards, to solicit or accept for themselves, or to solicit for any other person, any pension, favour, or reward, or any honour or distinction whatever, from the interim executive power, nor from any other government that might

thereafter be appointed under any designation whatever. From this regulation, however, it was understood that those persons should be exempted who, from rank or age, were accustomed to succeed according to the rules or statutes which were observed in military, ecclesiastic, and civil bodies; and at the same time, such cases as might occur in which extraordinary and confessedly very eminent services performed in behalf of the king and country, might deserve, in the opinion of the Cortes themselves, a reward also extraordinary.

It was decreed, that all prebends not annexed to public offices, nor charged with the cure of souls, were adjudged to the public treasury. Committees were appointed, both standing or permanent, and also such as might be required, from time to time, by incidental circumstances, as in the British parliament; the form of procedure in which the Cortes seem, in various instances, to have taken for a model.

Of all the measures of the Cortes, in the first weeks of their sittings, there was only one in which the people did not go along with them in enthusiastic confidence and joy. This was the prorogation, *pro tempore*, of the authority of the Regency. But this, though a very unpopular act, was a very wise and even a patriotic one; for a change in the administration could not have been made without creating a kind of anarchy; and there might have been some risk that the assembly of the Cortes might have taken, and even been obliged to take, the executive government into their own hands.

It



It was certainly a great security against all tendency, on the part of the Cortes, to arbitrary power of any kind, that the permanent authority of that assembly themselves rested on the basis of liberty, civil and political, and the dignity of the Spanish nation.

In October the Cortes dissolved the old Regency, according to their own wish, and formed an executive council, consisting of three members, Blake, Cismar, and Agar. The members of the old Regency were ordered to quit Cadiz. We are not a little astonished at the manifest predilection of the Spaniards for Blake, who, though probably an honest man, and a man of courage, was neither a successful, nor indeed a skilful, but a rash and imprudent general. A committee was appointed for drawing up a law to the same effect as the *habeas corpus* in England.

The effects of this popular spring of government were felt immediately, and almost instantaneously. The galleries were open to the public, except on particular occasions that demanded profound secrecy, and also with the exception of women. And the only amusement of Cadiz was going to hear the debates, which, though there was great moderation, mutual confidence, and good will among all the members, were often very animated; and what appeared remarkable to the English gentlemen at Cadiz, there was not the least appearance of constraint or *mauvaise honte*. All the speakers expressed themselves with as much fluency and ease as if they had been accustomed to public speaking all their lives. The speeches of many of the members were excellent. The

journals that reported them were read with avidity by all classes. It was common to see in the public walks and squares 20 or 30 persons, who kindly undertook to read the newspapers aloud, *pro bono publico*. The same thing took place in the workshops and manufactories.

There was now some prospect of re-establishing a free government in Spain; and popular sentiment accompanying every act of the representative body, promised to give energy to all the efforts of the national council.

It is proper here to notice the moral means adopted for counteracting these efforts by King Joseph, and for establishing his own authority.

When the loyalists, in the reign of Charles I. of England, perceived how popular a thing, among a great part of the nation, a covenant was, they also resolved to have the benefit of a covenant. In like manner, King Joseph endeavoured to conciliate the Spaniards by issuing a decree, Seville, April 18, for the convocation of the Cortes. By this, no doubt, the liberty of Spain would be as much secured, as those of France by the legislative assembly of Napoleon Buonaparte. "It is a long time," said Joseph, "since the Junta amused the nation with the promise of assembling the Cortes; but they protracted delays from an unwillingness to give up their own power. Spain will owe this benefit to the beneficence of its own king." In imitation, or, more probably, by the orders of Napoleon, he divided Spain, for the civil administration, into prefectures, to the number of thirty-eight;



eight; and for military government, into fourteen divisions. In Grenada, and some other provinces, the inhabitants assured King Joseph that the laws would be enforced, tranquillity maintained, and all foreign aggression repelled by the organization of some battalions of free, or volunteer companies of Spaniards. His majesty accepted these offers: but a very little experience sufficed to satisfy him, that these civic guards were by no means to be trusted. Some regular regiments were also formed of Spaniards, who took the oath of allegiance to Joseph, and were distinguished by the appellation of *Juramentados*. Neither were these found worthy of confidence. They deserted on every favourable opportunity. Napoleon never approved the policy of embodying either corps of civic guards or regiments of *Juramentados*. Some of the latter, towards the end of the year, he ordered to be marched into France.

In February, 1811, the whole of the companies that had been formed for maintaining tranquillity in the interior of Spain, were, by order of Buonaparte, broken and dispersed.

In the night of the 10th of August, the whole guard of the gate of Toledo at Madrid, including the officers who commanded, went off in a body, and joined the nearest party of the Spanish patriots. So far was Joseph from trusting, for his personal safety, to civic guards, or the good will of the people, that the great business on which he was most intent for a great part of the summer and autumn of 1810, was the construction of strong and extensive forti-

fications for the defence of his palace, Bueno-Reteiro, in Madrid. He was fond of making excursions from Madrid, but kept the particular place he was going to as long as possible a secret; nor did he remain long at any of these places. He was once within a hair breadth of being surprized in one of his retreats by the Guerillas. He is represented to have been a man of placid and mild manners, and rather indolent than ambitious. The French at Paris called him *Roimalgré lui*. His crown certainly did not sit easy on his head. The following is a copy of a letter from Joseph to his wife, intercepted by the Guerillas, and published in the Spanish journals:

*Madrid, Aug. 23, 1810.*

“ My dear friend,

“ I have received no letters from you to-day. I am in good health. My situation here, however, is still much to be pitied. I embrace you and my children.

THE KING.

“ To her Majesty the  
Queen of Spain, at  
Paris.”

The situation of Joseph was not only irksome, but humiliating. Napoleon having lost all patience with the moderation of his brother, ordered violent measures, the execution of which he committed to his own generals: so that Joseph was a passive spectator of vexations and enormities calculated to excite the hatred and indignation of that nation whom he wished to conciliate. To all King Joseph's applications for succour, the French emperor replied, that



that he would not send any more succours to him at present (June, 1810), because he could not. "Why don't you," said his minister to Joseph's ambassador at Paris, "raise contributions in Andalusia? above all, at Seville, Murcia, and Malaga? and confiscate English merchandize? In the establishment of the King of Spain there is too much pomp, shew, and luxury. Pay the army: that, is, conquer and pacify the country in the first place. Grant rewards to individuals afterwards. It is impossible but there must be more specie in Spain, considering what must have been imported by the French, the English, and from America. It is the way of the Emperor to support the armies he employs at the expense of the countries he invaded. If the Emperor had not invaded Spain, he could have disbanded his troops, and spared his own treasury. The staff establishment of the King of Spain was too numerous, and too expensive. The Spanish corps he had taken into his service were not only an useless expense, but a mischief, as they commonly deserted to the enemy. The favour and kindness shewn to the Spanish gentlemen newly come over from the enemy to the king, served only to disgust those who had espoused his cause from the beginning."

The ambassador, in reply, stated, among other things, that very heavy arrears of pay were due to the officers both of his catholic majesty's staff and household, and

that the ordinary impositions on Spain at present, were almost wholly unproductive. They were levied only on a small portion of the subdued provinces; and even in these, the collectors were often thwarted by the Guerillas.\*

It already occurred, as one way of raising money, to sell what the French called the forfeited estates. In the month of July, there was a public sale of the estates of all the Spanish grandees, and other great landed proprietors, who had emigrated to Cadiz, and adhered to Ferdinand VII. But this measure of finance turned out to very little account, and next to nothing.

If it seemed necessary to urge Joseph to the adoption of harsh and cruel measures for the subjection of Spain, there was no necessity for exciting the French generals either to plunder, or to commit any act of atrocity that might be supposed to contribute to the same end. General orders were issued by Soult, at Seville, May 29, for granting no quarter to any Spaniards, not regular troops, found in arms against King Joseph. All such were to be treated as rebels against legitimate authority, and devoted, without mercy, to fire and sword. But the Regency of Spain immediately ordered retaliation, a few examples of which excited a murmur of discontent throughout the whole French army. And by a decree of Buonaparte, the rights of war were allowed to the Guerillas.

\* Intercepted letter from Aranza, Duke of Santa Fé, chargé d'affaires at the court of Paris, to Don L. M. Urquijo, minister of King Joseph for foreign relations, Paris, June 20, 1810. Extracted from the Gazette Extraordinary of the Regency of Spain, Aug. 5, 1810.



Towards the end of the preceding year, Kellerman, general of division, and governor general for Upper Spain, for the districts of Salamanca, Zamora, Toro, Leon, Placentia, Burgos, Guipusco, and Alava, issued general orders for putting the horses and mares of those districts, of a certain size, in requisition, and conducting them to their respective capitals. The left eyes of all the rest were ordered to be put out, so that they might be disabled from military service.\*

It was a common stratagem of the French to appear in one place, where their presence was not necessary, and suddenly retire to those where it was, marching with great rapidity from place to place. It was intended by this manœuvre to frighten the people, and thus make them lay down their arms, under the persuasion that they should be certainly overwhelmed by numbers.

Of all the princes of the house of Bourbon at this time, 1810, the Duke of Orleans was by far the most active and enterprising, and the most distinguished both by natural capacity and accomplishments. At the battle of Jemappe, under General Dumourier, he gave decided proofs of personal valour, and, on a great many subsequent occasions, when wandering as a fugitive on the continent of Europe, sometimes in Switzerland, and sometimes in Scandinavia, even to the North Cape, in America, and in England, he shewed a readiness, and a fertility of resources in his own mind,

not often to be met with in persons of his rank. It was naturally imagined, that the presence of such a prince in Spain, would tend to heighten the enthusiasm of the Spaniards, and to detach some of the French from an usurper to a prince of the house of Bourbon. He had married a daughter of the King of Sicily, his kinswoman, and resided at the court of Palermo. He was invited by the Regency, on the 11th of March, to take the command of an army on the frontier of France. He landed from Sicily first at Malta, in the beginning of June; from thence he proceeded to Tarragona, in Catalonia; whither he was expected to return, after holding a conference with the Regency and the British commander at Cadiz. When the duke arrived in Catalonia, he published a proclamation declaring the purpose of his arrival, and inviting all true Frenchmen as well as Spaniards to join him in an effort to deliver themselves from the yoke of tyranny and usurpation. But the Cortes would not confirm this prince in the office of commander in chief in Catalonia, to which he had been appointed by the Council of Regency; and he was obliged to leave Cadiz, which he did on the 3d of October, and returned in a Spanish frigate to Sicily. It was said at the time, that the cause of the duke's disappointment and dismissal from Spain was, the ambition he discovered, and the intrigues he had begun to set on foot among the members of the

\* See Vol. LI. (1809) State Papers, p. 802.



Cortes, for being appointed sole regent of Spain during the captivity and absence of Ferdinand VII. This report derives a degree of probability from the subsequent determination of the Cortes to-

wards the close of 1811, that no person should be appointed to the regency of Spain, during the captivity of Ferdinand, who had any claims to the eventual succession to the crown.



## CHAP. XIV.

*Spanish Provinces of America.—Revolutions in.—Traced to their Causes.—The Colonies divided into two grand Parties.—Civil War begun.*

THE Spanish provinces of America, by their geographical position and immense extent, seem destined by the hand of nature to form five great independent states: Mexico, Terra Firma,\* Paraguay, Peru, and Chili. It is not in nature, that regions so vast, and some of them so far distant from each other, should remain always under the same authority; much less that the whole, amidst the revolutions of states, the progress of knowledge, and the force of example, should continue for any great lapse of time, to be governed by a country situated in another hemisphere.

The Spanish Americans were an oppressed and insulted people. Their grievances were many and various. But the principal of them may be reduced to two heads: restrictions on commerce, and even on the free cultivation of the soil;† and an exclusion from all places of profit, trust, and power in the administration of the provinces. The monopolization of commerce was as detrimental to the inhabitants of Old Spain in general as to the colonists, and benefited only the merchants of

Cadiz, the emporium in which that trade centered. The commerce of the Spanish colonies in America was in a very languishing state, and threatened with total ruin. There was not an opening for the reception of their commodities in Spain, nor could Spain furnish shipping for transporting them to any other part of Europe. The colonies that suffered most from the monopolization of commerce were those of Caraccas, Buenos Ayres, and the great island of Cuba; whose articles of commerce, being of a bulky nature, required a great deal of shipping, and were, farther, of so perishable a nature, that they were liable to be lost if kept on board for any great length of time.

The Central Junta, willing to unite all hands and hearts in support of the tottering and falling monarchy, declared the ultra marine possessions to be integral parts of the Spanish empire, and their rights to representation in the general congress. But all the provisory governments that succeeded each other, though they recognized their rights in theory,

\* Comprehending, besides Terra Firma Proper, or Darien, Popayan, Quito, and New Grenada.

† It is not, we believe, a hundred years since an order was sent from Madrid to cut down the vine, fig, and olive trees in certain of the provinces.



continued to trample on them in practice. At no former period was there greater peculation in the American colonies of Spain, or greater despotism or insolence in all the political departments from the highest to the lowest—none in which men were in less danger of being called to account for acts of rapacity and oppression. Crowds of needy adventurers were sent to America, to repair their fortunes, ruined by the convulsions in the mother country. They filled all the public places, which the natives considered as their natural heritage. Nor had the injustice and outrages which they had suffered themselves, taught them moderation and equity in their own conduct towards others.

Such was the actual government, and such the condition of the people, when intelligence was received of the irruption of the French into Andalusia, and the dispersion of the Central Junta, loaded with the execrations and the contempt of the people. On the declaration of war by France against the mother country, the colonists manifested the greatest ardour in the common cause of the Spaniards, by their ready obedience to the provisory governments in Old Spain, and by the liberality of their contributions. But, when every ship that arrived from Europe was fraught with news of fresh defeats and disasters, and accusations of treason, they became more sparing of their contributions, and less and less disposed to place their confidence in the temporary authorities. They recollected that in the greater part of the Spanish provinces in Ame-

rica, and in those of Europe, without exception, it was not the nobility and prime gentry that first took the alarm, and set themselves to oppose and confound the designs of France, but the people. A general persuasion prevailed, that the persons in possession of the various departments of government, almost all of them natives of Spain, were more anxious to keep up their connections with the mother country, into whatsoever hands the supreme authority might pass, than to repel foreign aggression and usurpation. There seemed, however, to be at first a tacit agreement or understanding among all the Spanish provinces of America, that, for the sake of avoiding the horrors of anarchy, it would be prudent to recognize the authority of the metropolis, so long as there should be any appearance of a central government to rule the monarchy in the name of Ferdinand VII.

The authority of the Central Junta, and the Regency appointed at Cadiz, was first disowned in Terra Firma. On the news of the reduction of Seville, and the dispersion of the Junta, the minds of all classes were greatly agitated. The general alarm of the detested and dreaded domination of France was aggravated. But, they who were distressed by the restrictions imposed by the mother country on trade, were not displeased at a conjuncture that might enable them to take the redress of their grievances into their own hands. The unpopular magistracy of Caraccas was deserted by the military, who fell in with the general voice of the people, and a provisory Junta was formed for



for carrying on the government of the province in the present unsettled state of affairs, without dissolving the connection, but on the principle of fraternization, friendship, and unity with the mother country. Similar revolutions took place immediately thereafter, and almost simultaneously, in other provinces, and in the same spirit. Caraccas, Cumana, Barinas, Margarita, Barcelona, Merida, and Truxillo, were united as federative governments, in what is called the American Confederation of Venezuela, April 19, 1810.\*

The principal promoters and leaders in this revolution looked forward with ardent expectation to ultimate independence, though they concealed themselves at first under the wings of the general partizans of Ferdinand VII. They made warm professions of attachment to the mother country, and, in common with the rest of their countrymen, swore allegiance to Ferdinand, as their legitimate sovereign: though the new Juntas did not acknowledge, or pay any deference or regard to the Regency at Cadiz. This moderation of conduct, though prudent in itself, would not perhaps have been observed in preference to the solicitations of present interests and passions, if it had not been prescribed by an indispensable regard to the general sentiments and inclinations of the provinces. But this stream was soon unfortunately turned into a different, and somewhat an opposite direction.

The Council of Regency awak-

ened to a sense of their public duty, by the well-founded and firm remonstrances of the island of Cuba, passed a decree, May 17, permitting the colonies to trade with foreign nations in all the articles of their own product, for which there was not a vent in Old Spain. This decree, morally just, and politically wise and necessary, did not suit the interests, and was offensive in the highest degree to the merchants of Cadiz, on whom the Regency were in a great measure dependant for the means of continuing their new, feeble, and slippery government. This decree was therefore revoked on the 17th of June. And the Regency had even the ridiculous folly to pretend, that it was not authentic, but an imposition on the public: as if they would have suffered a forgery to be in circulation, and have the force of a law for the space of six weeks, in the very place where the Regency resided, without contradicting, and protesting against it! It was impossible that the Spanish Americans should respect a provisory government so pitifully mean, cunning, and fraudulent.

While the impression made on the minds of the Americans, by the revocation or disavowal of the decree in favour of colonial trade, was yet fresh and lively, intelligence was received at Caraccas, that all who had been concerned in the late revolutionary movements, were proclaimed to be traitors, and the ports of the province declared to be in a state of block-

\* Manifesto Que hare al Mundo la Confederacion de Venezuela en la America Meridional, &c.—Decreto del Supremo poder Ejecutivo, de la Confederacion de Venezuela. Palacio Federal de Caraccas, 8 July, 1811.



ade, until the inhabitants should recognize the Regency of Cadiz as the true and legitimate representatives of Ferdinand VII. An amnesty, however, was held out for what had passed, provided that submission and obedience to government should be paid in future. Nothing could possibly exceed the weakness of this passionate ebullition of impotent pride and arrogance! Even if the denounced blockade could have been enforced by a numerous fleet and army, the policy of it might well have been questioned. A war ensued—not of forces at sea and land—but a paper war. A lawyer, of the name of Cortabarría, employed by the Regency, took post in the island of Porto Rico, and fulminated the manifestoes of the Regency, with occasional pieces of his own, against Caraccas. Caraccas replied by the same kind of artillery. Cortabarría was seconded by the Marquis of Urijo, minister plenipotentiary of Ferdinand VII. at the court of Brazil, whose address to the Spanish inhabitants of South America, the lawyer was at great pains to circulate, together with the manifestoes of the Regency, and his own reasonings and exhortations, throughout the provinces. In justification of their conduct, the Caraccas appealed to the laws of Spain. The Central Junta, they contended, had no right to appoint a regency without assembling the Cortes. “Though on a great and alarming emergency the colonists, out of fraternal sentiments towards all Spaniards in Europe, had for a time shewn respect both to the Junta of Seville and the Supreme Central Junta, they did not recog-

nize the legitimacy of those different administrations that had successively seized the sovereign authority, without the consent of the prince, and the acquiescence of the Spanish nation of both continents. Such an arbitrary government was illegitimate, null, vain, and contrary to all the principles recognized by the laws. The authority of the Central Junta, out of which the Regency of Cadiz sprang, was derived only from the tumultuary deliberations of a small number of the capitals of provinces, while the inhabitants of the New World had not any participation in the authority which of right belonged to them. The true interests of the king, and the general good of the nation, required a new representation of all the provinces both of Old Spain and those of America, which, as was admitted by the Regency, as well as the Central Junta, formed an integral part of the monarchy. But in the orders respecting the election of members for completing the Central Junta, as well as those for the convocation, there was a culpable partiality in favour of the degenerate remains of the Spanish nation. What freedom of suffrage? what equality of representation was to be expected from the American Cabildos, destitute of public confidence, and whom the Spanish ministers sought always to oppress and reduce to the ignominious state of being merely their agents? To allow to all the inhabitants of the peninsula the right of nominating their representatives in the national Cortes; and to restrict the right of election with regard to the Americans to a simple and passive vote of the Juntas,



Juntas, would be to establish, in favour of the European deputies, a mode of election very different from that granted to the inhabitants of America. It would be a refusal to these last of the preponderance due to their numerous population. The inhabitants of Caraccas had long refrained from thus expressing their sentiments, under the persuasion that the union of all the Spaniards was the only bulwark that could preserve the monarchy from the threatening storm. As for the preservation of that union they had sacrificed their own interests, and exhibited to the world, as they conceived, an example of great disinterestedness, patriotism, and resignation. Affairs now wore a different aspect. The greater part of the peninsula was occupied by the armies of France, and the Central Junta was dissolved, and dispersed. What remained for the Americans but to consult their own security? \* The inhabitants of Caraccas, in consequence of the language lately held to them, the evils they had lately suffered, not only at the hands of the Royal Junta, but those of the Royal Audiencia; their reiterated attempts to subvert the laws, the suspicions that rendered

it necessary to inquire into their conduct—the people of Caraccas, in these circumstances, thought it their duty to depose them. They first unanimously deprived them of the nominal, and afterwards of the real power; which they did with an order, generosity, and moderation unknown in the history of even the Spanish nation. They hoped that the Spanish Regency would concert with them the most proper means for establishing a solid union between the Spaniards of the two hemispheres. No union, that had not for its basis an equality of interests and rights, could be permanent. They said in conclusion, “If any of our fellow citizens, despairing of the fate of the mother country, shall come to seek an asylum at Venezuela, they will find among us the most generous hospitality, and proofs of the warmest attachment.” †

The Council of Regency, Cadiz, September 6, addressed a manifesto to the Spanish subjects of Ferdinand VII. in the Indies. After a warm eulogium on the patriotic enthusiasm, constancy, and fidelity of their brethren in America, they deplore the troubles at Caraccas, which they ascribe to

\* There was a consideration, which though not specified in this manifesto, had great weight with the Revolutionists. It was asserted by the American deputies, in the assembly of the Cortes, February, 1812, that the principal motive of the insurrection was, to prevent, in the case of the conquest of Spain the Americans being subjugated by Napoleon, which was the intent of their governors. And, it was very natural, they added, that it should so happen, “as the old Spaniards would do any thing rather than lose their preponderance in America, and their connection with the mother country.” We are very sorry to add, what seems to give some countenance to this suspicion, that, in fact, the Spaniards have certainly shewn greater unity, promptitude, and energy in their efforts for reducing the insurgent colonists to obedience and dependence on the mother country, than in any measures for liberating the peninsula from the intrusion of the French.

† The Supreme Junta of Caraccas to the members of the Regency of Spain. Palace of the Government of Caraccas, May 3, 1810.



the influence of turbulent and ambitious individuals, blind-folded by those political maxims and doctrines, which in the end converted those who propagated them in France, into the slaves of the tyrant Napoleon. Those unexpected proceedings filled the minds of the Spaniards, who had to the present moment struggled, with hearts of bronze, to preserve the liberty and happiness of the whole Spanish race and name, with the greatest grief and alarm, that it had become necessary to draw the bonds that united them all more closely than ever. Spain, heroic, though unfortunate, had her eye fixed on her happy provinces beyond the seas; and the government on whom the common care of all had devolved, hoped that the Spanish inhabitants of that hemisphere would regard so abominable an example with detestation and abhorrence, quash and confound it with their own hands, and obliterate all remembrance of it. The government of Spain, in all its branches, exercising authority in the name of the king, would exert all their power for maintaining a respect for the laws, good order, and justice, and preserving that union, concord, and fidelity, which had subsisted for so many ages. It had been said by the agitators in the colonies, that Spain was not free, but under the dominion of strangers. Never had the holy war in the peninsula been more alive or more extended than at the present moment. The national resentment, hatred, and vengeance had never been more envenomed than since the time of the enemy's irruption into Andalusia. The earth seemed to pro-

duce patriots in arms. The Spanish soldiers had become veterans from the reverses they had suffered, from experience, and from the new discipline that had been prescribed by necessity. And what was the force that had preserved Spain, and still preserved it, amidst a war so terrible, a contest so unequal? The unity of the sovereign power generally acknowledged, and a concert of individual wills in defence of so just a cause—the hopes of the tyrant to establish his domination in the peninsula rested solely on that of disuniting the integrant parts. It was union that he dreaded in Spain: it was union that he aimed to destroy in America. Who, in the Indies, could doubt the legitimate authority and existence of the government representing Ferdinand VII. which was not only obeyed in Spain, but acknowledged by the King of Great Britain, the King of the two Sicilies, the Prince Regent of Portugal, the Ottoman Porte, the Emperor of Morocco, and the other powers of Barbary. Yet a band of turbulent demagogues, under the pretence that there was not any common centre of government in Spain, had proclaimed their independence; thus breaking the eternal bands that had united Spaniards in every part of the world. As to their offer of fraternity, it was intended thereby only to render their designs less detestable. He whom Europe calls the tyrant of the continent shall never be the tyrant of America, unless you open the door to his perverse designs by dissolving our union. But what will it signify, that your happy country escapes the fury of his



his arms, if it be not equally guarded against his arts and machinations? Be assured that what he cannot obtain he will endeavour to destroy; and that what he cannot effect by force, he will seek to accomplish by means of an alliance. That pestilent disturber of nations shall never exercise any power at sea while England exists. This ally and friend will protect the Spanish flag in all parts of the world, at sea and at land, provided that we are united among ourselves. The complete union and integrity of the Spanish monarchy is not of more importance to that power than it is to us. The province that should wish to separate itself from this great body, would be the enemy of all, and by all abandoned. Its own strength and resources would be consumed, and its hopes annihilated. The Regency, with paternal solicitude, invites you to unite more firmly than ever with the mother country. Connected as we are by blood, religion, and a political system, it is the interest of both to add to these ties a national representation in the Cortes for the purpose of consolidating the common safety and prosperity of the whole."

Such were the pretensions, views, and arguments of both sides on this momentous question.

The inhabitants of Spanish America were also, in a proclamation issued at Madrid, March 22, 1810, addressed by King Joseph. He called them his *dear subjects*, and invited them to submit, and partake in the blessings of his just and paternal government. But if they should not have a mind to do this, he coun-

selled them to have nothing to do with the rebellious and perfidious Junta, who, as well as the English, had nothing in view but to deceive and plunder them; and declare themselves free, and independent of all nations in the world.

Joseph also sent emissaries for the promotion of his interests, by intrigue, into the Spanish provinces through North America. The Council of Regency, aware of these machinations, sent orders to the public authorities in Spanish America, not to admit any one from the North American frontier, without the most satisfactory passport. A gentleman arrived from the Havannah at Liverpool, August 1, writes to his friend in London as follows: "In coming round the Moro, we saw ten thousand people surrounding a gallows, on which was suspended one of Joseph Buonaparte's emissaries to Mexico, Don M. R. Alemany Pena, a young man of twenty years of age, belonging to one of the first families in Mexico, who was returning from college in Spain. He had accepted of four or five hundred blank commissions from Joseph for governors, generals, admirals, and other office-bearers, to be filled up at pleasure."

In most of the provinces juntas were formed by the leaders of the people for carrying on the government, according to the views taken by the respective districts of their relations to the mother country. In all the authority of Ferdinand VII. was recognized; but not in all of these, that of the Regency of Cadiz, or, in other words, Ferdinand, represented by that council.



cil. The governments that submitted to the Regency, considered those who did not as rebels. In the estimation of the *Revolutionists*, the mere name of Ferdinand VII. was a mere phantom. To pay respect and homage to this, nothing but mockery. There could not be any real loyalty, it was said, without obedience to those by whom the king, during his captivity, was legitimately represented. Commissioners were sent from Porto Rico, Mexico, New Mexico, Cuba, Spanish Guiana, Monte Video, and the juntas, or governments of some other districts, to the Regency of Cadiz, with assurances of their attachment and zealous co-operation with the Regency in support of the monarchy in all its members or branches. But by far the greatest portion of the Spanish part of South America adopted the principles, and followed the example of the Caraccas. The inhabitants of those fine countries were divided into two parties—the Loyalists, and the Independents; and their dissensions fermented into flames of civil war.

Into these a general sketch of the History of Europe does not enter, and still less into the various internal affairs, civil and political, of ultra-marine regions occupying so large a portion of the surface of the globe. All these will furnish superabundant matter for the historians of America; and they may, there is every reason to suppose, become more interesting to the enlightened part of the world than those of an old country, losing its energy with its liberty, and in comparison of nascent, active, and ardent states, effete and torpid. Yet the revo-

lutions in South, as those in North America, refer to Europe for their origin, and re-act on Europe in their results. These general causes and consequences it is proper and necessary to notice in a History of Europe.

The Junta of Caraccas had very naturally represented their situation and designs to the British governor of the island of Curacao, so near the entrance into the gulph of Venezuela, soliciting his countenance and protection. The governor did not hesitate to enter into a friendly correspondence with Caraccas; but, in circumstances so new and important, required instructions from home for the direction of his conduct. It was necessary for the British government, at this crisis, to make a public declaration of the system on which it was to act with regard to the Spanish colonies: and the Earl of Liverpool, secretary of state for war and the colonies, wrote a letter, June 29, 1810, to the governor of Curacao, Brigadier-General Lidyard, in which he stated, that “it was the first object of his Majesty, on being acquainted with the revolution in Spain, to second the efforts of so brave and loyal a people for maintaining the independence of the Spanish monarchy in all parts of the world. In conformity to these sentiments, and the obligations of justice and good faith, his Majesty must discourage every step tending to separate the Spanish provinces in America from the mother country in Europe. If, however, contrary to his Majesty’s wishes and expectation, the Spanish state in Europe should be condemned to submit to the yoke of the common enemy,



enemy, whether by real compulsion, or a convention that should leave only the shadow of independence: on the same principles his Majesty would think it his duty to afford every kind of assistance to the provinces of America that should render them independent of *French Spain*, open an asylum to such of the Spaniards as should disdain to submit to their oppressors, regard America as their natural refuge, and preserve the remains of the monarchy to their lawful sovereign, if ever he should recover his liberty. It was a satisfaction to his Majesty to learn, by papers he had received, that what had passed in Caraccas, was in a great measure owing to the erroneous impressions they had received of the desperate state of Spain. These being removed, the inhabitants of Caraccas\* would be disposed to renew their connections with Spain, as integral parts of the empire, on their being admitted to take their

place in the Cortes of the kingdom."

Nothing could be more prudent than this conduct of the British government in a situation so new, delicate, and difficult.

A copy of Lord Liverpool's letter was communicated to the Council of Regency at Cadiz, and published in all the Spanish newspapers.

A strong suspicion was entertained by the *Independents*, as a Portuguese army, 10,000 strong, had been sent in March to the frontiers of the Spanish colonies, that there might be a secret negotiation for enforcing the pretensions of the Princess of Brazil to the whole country between the Porana and La Plata, in exchange for the islands of Madeira and St. Catharine. But this apprehension was quieted by a letter from Lord Strangford, British minister at the court of Brazil, to the Junta of Buenos Ayres.

\* The noble Secretary should have said not Caraccas, but Venezuela, of which the city of Caraccas is the capital. The province of Caraccas was only one member of the confederation of Venezuela, as above noticed (p. 225). In our common books of geography, and particularly in the last edition of Pinkerton's Geography, the names of provinces are generally confounded with those of the department, or political division to which they belong, and *vice versa*; which cannot fail to occasion much equivocation and much embarrassment to English readers of newspapers and other periodical publications, who are guided by common compilations about geography. The grand political divisions of Spanish America are, four viceroyalties, and five general *capitanias*, or principalities, independent of the viceroys. The four viceroyalties are, Mexico or New Spain, New Grenada, Peru, and Buenos Ayres. The five states, independent of these, are Cuba, Porto Rico, Guatemala, Venezuela, and Chili.



## CHAP. XV.

*Marriage of Buonaparte with the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria.—Addresses from all Quarters, and Festivities on this occasion.—Character of the new Empress.—French Troops pour into Holland.—Treaty between Napoleon and Lewis Buonaparte.—Infringed by the former.—Lewis abdicates the Throne of Holland in favour of his eldest Son.—Farewell Address of Lewis to the Dutch.—The Character and Conduct of Lewis contrasted with that of his Brother Lucien.—Conference between a Commissioner from Holland and the Marquis Wellesley, British Secretary of State, on the Subject of a Maritime Peace.—Annexation of Holland, and all the Territories between the Elbe and the Ems to the French Empire—And of the Valais.—New Measure for recruiting the Naval Force of France.—Population of the French Empire.—Annexation of Hanover to Westphalia.—Extension of the French Conscription Laws.—Various Modes in which Buonaparte rivetted the Chains in which he had bound the French—And Means by which he provides for his personal safety.—His Rage against English Commerce.—Curbs the Priesthood at Rome.*

THE divorce of Josephina from the Emperor Napoleon, which was conducted with great dignity and decorum,\* was a prelude, as might well be imagined, to a second marriage. Buonaparte, on the 27th of February, announced, by a message to the senate, that he had dispatched on the 25th his cousin, the Prince of Neufchatel, to Vienna, to demand for him the hand of the Archduchess Louisa Maria, daughter of the Emperor Francis II. according to a contract that had been made, and of which the conditions were to be laid before them. The ceremony of marriage, in which the Archduke Charles received the hand of his niece, as the representative of

Buonaparte, was performed on the 11th of March. This was a grand source of amusement in a great variety of ways, both to the volatile French, and the stiff and formal German nations: the feasts, the balls, the shews, the poetry, and the addresses and other pieces in prose, to which it gave birth, were endless. From Vienna to Compiegne, the road by which the princess passed, seemed to be strewn with flowers. Paris leaped for joy. It was at first generally, indeed almost universally imagined, that she was an unwilling, though resigned victim to the preservation of her family from farther humiliation, if not total ruin. Another virgin of Gilead,† obedient to the call of filial reverence and

\* See Vol. LI. (1809) pp 805—811.

† Daughter of Jephtha. Judges, chap. xi.



duty! No such thing. It soon appeared how much of the blood of Lorraine flowed in her veins. She was gay, lively, and almost playful, and delighted with her conquest over a man who had conquered the world.

But while the face of France and its dependencies seemed to be brightened up with joy, the friends of humanity and well-wishers to established monarchies and the old order of things, deplored the humiliation of Austria, and execrated the servility of the fallen Archduke Charles! The sacrifice of Iphigenia in Aulis, scarcely cost more tears to assembled Greece, than that of Louisa Maria to the usurper of the throne of France—France, of which so near a relation perished, at so late a period, was the murdered queen!

Intimation had been made by Buonaparte in the beginning of December, 1809, of an intended change in Holland, by which it would become a part of the French empire, to which indeed it naturally belonged, as it was nothing else but an alluvion of the Rhine, Meuse, and the Scheldt, the great arteries of the empire.\* By this time numbers of French troops had begun to glide imperceptibly into Holland, till at last it was occupied by a French army of 40,000 men. The Exchange of Rotterdam was converted into a stable for French cavalry. This was a virtual or real annexation of that country to the French empire. Yet Buonaparte appears at first to have been willing that it should possess a nominal indepen-

dence, and his brother wear a nominal crown. A treaty was made with Lewis, whereby Holland, on the left bank of the Waal, was to be annexed to France. An army of 18,000 men, including 3000 cavalry, partly French and partly Dutch, was to be distributed at all the mouths of the rivers, along with officers of the French customs, for the prohibition of all trade between Holland and England: the whole to be paid, provisioned, and clothed by the Dutch government. Though the treaty did not authorize the presence of French custom-house officers, but upon the banks of the sea and at the mouths of rivers, or their interference in any other measures than those relating to the blockade, and declared that the French troops should remain only on the coast, detachments of French soldiers accompanied by custom-house officers, spread themselves over various parts of the interior. About the middle of June, 20,000 French troops were assembled in the environs of Utrecht. On the 29th of that month, the King of Holland received official information, that his majesty the Emperor insisted on the occupation of Amsterdam, and the establishment of the French head-quarters in that capital.

Under these circumstances, Lewis, July 1, resigned his rank and royal dignity in favour of his eldest son, Napoleon Lewis, and of his brother, Prince Charles Lewis Napoleon. It was stated in the deed of abdication, that her majesty the Queen, being of right, and according to the constitution,

\* See Vol. LI. (1809) HIST. EUR. p. 240.



regent of the kingdom, should, till her arrival, be vested in the council of ministers.\*

Lewis, on the same day on which he abdicated his throne, wrote a farewell address to the legislative body. He stated the circumstances under which he was compelled to sign a treaty dictated by France. "I have the cruelly grievous satisfaction, yet now the only one I can have, that I have fulfilled my obligations to the end. That I have (if I am permitted to speak) sacrificed to the existence and welfare of the country all that was possible: but, after the resignation and submission of the first of April, (the date of the treaty) 1810, I should be much to blame if I consented to retain the title of king, being no longer any other than an instrument—no longer commanding in my own capital, and, perhaps, soon not even in my palace. I should nevertheless be a witness of every thing that might be going on, without being able to do any thing for my people; responsible for all occurrences, without the power to prevent them, or their influence. I should have exposed myself to the complaints of both sides, and perhaps have occasioned great misfortunes; by doing which I should have betrayed my conscience, my people, and my duty. My brother, so violently irritated against me, is not so against my children. Perhaps I am the only obstacle to the reconciliation of this country with France. And should that be so, I might find

some consolation in dragging out the remainder of a wandering and languishing life at a distance from the first objects of my *whole affection*, this good people, and my son. These are my principal motives. There are others equally powerful, with respect to which I must be silent, but they will *easily be divined*.† The Emperor, my brother, though strongly prejudiced against me, must feel that I could not act otherwise. He is great, and he ought to be just. As to you, gentlemen, I should be much more unhappy even than I am, if possible, could I imagine that you would not do justice to my intentions. May the end of my career prove to the nation and to you that I have never deceived you; that I have had but one aim, the true interest of the country; that the faults I may have committed are to be ascribed solely to my zeal, which induced me to employ, not always the best, but the most practicable means of overcoming the difficulty of circumstances. I cannot, gentlemen, conclude, without recommending to you, in the name of the interest, and the existence of so many families, whose property and lives would be infallibly compromised, to receive the French with the attention, cordiality, and kindness due to the brave people of the first nation in the universe. In whatever place I may terminate my days, the name of Holland, and the most lively prayers for its happiness, will be my last words and my last thoughts."

\* State Papers, p. 512.

† There were not a few critics who combined these words with those marked by *italics* two lines before.



In this address, and indeed in the whole tenour of Lewis's conduct towards Holland, as was acknowledged by the Dutch themselves, we recognize moral sentiments the very reverse of those of his eldest brother: a sympathy with the human race, and a lively regard to their sympathy and approbation. Lewis shewed an excellent understanding too. He appeared in the light of both a good and a sensible man, struggling hard to do the best he could under untoward and adverse circumstances. Yet he cannot on any account be considered as a great man. He had become the instrument of a tyrant in subverting the constitution of the country, and establishing a form of government inconsistent with the habits, and repugnant to the opinions of the inhabitants. He lamented, and endeavoured to relax the restrictions on trade prescribed by Napoleon. He had assisted in wresting from the Dutch a much more valuable possession than ever they obtained, or could obtain by their commerce; which could neither restore liberty lost, nor, it may be unfortunately added, go hand in hand for any great length of time with its existence. It is melancholy to observe, how feeble the impulse of patriotism has been in every coun-

try where the mercantile spirit has predominated, from the times of Tyre, Carthage, and Gadez,\* to those of Genoa, Leghorn, and Amsterdam.†

Lewis Buonaparte would have had a far juster claim to approbation and applause if he had refused to accept the crown of Holland. Yet he does not, in his farewell address, express the smallest compunction for that act of his life. On the contrary, in that last official document he seems rather to exhibit himself in the character of an unfortunate and injured monarch; and in this, as in all his preceding state papers, he makes constant use of the possessive pronoun *my*—*my* people; which, however allowable in a lawful king, is altogether disgusting in an upstart usurper.—How much more noble, lofty, and truly great was the conduct of Lucien! who, after repeatedly refusing to accept proffered crowns, withdrew from the tyranny of a despot, though his brother, to breathe the air of liberty, banished from the continent of Europe, to the great isle of Britain,‡ where he was previously assured of the protection of government.

It was not the wish nor the policy of Buonaparte to deprive his brother of the regal state to which he had raised him, if he could

\* Cadiz, once an independent republic.

† Commerce, by bringing mankind together, is to a certain extent, favourable to liberty: not when it is the predominating and only pursuit. In extensive countries, as in the British empire, the mercantile spirit is counteracted by landed property, agriculture, and industry of other kinds, and even by a spirit of war and conquest.

‡ Lucien Buonaparte, with his lady, children, and the whole of his suite, which was very numerous, including a number of artists and men of letters, arrived at Plymouth from Malta, on the 13th of December, in an English frigate, after a quick passage.—See CHRON. p. 294.



have made him subservient to his darling passion for ruining the commerce of England, or have obtained what he called a maritime peace, by the revocation of the English orders in council. Lewis, after many conferences with Napoleon at Paris, during a residence there for six weeks, reported to his ministers, by orders from the Emperor, that there could no longer be any independence or national existence for Holland, if there should be any continuation of a maritime war with Great Britain. But the annexation of Holland, which would be so great an extension of sea-coast to France, must naturally be an object of alarm to the British government: it was therefore possible, that the cabinet of London, rather than suffer so fatal a stroke, might be induced to make peace with France, or to change the measures it had adopted respecting commerce and the navigation of neutral states. He therefore directed them to send some discreet person, acquainted with the nature of commerce, to England, to represent to the ministry how advantageous the independence of Holland must be to Great Britain. On this mission Mynheer Peter Cæsar Labouchere was sent, on the 2d of February. Having arrived in London on the 16th, he had several conferences with the Marquis Wellesley. — The whole communication was merely verbal. The marquis expressed his sorrow at the aggressions to which Holland was a prey; “but,” said the marquis, “we must not sacrifice our own

national interests and honour. The commercial war was provoked by the French Emperor himself. The orders in council were not the cause, but the consequence of the decrees of Berlin and Milan. The decrees of France were still in force. It could not be expected that we should relax in our efforts in self-defence.”

In another conference with Mynheer Labouchere, Lord Wellesley observed, that it would not be convenient for England to admit in principle that the British measures of reprisals should be discontinued as soon as the cause that provoked them should be removed. “In fact,” said Labouchere,” this minister thinks very highly of the orders in council, as tending to weaken the means and force of France. No hopes of a change or relaxation in this system, but in a change of ministry. Attempts on the part of hostile nations to bring back the English government to other ideas, would probably have the contrary effect.\*”

It is not improbable that Buonaparte, on this last point, was of the same opinion. But it formed a part of his policy to affect an earnest desire of peace. In his message to the Conservative Senate, dated Thuilleries, December 10, 1810, in which he states his reasons for annexing Holland and other countries beyond it to France, he mentions this fruitless mission of the Dutchman to London; and also says, that he had been disappointed in his hope to establish a cartel for the exchange of prisoners between France and England. The

\* Comte rendu par M. Labouchere, Londres, 13 Fevrier, 1810.



British government was extremely desirous of making an exchange of prisoners, on the principle of man for man, and rank for rank. But nothing could induce Buonaparte to consent to this on any reasonable terms.\* Buonaparte proposed to exchange French prisoners, English, Spaniards, and Portuguese. Our government was willing to exchange Frenchmen for Englishmen as long as we had a Frenchman to give up; and then, when this account should be balanced, to give up Frenchmen, if any remained in our hands, for the liberation of our allies.

The Emperor told the Senate, that the English orders in council of 1806 and 1807, had torn in pieces the public law of Europe. A new order of affairs governed the world. New securities had become necessary. The annexation of the mouths of the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Rhine, the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe, to France, and the establishment of an internal navigation between France and the Baltic; on which, as was observed on another occasion, to rest the right wing of his immense empire. As to the abdication of Lewis in favour of his children, it was considered as of no validity, not having been previously concerted with the Emperor. A navigation to be established by means of a canal between the Baltic and the Seine, to be completed in the space of five years.—These were the first

and most important securities or guarantees to which recourse had been had in consequence of the English orders in council.—The Valais, the passage of the Alps by the mountain of Simplon, a road through which had been carried on for ten years, a measure so useful both to France and Italy, was united to the French empire. His finances, he said, were in the most flourishing state. He was not under any necessity of calling on his people for any new sacrifices for the support of his immense empire.

In the report of the minister of foreign relations, that preceded this imperial message to the senate, it was emphatically observed, that all the territories between the Elbe and the Ems, were already subjected to the domination of his imperial majesty.† And so they were: for French armies, attended by crowds of custom-house officers, spread themselves over the whole maritime coast of Germany, and partly of Poland.

The Count of Semonville, who brought up the report of the *Senatus Consultum* for the annexation of Holland, the Hanse Towns, and the Valais, to France, said, “At length, after a struggle, glorious for France, of ten years, the most extraordinary genius that ever Nature in her munificence produced, had re-united, and held in his triumphant hands, the scattered wrecks of the empire of Charlemagne.” For recruiting the French armies, 120,000 of the con-

\* See terms of a convention for an exchange of prisoners of war proposed by Mr. Mackenzie to M. de Moustier, Oct. 1810.—See also the printed Letter of the British Government to the Commissioners of the Board of Transports on this subject.

† See *Exposé* of the State of France. STATE PAPERS, p. 508.



scripts of 1811 were placed at the disposal of the minister of war. For recruiting the naval force, it was decreed that the maritime departments should each year furnish a certain number of young mariners, from the age of twelve to sixteen; at which time of life they could be trained up for sea affairs with greater advantage than at a later period.

The Count de Lacedepede, on bringing up the report to the senate of the *Senatus Consultum*, for the disposal just mentioned of land conscripts, said, that "the new departments had *acquired rights* to contribute to the military conscription; and that consequently the contingent to be furnished by each department would be considerably less than it had been for some years. The departments or districts that were to furnish their quota of youths for the marine service, were exempted from the land conscription."

Amsterdam was to rank as the third city in the French empire. Paris was the first; the second Rome. In the annual statement presented to the Emperor for the year 1811, the whole population of the French empire, before the annexation of Rome,\* Holland, the Valais, and the Hanse Towns, amounted to 38,080,443 persons, without reckoning the military actually bearing arms. It was, after that annexation, computed at about 43,000,000.

The Electorate of Hanover was annexed to the kingdom of West-

phalia. It was divided into three departments, and the name of Hanover abolished. The French conscription laws were also introduced into the kingdom of Naples. The conscription law was also introduced into that of Denmark. A corps of French marched to Lubeck. The peninsula of Jutland was completely isolated, and wholly at the mercy of France. By a royal decree, the Jews were to be included in all military levies in Denmark. A census was taken throughout the Grand Duchy of Warsaw; a prelude to the establishment of the conscription law in that country.

While Buonaparte amused the French with magnificent projects and promises, and a display of the extent and population of the empire, he was employed in rivetting their chains by improving his system of spying and imprisonment. It was that in Paris both men and maid servants should have their names registered in a book to be kept by the prefect of the police, and be ready to produce on demand a certificate of inscription. They were all of them, on their appearance at the office, to be provided with a character from some householder. The whole of the servants of the capital were thus so many tools that might be employed by the secret agents of the Emperor. By compelling the young men too to appear from time to time before the board of police, he might seize as many of them as he might choose for the

\* Rome had been annexed by the *fiat* of Buonaparte and actual possession in 1809; though the decree had not gone through the formality of a *Senatus Consultum* till February, 1810.



army, or any other service. No man or woman was to keep a domestic not provided with a certificate of inscription. Strict orders were likewise issued by the prefect of the police to all keepers of inns, hotels, and lodging-houses, to keep registers of the names, qualities, common residence, outgoings and incomings of all persons passing the night in their houses. The names of, with particulars respecting such persons, to be written in close continuation to each other, without leaving any blanks, (which might leave room for interpolation) on paper stamped, and otherwise marked, and signed by the commissary of police of the division. The nature of all such houses as entertained or lodged people, was ordered to be inscribed in large characters on boards placed on the head of the door. All this was ordered under the pains and penalties denounced by the 475th article of the penal code — We have not seen this code; but we suppose the 475th article to be a severe one.

By a decree of the 18th of August, no Englishman was suffered either to go out of France, or come to France, without a passport signed by his own hand. Ships carrying Englishmen either to or from France, without such licence, to be forfeited; the captain to be hanged. A circular letter was sent to all the maritime prefects, to make a strict search after any persons that might be on board of ships coming in or going out of the ports of France, not mentioned in the ship's invoice. If any such persons should be found, they were im-

mediately, whatever might be their native country, to be sent to Paris.

An imperial decree was issued in December for restraining the liberty of the press. In its provisions it was extremely minute; consisting of not fewer than fifty-one articles; among the most essential of which were the following:—Article 1. There shall be a director general, under the orders of the minister of the interior, charged with the superintendence of every thing relating to the printing and publication of books. Art. 2. The director general shall have the assistance of six auditors. From the first of January, 1811, the number of printers in each department shall be fixed, and that of the printers in Paris reduced to sixty. Art. 5. Printers shall receive warrants, and swear attachment to the country and loyalty to the sovereign. Art. 6. There shall be in Paris only four printing presses, and in each of the departments only two. Art. 10. It is prohibited to print, or cause to be printed, any thing contrary to the duty which the subjects owe to the sovereign, or to the interests of the state. Transgressors of this law shall be brought before the imperial tribunals, and punished according to the penal code: this, however, without prejudice to the right of the minister of the interior, on the report of the director general, to deprive the offending printer of his warrant. Art. 12. The printer shall transmit to the director general of the printing and bookselling business, a copy of the manuscripts in his hands, and also one to the prefect of the department.



department to which he belongs.

Art. 15. When the director general inhibits the printing of any work, he shall send a copy of it to a censor, chosen from a number of persons to be named for that office by the Emperor. Art. 16.

On the report of the censor, the director general may point out to the author such alterations or erasures as may be thought proper.

If he should refuse to agree to these, the sale of the work to be inhibited, the forms to be broken, and possession taken of the sheets or copies printed. Art. 30. War-

rants to be delivered to booksellers on or after the first of January, 1811, on their taking the pre-

scribed oath, by the director general of the press, submitted to the approbation of the minister of the interior. They shall be registered at the civil tribunal of the book-

seller's place of residence. Art. 33. Warrants not to be granted to any other persons wishing to set up the business of a bookseller, than such as should have recommended themselves by good lives and good morals, and also by an attachment to their country and to their sovereign. Art. 38. When books are

allowed to be published, a copy of each, or the first volume, shall be marked with a stamp at the provisory depôt, and the books shall be returned from thence to the proprietor.—Never, perhaps, was the importance of the printing press so emphatically illustrated as by this decree of the tyrant of France.

An imperial decree was also

published respecting state prisons: their number, which was only eight; the means by which they were to be watched and guarded; the checks or securities for the fidelity of those to whom the custody of the prisoners was committed; the internal regulations or economy of the prisons, &c. The preamble to this decree stated, that there were many persons charged with crimes against the state whom it was not safe either to liberate or bring to trial.—Who, in all these jealous and and anxious decrees, does not see the naked sword suspended by a slender thread over the head of Damocles?

Next to the desire of maintaining internal tranquillity, and preventing all attempts against either his government or life, that of ruining the English commerce appears to have been in the mind of Buonaparte the strongest. The war in Spain was not pushed with so much vigour as was at first expected; but in the war against commerce, certes there was no remissness. Not only were military governors appointed at the ports of the maritime coasts of Germany annexed to France, but at Dantzic, Colberg, and some other places, we believe, in Prussia, for preventing the introduction of English goods and colonial produce. A very great number of French troops, at the head of which was General Rappe, was stationed in Dantzic. This was the head-quarters of the army at war with commerce.\* The Eng-

\* It will readily be noticed, that it was on the pretence of enforcing the continental system, and ruining the commerce of Britain, that French troops were first introduced, in 1808, into Spain.



lish goods seized in the Hanse Towns and the ports of Prussia brought eight or nine millions sterling into the French exchequer. In Westphalia, a line of French custom-houses extended from Rees to Bremen. The hatred of English merchandize became at length stronger than the desire of improving the French finances. All English merchandize, whether taken at sea or land, was ordered to be burnt. The decrees, first, for seizing, and, lastly, for burning English merchandize, were carried into execution with great rigour, in the Hanse Towns, in France, Italy, Germany, Prussia, Switzerland, and Denmark. The zeal of his Danish majesty, in this business, was signalized by a severity that seemed to outrun even that of Buonaparte. To hold any intercourse with England was made felony in the captain of a ship, who was accordingly liable to be punished with death, and the owner of the ship was to be branded. By an imperial decree, punishments of different kinds and degrees were denounced against all who should be concerned in English merchandize, from captains of ships to common porters. We have a picture of the rigour with which the anti commercial decrees of Buonaparte were enforced, in a letter, dated at Frankfort, November 1, and received in London November 16. "The gates of the town have been shut, and domiciliary visits made to most of the mercantile houses in the city, in order to seize every kind of English and colonial goods." The Emperor, as some relief to his own subjects; granted licences to

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certain individuals, both for exportation and importation of certain articles, on certain conditions. But such licences were not to be signed by any of his ministers: they must be signed by himself. His autograph consisted in the three first letters of his name, [*Nap.*] fantastically written. He repealed, nominally, the decrees of Berlin and Milan, as far as related to America: but he imposed such a duty on the importation of colonial produce as amounted nearly to a prohibition; while, at the same time, he continued to seize occasionally, and sequester American vessels as usual.

On the side of Italy, Buonaparte had nothing to excite his jealousies or fears, but the influence of the ecclesiastics, who still maintained the supremacy of the Pope. A greater concourse than ordinary of that order, from all parts of Italy, and even some from other countries, was remarked at Rome. The ecclesiastical states, of which his holiness had been deprived, manifested strong symptoms of dissatisfaction. Such of the priests, both regular and secular, as were strangers, or only visitors at Rome, were ordered to repair to the usual places of their respective residences. A French corps, 20,000 strong, was collected in the vicinity of Rome. A great part of these troops were at first quartered on the inhabitants: but in consequence of the numerous assassinations of the soldiers, which this dispersion occasioned, and which became every day more frequent, it was abandoned. Some of the churches and other public buildings were converted

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verted into barracks for the use of the troops. A great blow was struck against the churchmen in the month of September. By a decree of his majesty the Emperor and King, marriages contracted without the sanction of the civil magistrate, were to be deemed null and invalid; and ecclesiastics who presumed to pronounce the nuptial benediction, without such authority, to be punished—after repeated offences, even with death.



## CHAP. XVI.

*Election of a Successor to Charles XIII. King of Sweden.—Death of the Crown Prince, Charles Augustus of Augustenburg.—Murder of Count Fersen, High Marshal of Sweden.—Competitors for the Succession of the Crown of Sweden.—The successful Candidate, Marshal Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo.—Suspensions of French Intrigue, and Instigation in the Murder of Count Fersen, and even the Death of the Prince of Augustenburg.—Grounds of these.—Character and Anecdotes of Count Fersen.—Bernadotte strives by all Means to gain the Affections and the Confidence of the Swedes.—War declared by Sweden against England.—Arrival of the Ex-King of Sweden in England.—Character of that Prince.—The Danes return to their old Business of Piracy.—Preparations and Attempts of King Murat to invade Sicily frustrated by the Vigilance and Vigour of the English General, Sir John Stuart.—War between the Turks and Russians.*

THE advanced age of the Duke of Sudermania, who had ascended the Swedish Throne under the title of Charles XIII. and who had not any children, admonished this prince, as well as the states of Sweden, of the necessity there was of electing a successor. The choice of the states fell on the person proposed by the new king, Charles Augustus, Prince of Augustenburg, a subject of the King of Denmark. This prince on the 24th of January, 1810, repaired to Stockholm, where he took the oaths of fidelity, and received the homage of the states. But he did not live long to enjoy his new dignity. On the 29th of May, while he was reviewing some regiments of cavalry, he was suddenly seized with a fit of sickness, and having fallen from his horse, soon expired. On the twentieth of June, great crowds were assembled in the

streets of Stockholm, to see the funeral procession conducting the corpse of the late Crown Prince to the palace previous to its interment. Count Fersen, who, in virtue of his office of high marshal, led the procession, in a coach drawn by six horses, was assailed with hissing and hooting, and a volley of stones thrown at the carriage, one of which struck him in the face as he looked out at the window. The count immediately ordered the postillions to stop, and took refuge, with difficulty, in the nearest house. At that moment Baron Silversparre, the adjutant-general, arrived, and demanded to know the cause of the riot. The cry was, "Count Fersen has murdered the Crown Prince." The baron then said, that the king had ordered him to declare that the count should be arrested and tried. The mob then huzzaed, and, apparently satisfied, began



began to disperse. But in a very little time a large party returned.

When Count Fersen went to the house just mentioned, he was accompanied, or straightway followed, by Silversparre, and some others, who wished to save him from the fury of the mob. Silversparre, seeking to pacify them, harangued them from the window, but in such a mean and fawning style, as encouraged them with increased fury and imprecations to demand their victim. They rushed into the house and the chamber where he was; and while they poured the most horrid imprecations and abusive language, stripped him of his sword, the insignia of the orders he wore, his watch, his money, and a medal hung round his neck, and of his coat, which they tore in pieces. These spoils they threw to the rabble out at the window. In the mean time, Baron Silversparre continued to harangue the mob, whom he at length prevailed on to agree to what he prayed for; which was, that the count should be suffered to go to prison without being insulted, to be tried, and condemned, if he should be found guilty. The leaders of the mob promised to let him go quietly to the Town-house, on condition that the life-guards, which by this time had come up, should be sent back. Silversparre had the unheard of stupidity to trust to their word. The count, in his waistcoat, left the house where he had remained for a quarter of an hour, and proceeded to the place of confinement through a crowd of people, agi-

tated by passion, over which there was not any curb: yet they made way for the unhappy count to pass through them, as he advanced to the Town-house, near which there was drawn up for his protection a regiment of guards. When the rabble, pressing hard on the footsteps of the grand marshal, came up to the guards, the soldiers, of their own accord, with fixed bayonets, overawed and kept them in check, and gave the marshal a momentary respite. But in a little time they shouldered arms, (some say by order of their commanding officer) which emboldened the mob to advance through two ranks of soldiers, in order to shut up the high marshal in a cellar, under the flight of stairs leading up to the Town-hall. The count, however, with the assistance of some faithful and intrepid friends, made his way into the guard-room. The mob, for about ten minutes, paused; but at length, perceiving that they had not any resistance to encounter, they burst into the guard-room, seized Count Fersen by the legs, threw him on the ground, took the rings out of his ears, and cut off his hair: \* they then dragged him out, and, in the presence of the regiment of guards, drawn up in parade, but with their arms laid on the ground, murdered him, by the mere dint of repeated strokes with staves and umbrellas. His body was stripped naked, and left all day to the outrages of the rascally populace. It was not till the evening, when the insurgents were dispersed by the fire of the troops, that any one

\* A usual preliminary to execution among the French, in the days of the Revolution.



durst to remove the body: when it was secretly conveyed to one of his estates, about five miles from Steding, where it was interred in his garden.

The Countess of Piper, Count Fersen's sister, loudly threatened and abused by the mob, fled from her house, and found means to take refuge on board a ship of war, from whence she was conveyed to the fortress of Wrexholm. Mr. Rossie, principal physician to the late Crown Prince, was also sent as a prisoner of state to Wrexholm. A number of other persons, charged with having been accessory to the murder of the Prince Royal, were also arrested.

The regularity and relentless perseverance with which the attack on Count Fersen was conducted, could not but give rise to a suspicion, that it was the result of a previous plan, rather than an ebullition of popular indignation. It is ascribed to lawless and perfidious intrigues in the royal proclamation on the subject, dated Stockholm Castle, June 21. The Swedes had hitherto been considered as a calm, reflecting, humane, and brave people. That the Swedish guards, commanded by officers of the first families in the kingdom, should remain inactive spectators of the murder of Count Fersen, at the same time that they felt and expressed their horrors of the transactions of that day; that a body of regular troops should not have the courage to save a high officer of the crown from the sanguinary rage of a lawless and abused mob, was a circumstance, of all the kingdoms on the continent of Europe, the least to be expected in Sweden.

But another conjuncture soon occurred, which placed the degeneracy of the Swedish nation, from the virtue of their ancestors, in a light still more striking.

On the 15th of August, the States of Sweden were assembled at Orebro, for the election of a successor to the king on the throne. There were four candidates. The first was the eldest son of Gustavus IV. When this unfortunate prince, during his exile in Switzerland, was informed of the proclamation for convoking the Diet at Orebro, he quitted the place of his residence *incognito*, and took the route of Germany, with the intention of soliciting the support of the courts of Petersburg and Berlin in favour of his eldest son. But he was arrested on his journey by order of the King of Prussia, and sent to Wittenberg, to wait for an answer to letters communicating the pretensions of his son, from Stockholm. The second competitor was the Prince of Holstein, the eldest brother of the Prince of Augustenburg. The King of Denmark also appeared in the list of candidates. To overcome the aversion of the Swedes, and conciliate their favour, he promised to quit Copenhagen and reside at Stockholm. The fourth competitor was Marshal Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte-Corvo. Though this was the candidate, as was well enough understood, and, as could scarcely be misunderstood, favoured by the Emperor of the French, yet he secretly encouraged the King of Denmark to solicit the succession, because he knew that he could never succeed, and that the very idea of being governed by a Danish king was odious to the Swedes,



which must operate in some measure in favour of Bernadotte; while at the same time, that the offer of the Dane to reside at Copenhagen, would tend to render him an object of suspicion, and to weaken the loyalty and attachment of his own subjects. The King of Sweden, on the day above mentioned, with the advice of his council, proposed to the states, as a successor to the crown, John Bernadotte. A letter from Buonaparte had been received by the king and committee for preparing a list of the candidates, in which he professed the strongest attachment to the interests of Sweden, and a resolution to defend and promote them. He hoped, that in choosing a successor to the reigning sovereign, the states would select one of similar sentiments; but said he should not interfere in the election.

On the 21st of August, Bernadotte was chosen Crown Prince of Sweden by the general voice of all the orders composing the states, and an ambassador was sent to Paris, to announce their decision to the Emperor and the prince elect. The world began now to combine this event with the murder of Count Fersen, and some even with the death of the Prince of Augustenburg.

Count Fersen, the representative of one of the most ancient and opulent families in Sweden, like so many other young men of rank in that country, had entered into the military service of France. He served as a volunteer in the American war with England, with great distinction; and at the peace, by which it was terminated, was decorated with the order of Military

Merit. In the flight of the Royal Family of France from the castle of the Thuilleries to Varennes, he acted as coachman. When the royal cause became quite forlorn, he returned to his native country. He was a handsome man, of polished, as well as frank and engaging manners, intelligent, hospitable, and generous, and of intrepid courage. He was considered by those who knew him as the pride of chivalry. Gustavus III. raised him to the office of grand marshal, the second under the crown; and for some years he was minister of state for foreign affairs. Many places of high honour were also conferred on his relations. He was in high favour not only with Gustavus III. but with his son, Gustavus IV. and justly considered as hostile, in proportion, to the revolution in France, and the usurpation of the throne by Buonaparte. He had no share whatever in the confederation for dethroning Gustavus Adolphus. He was still believed to entertain a cordial attachment to that prince; and suspected of being ready to improve, if not to form a conjuncture for his restoration. Hence the plausibility of the charge, though utterly groundless, of having cut off the Prince of Augustenburg by poison. That such a person as Count Fersen should be out of the way, on the occasion of an election, whereby Bernadotte was to be raised to the Swedish throne, was mighty convenient for the interests of Buonaparte, and that means should have been used by him for putting him out of the way, not incongruous with his policy.

In all the great capitals of Europe, Buonaparte had in his pay  
men



men who served him as spies, who were ever on the watch to excite civil discontent and commotion, and to lend their hand to the execution of any design of their employers: By those agents a mob was excited, and directed with perseverance, as appeared particularly by the return of a party to beset the house in which Count Fersen had taken refuge, after great numbers, on the assurance of Baron Silversparre, that he should be judicially tried, had begun to disperse.

About this period a Swedish journal made its appearance, not only under French influence, but generally believed to have been set up at the expense of Bernadotte. It was entitled, *L'Organe de l'Opinion Publique*, and printed at Orebro, where the States of Sweden held their meetings.\* In the first, second, and third numbers of this paper, of the 4th, 7th, and 11th of July, the editor laboured to make it appear, that Count Fersen's murder originated in a conviction, well or ill founded, that he had poisoned the Prince of Augustenburg, on whom the people rested all their hopes of the future glory and prosperity of Sweden. They considered the act of poisoning as a stain on the national character of the Swedes, to be effaced only by the shedding of blood. Therefore they took the vindication of the national honour into their own hands; for they had no hopes that it would be vindicated otherwise. True it was, that the King had ordered an inquiry to be instituted respecting the sudden death of the Crown

Prince. But that inquiry was not carried on publicly; nor had the magistrates who were charged with it any other information to direct them in the prosecution of it than the report of Mr. Rossie (above mentioned), which could not be considered as legal evi-  
 lence. On the whole, till the result of the investigation respecting the poisoning of the prince should be known, the people were, though not entirely excusable, as they condemned and executed Count Fersen without a trial, entitled to some degree of sympathy and indulgence, on account of their exquisite sensibility, and zeal to wipe off a deep stigma of the nation. Yet, at the same time that the Sieur Morville palliates the crime of the Swedes, on the ground of a desire to vindicate the honour of the nation by the shedding of blood,—such are the inconsistencies into which men are liable to fall, when they transgress the bounds of simplicity, candour, and truth!—he labours hard to propagate a belief, that the murder of Count Fersen was not a preconcerted deed, but the effect of a sudden impulse, an accidental and momentary irritation, which often carried men farther than they at first intended to go. In short, the pains taken by the journalist to shew, that the assassination of the Count Fersen was not premeditated, only served to confirm the universal persuasion that it was premeditated, and also to support a pretty general opinion, that the death of Count Fersen, and that of the Prince of Augustenburg, both of them ori-

\* The editor was a Sieur Morville, a Frenchman.



ginated in the same cause; a wish to prepare the way to the crown of Sweden for the Prince of Ponte Corvo.

In the general system of overthrowing all ancient thrones, and making new kings and princes of the Corsican race, or of the French generals, it was never the intention of Buonaparte to make an exception of the kingdom of Sweden. But the example of Spain had taught him, that there was a difference between a contest with a court, and one with a nation. The Swedes were not supposed to be so devoid of patriotism, and a sense of national independence and honour, as he afterwards found them to be. They were considered as a brave and high-spirited nation, whom open aggression might animate and unite in an obstinate resistance. He therefore determined to watch opportunities; to begin with nourishing dissention, as he had done in Spain, and to attack the independence of Sweden, not with the weapons of war, but the poison of corruption. The precise point of time when he began to harbour the idea of making Bernadotte, who it seems had married one of his relatives, king, cannot be determined; though it may be fairly presumed it did not occur for the first time on the death of the Prince of Augustenburg. Bernadotte had long been placed in a situation in which he had an opportunity, which he did not neglect, of accumulating immense wealth, and in which also, from the vicinity of the north of Germany to the Swedish provinces, he had an opportunity, which he seems also to have improved, of forming an acquaint-

ance and connections with many persons of great consideration and influence in Sweden. But it was to the influence and awe of France, still more than to his own promises, and the dexterous distribution of part of his own fortune, that he was indebted for his elevation. He was considered as a fit instrument for enforcing the continental system, establishing the French power in the Baltic, and finally, by a war for the recovery of Finland, to co-operate with France for the expulsion of the Russians from Petersburg.

The deliberate election of Bernadotte, by the assembled States of Sweden, in preference both to the brother of the late Crown Prince, and the eldest son of Gustavus IV. a child, whom his father offered to place under their tuition, appears to be the most deplorable instance of national degeneracy and degradation to be met with in history. Yet it may eventually, if the Prince of Ponte Corvo has sufficient wisdom, courage, and magnanimity, prove the salvation of Sweden, and even the whole north of Europe. A fair field for surpassing the glory of Buonaparte lies before him.

After his arrival in Sweden, he endeavoured in every possible way to ingratiate himself with the nation, and to acquire their confidence. He professed to change his religion, and adopted the Lutheran tenets of the Swedish church. He appropriated part of his immense private fortune to the purchase of the estates in Pomerania, that had been distributed among French officers, which he did on easy terms, and restored them to their true owners; and he accommodated



accommodated the Swedish government with the loan of more than 300,000l sterling, at four per cent. interest. These acts of beneficence he had promised before his election; and he kept his word.

His installation took place on the first of November, in the presence of the assembled diet. The speech he addressed on this occasion to the States was highly flattering; perhaps it was not altogether insincere. "The favours," he said, "they had conferred on him, he felt the more, as they were unexpected, and he was firmly resolved to fulfil the duties they had imposed on him with zeal and integrity. Bred in camps, I bring you a frank and loyal soul; an absolute devotedness to the king, my august father; an ardent desire to do every thing for the happiness of my new country. With such intentions I hope to do good. Peace is the only glorious object of a wise and enlightened government. The laws, the industry, the national spirit of a state, and not its extent, constitute its strength and independence. It behoves the Swedes to persevere in maintaining their honour untarnished; and while, submitting to the decrees of Providence, to recollect, that it had left them a soil sufficient to supply their wants, and iron to defend it."

About the middle of November, the Swedish government, at the requisition of Buonaparte, declared its adherence to the continental system. War was declared against Great Britain and Ireland; all intercourse with the British dominions was prohibited; and the

importation of colonial produce interdicted.

On the 13th of November, the late King of Sweden, the unfortunate Gustavus IV. in the course of a languishing and wandering life, arrived in England, under the title of Count Gottorp. The particular object of this visit has not transpired, though it may easily be divined. He was received with due sympathy, honour, and regard by the court, the government, and the nation. He avoided all state, declined to accept the offer of pecuniary aid, and lived, for the short time he remained in this country, as a private gentleman. He left London, March 26, 1811, for Yarmouth, and proceeded from thence to Heligoland on board a British frigate.

Gustavus Adolphus was an heroic prince, in a corrupt age; possessed of all the virtues except prudence: for, without discretion, heroism itself is but a splendid madness; though it seems strange to affirm, that what would be virtue in an heroic, that is, a virtuous age, ceases to be virtue in an age, not heroic, and not virtuous. If all the sovereign princes of Europe had acted like the King of Sweden, the ancient thrones would have been preserved, and public law, the law of nature and nations, still respected. Yet it must be admitted that his dethronement was an act of necessity. Like his renowned predecessor, Charles XII. and his father, Gustavus III. who was also a hero, in courage and firmness of mind, not inferior to Charles, he was more concerned for personal glory than for the good of his subjects. But the deliberate



liberate choice, by all the orders of the state, of Bernadotte, to the exclusion of all the royal family from the succession to the crown, was an indelible stain on the Swedish nation; and above all, on his uncle, the Duke of Sudermania.

So much for the Swedes. For the Danes, they were employed with great activity in fitting out frigates and gun-boats for annoying our trade in the Baltic. The Danish nation seemed to have returned to their old trade of piracy, which they pursued with great courage as well as assiduity, and no small success.

Mighty preparations were made this year by King Joachim Murat for an invasion of Sicily. In the beginning of July he had collected 37,000 troops on the Calabrian coast, opposite to the island, and 208 gun-boats, and 700 boats of other descriptions. The troops were practised daily in embarkation and debarkation; and Murat declared that it was his intention to be at Palermo on the 15th of August. And he issued a proclamation to the Sicilians, announcing that he was coming over with 40,000 brave French troops, to drive away the English. While Sicily was thus threatened, it was very discouraging to the English to find the backwardness of the court to assist in the general defence. The people were all very well disposed towards the British troops, and attached to the common cause of Sicily and Great Britain. Nothing indeed could be more natural than an alliance between Britain and Sicily, situate at the opposite extremities of the

French empire. But the people of Sicily frequently asked our officers, what was to become of them if they should be exposed to the resentment of the French, and then abandoned? Sir John Stuart, with his little army, was left alone, either to take the best measures for resistance, or to secure his retreat. The general did not hesitate to make his option. All our troops were drawn together; gun-boats fringed the coast; batteries rose as by magic; fifteen thousand British troops, distributed in proper places, but all on a line of easy and rapid communication, were opposed to the threatened invasion of 40,000. The Neapolitan army was encamped on the heights above the castle of Scylla, and the gun-boats and small craft anchored under cover of heavy batteries, which constantly threw shot and shells into the English quarters in Sicily. Sir John Stuart's army was encamped all along the Straits from Messina to the Faro Point, a distance of ten miles. Four line of battle ships, with some frigates and sloops, were moored within the Faro. Daily skirmishes took place between the Sicilian flotilla prepared by Sir John Stuart, and that of King Murat. And as the sea between Sicily and that part of the continent where the French army was posted, is scarcely, where narrowest, two miles, the beauty of the scene was admirable; particularly at night, when showers of shells and red-hot balls flew through the air with very little actual damage to the combatants on either side. It was more like an entertainment at Vauxhall than a scourge of



of war. The alarm of an invasion was soon dissipated. By repeated attacks on the French flotilla, great numbers of the vessels were destroyed, taken, or dispersed. A debarkation of about 3500 men, Corsicans and Neapolitans, was effected, September 18th, near the Faro. Of these, not being supported by any other corps, 900 were taken prisoners by two of our regiments, commanded by Major-General Campbell. The rest made their escape to their gun-vessels. On the 3d of October, King Murat proclaimed to his soldiers, "that the expedition to Sicily was adjourned. The object of the Emperor in menacing that island had been fulfilled:\* the problem had been solved. It had been proved, that the enemy's flotillas could not obstruct the passage, and that Sicily might be conquered whenever it should be seriously intended."

An obstinate contest was carried on between the Turks and the Russians in Bulgaria. Several bloody battles were fought, but none of them decisive. The number of Russian troops engaged was computed at 200,000; that of the Turks, in garrisons and in the field, at 300,000. The Russians took Widin, Cristow, Georgivo, and other places of inferior importance on the Danube. But their progress was arrested at Rudschuck, Schumla, and Warna. At the first two of these places the conflict appears to have been very sanguinary—both parties claimed victory; but both ultimately admitted that they were dearly bought, by the necessity they were under of suspending

their operations until they should receive reinforcements. The Turks were driven from the town of Rudschuck, but not from the fortress.

The Ottoman government was far from being deficient either in activity or enterprise. They sent a fleet into the Black Sea, to prevent the Russians from receiving any communication through that channel. Demonstrations were made of attacking the Crimea, in order to oblige the Russians to divide their forces, and thus create a diversion in favour of the Grand Vizier at Schumla. The Russians continued to concentrate their corps, with the intention, it was supposed, of marching into Rumania. The Grand Vizier, therefore, leaving a part of his troops in the entrenched camp at Schumla, retreated with the remainder over the Bukanian mountains in good order and without molestation, in order to take post between the Russians and Adrianople. The Grand Seignior, having issued a proclamation calling on all faithful Mussulmen to support the cause of Mahomed, and displayed the standard of the prophet, advanced with a body of troops to *David Bashaw*, two miles from Constantinople, where he established his head quarters, and whither all his ministers and other troops followed him. The troops proceeded to join the Grand Vizier. The Sultan returned to his capital. While the grand Turkish army passed the winter undisturbed in their winter quarters, the fleet lay in the harbour of Constantinople.

There appeared, in 1810, in the Turkish government an unusual

\* And so perhaps it in some measure was, by detaining in Sicily a force that might have been landed on the bay of Rosas, or at some other point of Spain.



degree of vigour. Pressed as the Divan were by the Russians, they yet sent troops to Syria against the powerful sect of the Waughabites, who had renounced all fealty and obedience to the eldest son of the prophet. The Waughabites betook themselves to piracy, as well as rapine and conquest on land. In April, 1810, an expedition was fitted out to the Persian Gulph against the Waughabite pirates, by the English government at Bombay.

War was carried on between the Turks and Servians with various success. But the advantage, on the whole, was greatly on the side of the Servians.

The infatuation of the Turks and Russians in continuing a bloody war against each other, in 1810, would scarcely appear credible to posterity, if there were not similar instances of infatuation in history, both ancient and modern. Their whole faculties seemed to be absorbed in mutual hostility and rage. They seem never so much as once to have bestowed a serious thought on the tremendous power that hovered over them, ready to pounce on one or both, whenever sufficiently debilitated by their mad conflicts. But the party most blameable, and the maddest too, was, beyond a doubt, the Russians.



## CHAP. XVII.

*History of the Dispute between Great Britain and the United States of America.—Naval and Colonial Affairs of Great Britain.—In the Mediterranean—In the West Indies—The East Indies—And on the Coast of Germany.—Meeting of the British Parliament.—Indisposition of the King.—During this, the Prince of Wales appointed Regent of the Kingdom.*

IN our last volume \*, a general sketch was given of the relations between Great Britain and the United States of America, about the middle of the year 1809. But it may, perhaps, be expected that some account should be given of the circumstances, and means, by which so extraordinary a transaction as that between the British resident and the American government was brought about.

A treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, was concluded by the British and American plenipotentiaries, in December 1806. The British government readily acquiesced in it; but it was rejected by the American president. Towards the close of 1808, it was known that the choice of a new president to succeed Mr. Jefferson had fallen upon Mr. Maddison. A non-intercourse act, in respect of Great Britain and France, was substituted soon after for a general embargo; by the operation of which the American commerce, and the revenue dependent on it, had been nearly annihilated. But, in case of either France or Eng-

land revoking its hostile edicts, the trade suspended might be renewed with the nation so doing.

In this alteration of circumstances, and the spontaneous declaration of the new government of their wish to come to a right understanding with England, our resident minister in † America, thought he saw an opportunity of effecting what several preceding negociators had not been able to accomplish. He represented to his court, what he was perfectly convinced of himself, that the new president would bring with him to his high office very different sentiments, from those which were known to animate Mr. Jefferson; that Mr. Maddison could not be accused of having a bias towards France; that he was, on the contrary, an admirer of the British constitution, in general well disposed towards our nation, and entirely free from any enmity to its general prosperity. The communications made to him by the president, and other leading members of the American government, Mr. Erskine believed to proceed “ from

\* Hist. Eur. p 288

† Mr. David Erskine. Mr. Rose, who had been sent to negotiate a peace with the Americans, returned to England in the spring of 1808, *re infecta*. He was succeeded by Mr. Erskine.



an unfeigned desire that they might produce, if possible, an adjustment of their differences with Great Britain, so as to enable the government and the nation to extricate themselves from the very distressing dilemma in which they were involved." Messrs. Smith and Gallatin, who were considered as the confidential ministers or agents of the president, spoke with great freedom and apparent openness, as of their own knowledge of the views of the American government, of the general means to be employed for their attainment, and even of the precise manner in which their designs were to be carried into execution. Mr Gallatin said, that he knew that it was intended by the United States "to abandon the attempt to carry on a trade with the colonies of belligerents in time of war, which was not allowed in time of peace." The president expressly said, that the United States would at once side with that power which should discontinue its aggressions. On the whole, the conversations of the American ministers were admirably calculated to work upon a mind eager to be the instrument of conciliation between the two countries. Accordingly our envoy made a separate report to his government of what had been said to him, though unofficially, by the president's two agents. Mr. Madison spoke with more caution than his ministers. He dealt more in general observation, except upon one topic, which he appears to have wished particularly to impress on Mr. Erskine's mind, viz. the probability of the United States going to war with both England and France, although he did not

attempt to disguise the difficulties of that alternative. On all other points, those especially which related to the concessions to be made to Great Britain, in return for those required of her, there was a remarkable obscurity in his language. As to the sincerity of his sentiments, and the reality of his professed views, he gave no other pledge than an observation of the obvious advantages, that would result from an adjustment of differences, to both countries.

To the reports made by Mr. Erskine, it is proper to add, that the American minister in London had told the Secretary of State that there would be no objection to the capture, by British cruizers, of American vessels that should attempt to trade with France, notwithstanding the prohibition, which, on the revocation of the orders in council, would remain in force against that country.

Whatever might have been the sincerity of these communications from the Americans, they met with an immediate and serious attention from the British ministers, who seem to have been anxious to catch at every opportunity, however visionary, on which to ground the hope of a change of policy in America. Accordingly two separate sets of instructions were sent to Mr. Erskine: the first on the affair of the Chesapeake, in which the terms of satisfaction and concession which were to be agreed to by his majesty, and those which were to be required in return, were distinctly specified. But it was also proposed to wave on both sides, the retrospective concessions, as the means of avoiding fruitless controversy, and to restore the men



men taken from the Chesapeake as the simple and sufficient act of reparation: to which, however, His Majesty would still be willing to add, as a spontaneous act of his own generosity, a provision for the widows and orphans of the men killed in action.

The second dispatch of Mr. Secretary Canning to Mr. Erskine, dated the 23d of January 1809, disclosed the principal objects of the negotiation, and stated clearly and distinctly, the conditions to be stipulated on both sides. The same anxiety which led to a reconsideration of the subject in general, seems to have suggested to the British Secretary of State, the alternative of making those conditions immediate or eventual: from which alternative, however, proceeded, subsequently, an unfortunate misunderstanding; as was, indeed, undoubtedly to have been expected. If time had been taken to reduce the respective pretensions of the two parties to the form of a treaty, or other solemn instrument, that equivocation which afterwards took place would have been prevented. On these instructions was founded the engagement entered into with the Americans, by the envoy and plenipotentiary, on the behalf of his government. But government considered Mr. Erskine's arrangement not only as inconsistent with, but as being directly in opposition to his instructions. Mr. Canning, in dispatches to Mr. Erskine, specified wherein that inconsistency and contradiction consisted; and he added, that by these reasons His Majesty was compelled to

disavow the arrangement he had made with the Americans; that no loss, however, should accrue to the American merchants, or captains of ships, who had proceeded to England under the idea that Mr. Erskine had understood and accomplished the object of his mission; as has been already stated in our last volume\*.

Attempts were repeatedly made to prove that the agreement made by the envoy Erskine, was not unauthorized by our government. A very heavy charge against the good faith of our government was made in both houses of parliament, which was supported by another charge, viz. that ministers had presented, in justification of their conduct, a defective account of the documents relating to it, and withheld those which, if published, would have justified the arrangement. These charges, accompanied with strong expressions of indignation at such an instance of duplicity, called forth repeated denials, in the session of parliament 1810, both from Mr. Canning, who was no longer in the foreign office, and from Mr. Perceval, who was now prime minister. They maintained that Mr. Erskine had not only acted without authority, but in direct contradiction to his instructions. Of these instructions those relating to the orders in council was all that was at first communicated to parliament, because, it was said, the negotiation was still pending. But, in the subsequent session, when the assertion was renewed, that the envoy would be justified in what he had done by other parts of his in-

\* Hist. Europe, p. 228.

structions,



structions, Mr. Canning seconded a motion for the production of the whole of them. The whole were printed, and open to public inspection. The public was satisfied that Mr. Erskine had acted even in contradiction to his orders. And the members of opposition, in both houses of parliament, were silent.

In America, the disavowal of Mr. Erskine's agreement, was received by government with great dissatisfaction. It was unequivocally stated, even by the president himself, that Mr. Erskine had been duly authorized to do what he had done. The president's ministers openly declared that only a partial information had been given to the public of Mr. Erskine's instructions, and that one of them, if published, would be found to authorize the whole of his conduct. By these means, which, as afterwards appeared, were employed with a view to some electioneering interests, a violent degree of irritation was excited against Great Britain, which was displayed (more especially amongst the democratic party, and in the democratic parts of the union) in the usual course of newspaper dissertations, town meetings, and dinners, and harangues at taverns.

Together with the disavowal of the agreement, notice was sent to Mr. Erskine that his Majesty had been pleased to recall him, and to appoint Mr. Jackson in his stead. This gentleman, on his arrival in America, early in September, found that the government of the

United States; in addition to the motives of irritation so industriously disseminated amongst the people, had taken exception to him personally, for having before been employed by his Sovereign on a particular service, viz. the expedition to Zealand, of which we gave an account in another volume.\* The part that Mr. Jackson acted, on that occasion, was not of a nature to recommend him either to the court of France, or the French party in America. Accordingly that party tried their best endeavours to prevent his reception at Washington. After some delays, he was admitted to present his credentials as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the United States. But a month elapsed before the president would leave his country house to give him the accustomed audience of reception. The American ministers absented themselves for the same period from the seat of government, and when they did come, the British minister, after two interviews with the secretary of state, was debarred from all personal intercourse with them on the subject of his instructions. Meanwhile the newspapers, under the influence of government, teemed with every species of personal abuse and invective against Mr. Jackson, of the grossness and vulgarity of which no idea can be formed from that of the most licentious and scurrilous publications of this country.† Mr. Jackson was in a situation of great delicacy and

\* Vol. XLIX. HIST. EUR. p. 249.

† Though the North Americans write in the English language, there is a style and manner peculiar to themselves, which may be called the NORTH AMERICAN DIALECT, of which we have a specimen, or happy imitation, in one of our own periodical works.



and difficulty, being placed between the alternative of suffering the most injurious imputations on the honour and good faith of his country to pass unnoticed, or of vindicating them at the risk of giving offence to the American government.

The unaccommodating firmness of Mr. Jackson was contrasted with the amiable pliancy of Mr. Erskine. It served the political views of the American ministers, to nourish the popular prejudice against him. It was not to be expected that, in such circumstances, he should succeed in his negotiation. From subsequent information it is now known to have been absolutely impossible, upon the terms of his instructions. It could not, however, be foreseen that his mission would terminate, as it did, in the suspension of all official communication between him and the government to which he was deputed, and in the adoption by the national or representative, the legislative, and the executive branches of the government, of all those measures and denunciations of personal obloquy and insult which had, till then, been apparently confined to the populace, and the papers calculated for their perusal.

The British government considered the transaction between the United States and Mr. Erskine, as terminated by the formal and public disavowal of the envoy's authority to do what he had done, and Mr. Jackson was directed to

take the business up where the disavowal had left it, and to proceed on the terms which were anew prescribed to him. But the president thought it proper to call repeatedly on Mr. Jackson for an explanation of the disavowal. This gentleman declared, that the disavowal was occasioned by Mr. Erskine's deviations from his instructions. He took occasion, at the same time, to contradict a surmise that Mr. Erskine had other instructions besides those that were laid before parliament, and had been communicated. Unfortunately for Mr. Jackson, though otherwise for the cause entrusted to him, he discovered that Mr. Erskine had so far adhered to his instructions, as to propose to the acceptance of the American minister the conditions contained in them; and that, it was owing only to his subsequent relinquishment of them, that all the present embarrassments arose. The Americans therefore had no right to express so much surprize at the agreement not being approved in England. But Mr. Jackson, who did not scruple to say so, was told that he had insulted the government, and that no farther communication would be received from him. It was asserted that he had reproached the American government with knowing, at the time of their making the agreement with Mr. Erskine, that he was exceeding his powers. He had, indeed, abundant reason to do so. It is, nevertheless, most certain,

works. Between the compositions that have issued from the press, since the late dawnings of liberty, in Spanish America and those of the United States, there is a striking contrast. The South Americans write with as much freedom and animation as their brethren of the United States, but manage their subject with infinitely more dignity and decorum, as well as with more enlarged views of the nature of government and general politics.



that this charge against Mr. Madison and his minister, is not to be found in any of his official letters. It was not indeed said to exist in direct terms, but to have been somewhere implied. In every instance where Mr. Jackson has occasion to mention or allude to the knowledge of the restrictions which ought to have governed Mr. Erskine's conduct, he refers not to the period when the agreement was concluded, but that of this subsequent discussion and demand of explanation, when the American government knew every particular of the transaction.

The president, in breaking off all communication with the British envoy, found it advisable to fortify himself with a set of legislative resolutions, approving of his conduct in doing so. These resolutions were carried in the house of representatives, after a continued discussion of twenty-five days, and being signed by the president, assumed the shape of a solemn legislative act. But the legislature of Massachusetts passed a joint resolution expressive of their opinion that the negotiation with the British ministry had been broken off without any just or adequate cause. The line of conduct pursued by the president towards Mr. Jackson, was exactly the same with that which he had observed to other British ministers. It was his aim to ascertain beforehand,

what was the point to which Mr. Jackson would not be able to agree, and thereupon to insist and take his stand. But Mr. Jackson adhered to his orders, which expressly enjoined him not to propose any thing respecting the grand subject of difference, the orders in council, but to receive from the American minister, whatever might be proposed by him on that head. In plain terms, England was satisfied with things as they were. The orders in council she said must remain, unless their object could be accomplished otherwise. The main object which the American minister seems to have had in view, in the course, and by the issue of this transaction, was, to feed the animosity of the democratic party against England, and thus to increase the ardour which that party had evinced in support of his power. Nor was the appeal of the chief magistrate to the passions of the people made in vain. The British minister was exposed to repeated insults, and nothing, but the utmost prudence and forbearance on his part, could have averted the most serious personal danger. It is but justice to add that all these indecencies and excesses were regretted and reprobated by all the dispassionate and respectable part of the American community.

The official account of these transactions was brought to Eng-

\* But it was not possible for the populace to treat the British ambassador with greater insolence, nor indeed with so much as he met with at the hands of Mr. Madison himself. The first time he was invited to the president's house, the notorious Joel Barlow was selected as a fit guest to meet him. It was brought as a charge against a former agent from this country, that he had consented to associate, in the president's house, with Thomas Paine. In the present instance, Mr. Jackson certainly carried his forbearance to the utmost pitch which he could in any way justify to himself or his sovereign.



land by the secretary of the British legislation. And Mr. Pinkney, the American resident at London, in consequence of the orders he had received, demanded the recall of Mr. Jackson; which was, of course, without hesitation, acceded to \*

The Marquis Wellesley, the British secretary of state, told the American minister "that his Majesty was always disposed to pay the utmost attention to the wishes and sentiments of states in amity with him, and had therefore been pleased to direct the return of Mr. Jackson to England. But his Majesty had not marked with any expression of his displeasure the conduct of Mr. Jackson, whose integrity, zeal, and ability had long been distinguished in his Majesty's service;" and who did not appear, on the present occasion, to have committed any intentional offence against the government of the United States.

Thus ended the third attempt that was made, by the British government, to accommodate those differences with the United States which had arisen out of the peculiar maritime situations of the two countries, and the unfortunate rencontre which, in the year 1807, occurred between two of their ships of war. And it is to be apprehended that, without a departure of one of the two parties from their respective tenets, no perma-

nent adjustment of their views, at least as long as the present war lasts, can be expected. The experiment of concessions to the utmost extent to which it was found practicable to carry it, was tried under the Grenville administration; and consigned to an unequivocal form in 1806, between the Lords Holland and Auckland, and the American minister. That treaty was returned unratified, as being yet an insufficient propitiation. The surrender of the right of taking our seamen by force out of American ships was, among other things, expressly refused by the British government. And it has since been as peremptorily declared by the Americans, that, without that surrender, no treaty can ever be agreed to.

The great argument of the Americans, is, that the sea is as open to all men as the atmosphere we breathe in. So also was the land before conquests were made, and the boundaries of different states and governments established. The different provinces of the earth have been assigned, in the progress of society, to the nations who possessed the inclination, and the means of acquiring and preserving them. A preponderating power at sea has been acquired by the superior skill and valour of Britain; and she maintains it in the same manner, as other sovereigns do their territories, by the strength

\* It is to be noticed that the acquiescence in such a demand does not, by any means, carry with it any direct or indirect censure on the recalled minister. During the last war, the recall of our minister, at one of the German courts, was requested, on the plea of personal insult to the sovereign, and granted by the British court, but with strong expressions of the conduct of the recalled minister, who experienced soon afterwards, not only the utmost proofs of his majesty's confidence, but other and more substantial marks of favour. This was Sir Arthur Paget, from the court of Munich.



of her arms. If superior force be admitted as a just title in one instance, why not in the other? Powers at land maintain their dominion by armies and fortifications: maritime powers theirs, by sailors, marines, and floating batteries. But the Americans, instead of fitting out fleets, chuse to appeal to natural law—the principles of morality. This, in truth, is nugatory, and almost ridiculous. The purest code of abstract political justice could not be adopted by one, unless all nations would do the same.

If the general question of the true right to dominion should be submitted to the decision of universities, or a general council of divines, what other foundation could be rested on, even if there were a tribunal between nations for enforcing their dictates, without turning the world upside down, than occupancy?

At the period of the treaty of Europe, and down to the French revolution, the rights of neutral states were respected. Europe was divided into many independent states, and the re-action of these on one another contributed to the permanency of the great European republic. And it was sound political wisdom to protect the independence of the smaller states against such overbearing ambition as that of France. But the balance of power in Europe has been overthrown. The independence of neutrals is lost. All are formally united, or virtually governed by France. In such a new state of affairs, Great Britain could not admit the unlimited freedom of neutrals, without swelling the power of France, and undermining

the main props of her own stability and greatness. In former times, to protect the flag of the weaker against the stronger states was equally the interest and the glory of England. The absolute freedom of the seas to neutrals, in the present times, would be the farther exaltation of France, and, ultimately, the downfall and ruin of the British United Kingdoms.

In such a conflict, as that which exists at present between Great Britain and the United States, the parties with the smallest capital, and the fewest channels of industry and enterprize, must, for a time at least, be the greatest sufferer. And we might, perhaps, safely leave it to time and experience, whatever there may be of unfriendliness, jealousy, or asperity, arising from any other cause, in the demeanour of our American brethren. If the unseemly policy of restrictions, embargoes, and commercial hostility be persevered in, a commercial intercourse with America is not so essentially necessary to Great Britain as to render it advisable to purchase it by the sacrifice of any other branch of our national policy.

It is certain, that before the capture of all the enemy's colonies, when he had less access than at present to Spanish America, and before the general maritime commerce of the United States became circumscribed by the measures adopted by them, in 1807, their markets were of very great importance to the British trade, both for the sale of a large proportion of British manufactures, and for the purchase of many necessary articles of supply for our own consumption, which could not then be procured



secured elsewhere. The embargo and the acts which grew out of it rendered it necessary to obtain from other sources the articles in question, and to send through other channels those furnished by our manufacturers. Canada has, in consequence, risen to a degree of importance and prosperity altogether unexampled. In 1810, upwards of 600 sail of ships arrived at Quebec for timber; and saw-mills every where sprung up, worked by steam engines. Our navy is supplied with her timber; our West India islands with her lumber; large and every year increasing quantities of corn, the growth both of the Upper Province, and of the States bordering upon the Lakes, and the river St. Lawrence, supply the deficiency of what had before been obtained from New York, Philadelphia, and the towns situated within the Virginian Cape. On the other hand, we are now the carriers of our own manufactures, to places where they had before been sent under the protection of the American flag, and through the lucrative agency of American commissioners. A very general belief has been sedulously propagated, by those persons who are interested in the trade with the United States, that the failure of their market would inflict a deadly blow on our manufacturing interests. This assertion is specious, and not without some apparent foundation. But, besides that it has been disproved by the event, the contradiction of it is satisfactorily explained by this circumstance, that of the whole amount of British manufactures, at any time sent to the United States,

only a small portion of them was consumed in that country. By far the largest part was re-exported with the accumulated profits of duties, commission, and freight, accruing to the American treasury, merchant, and ship owner. These profits have been willingly, but we must think unwisely, relinquished by America, although it is not for us to quarrel with her policy, since they are thrown by it into British hands. We have the best official authority of the returns of our own custom house, and those of the American treasury, for asserting, that the British manufactures, exported to the island of Jamaica alone, exceed, by one million sterling, the greatest amount of annual exportation that was ever sent to the United States. The loss then of our trade to those states, even if it were not counterbalanced by the acquisition of markets in other quarters, would be reduced to the amount of our manufactures actually consumed in them, deducting from that amount always the quantity that must, of necessity, be conveyed there in spite of all restrictions and prohibitions whatsoever. If, then, this loss would not greatly affect the general balance of our trade, still less can it be put in competition with the advantage of maintaining unimpaired those principles of general policy which the dignity and the interests of the empire have suggested.

What effect such an alteration of our usual relation has had, and will continue to have, upon the resources and prosperity of the United States, we may also collect from an authority equally unexceptionable, that of the American finance



finance minister himself. From his reports to congress, it appears that, in one year following the enactment of their embargo, the revenue of the United States fell from twenty-six millions to ten millions of dollars; thus exhibiting a defalcation, which has since greatly increased, of no less a sum than sixteen millions of dollars, or nearly four millions sterling. This must ever be the case, when the public revenue proceeds entirely from duties on importation. Internal taxation, in the United States, has hitherto been found impracticable; and such is the temper and disposition of their people, that it is not probable that their sufferance of either direct or indirect taxes should, for many years to come, enable their government to pursue any measures requiring a considerable addition to whatever revenue would survive their extinction of all foreign trade, which a state of hostility with Great Britain must infallibly occasion.

This year, the star of Great Britain shone on the naval and colonial affairs of this great maritime power, with even more than its usual benignity, though not more than usual splendor. In the Mediterranean, the fortress and Isle of St. Maure, the ancient Leucadia, not far from Cephalonia, in the direction of Corfu, and nearly in the mouth of the Gulph of Lepanto, was taken, after a slight resistance, on the 16th of April, by an armament from Zante, under the command of Brigadier-General Oswald.

In the West Indies, the island of Guadaloupe, the last that remained to the French in that part of the world, surrendered on terms, February the 6th, to the combined military and naval British force, commanded by Lieutenant-General Sir George Beckwith. The naval part of the expedition was conducted by Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane.

This year also the French were deprived, by the English, of the last establishments that remained to them beyond the Cape of Good Hope; viz. the Isle of Bourbon, and the Isle of France, or the Mauritius. The Governor-General of India, Lord Minto, conceived the great design of clearing the Indian Ocean of all that was hostile to Britain. The reduction of the Mauritius, either by blockade or force, had been considered as impracticable. It is characteristic of true genius and courage to act on an accurate distinction between difficulties and absolute impossibilities.

The destruction of the French batteries and guns at St. Paul's, in the Isle of Bourbon, and the capture of the public stores, the 21st of September 1809, are recorded in this volume, in the Appendix to the Chronicle \*. A force of 1800 Europeans, and 1850 Indian troops or Sepoys, having sailed from Madras for the conquest of the Isle of Bourbon, was joined, on the 20th of June, by one thousand men, of the garrison of the Isle of Rodriguez: the whole under the

\* Page 293. This achievement at the town of St. Paul's was, through inadvertence, considered, in our last volume, as involving the reduction of the whole Isle of Bourbon, an error which we take the present opportunity of correcting. Vol. LI. HIST. OF EUR. p. 223.



command of Lieutenant-Colonel Keating. The whole of the ships, transports, and men of war, assembled at the place of general rendezvous, in the evening of the 6th of July, 50 miles to the windward of the Isle of Bourbon, when the troops were taken out of the transports. In order to avoid a protracted warfare in the interior of a country almost inaccessible to an army, it was determined to begin with an attack of St. Dennis, the principal town in the island, occupied by the main military force, and the residence of the governor. Dispositions were made for an attack on Saint Dennis, when, July 8, an herald presented himself with an offer from the governor, Colonel St. Susanne, to capitulate on honourable terms, which was accepted. On the 10th, Lieutenant-Col. Campbell, with his brigade, took possession of St. Paul. In the two towns of St. Dennis and St. Paul, there was found a large quantity of ordnance and ammunition.

A body of troops from India, and the Cape of Good Hope, about eight or 10,000, destined for the reduction of the Isle of France, arrived at the place of rendezvous, on the 21st of November. The army was commanded by Major General John Abercrombie, second son to the late great and good General Sir Ralph Abercrombie: the naval part of the expedition by Admiral Bertie. The whole fleet, transports and ships of war, amounted to 70 sail. All the arrangements for an attack on the isle having been made, the fleet weighed anchor; and, on the 29th of November, the troops effected a landing, under cover of

the fire-ships. Some skirmishes took place till the 2d of December, while the utmost exertions were made for landing the artillery, and attacking the forts; but, on the 3d, the enemy rendered all further operations unnecessary, by proposing to capitulate. Terms were immediately agreed on; and, on the same day, a capitulation was signed, by which the Isle of France, an immense quantity of stores and valuable merchandize, five large frigates, some smaller ships of war, and 28 merchantmen, with two British East India-men, that had been captured, were surrendered to his Majesty's arms. Our whole loss did not exceed 150 men, in killed and wounded. The French troops were sent to France, not as prisoners of war, but free, and at their own disposal.

General Abercrombie states, in his dispatches to Lord Minto, that he was induced to grant favourable terms, from a regard to the interests of the inhabitants of the island, who had long laboured under the most degrading misery and oppression, from a desire of sparing the lives of many brave officers and soldiers, from a confidential knowledge of his Lordship's further intentions with regard to the army under his command, and a consideration of the late period of the season, when every hour became valuable. All the evils that could possibly be done by a handful of men, at such a distance from Europe, in a state of freedom, were not to be put in the balance against objects of such national importance. But this liberty awarded to the French troops was the only point on which he had not adhered closely to the instructions



structions of Lord Minto. The inhabitants were to preserve their religion and laws, and all private property was to be respected. General Abercrombie observes, that what had hitherto been considered as the grand obstacle to an attack on the Isle of France, was the difficulty of finding a proper place for the debarkation of a considerable number of troops, the whole coast being surrounded with breakers; and the supposed impossibility of finding anchorage for a fleet of transports. But these difficulties were, at length, surmounted. By the indefatigable labours of Commodore Rowley, seconded by other naval officers, engineers, and pilots, a fit place for anchorage was discovered, and an opening in the surf sufficient to admit the passage of three ships abreast. The Isle of France, which was by far the most important, was the last of the possessions that remained to France, in or between the Cape of Good Hope and India. A British garrison was placed in the Mauritius, for it had now recovered its ancient name, of 5000 men.

The two restored East Indiamen, the Ceylon and Windham, were sent to England: the first with a cargo from the Isle of Bourbon; the second with one from the Isle of France. They arrived safely in an English port, about the middle of April 1811; together with the five French frigates, the *Astrea*, the *Bellona*, the *Venus*, the *Minerva*, and the *Victor*. A packet boat, with dispatches from Buonaparte to the governor of the Isle of France was decoyed, by the hoisting of French colours, as soon as the vessel came into sight, into

Port Louis. It appeared, among other particulars, from the dispatches, that the Governor-General de Caen was recalled, and that three frigates were to set sail from France within fifteen days after the departure of the packet-boat, with reinforcements for the defence of the island. All the French prisoners were sent to Morlaix, in vessels freighted for the purpose.

We cannot refrain from noticing here an incident of no importance in the scale of politics or war, but fitted to command attention: an act of the most stupid, as well as savage ferocity and thirst of blood, overtaken with the most speedy, condign, and complete punishment. When Captain Harris, of his Majesty's frigate the *Sir Francis Drake*, was cruising, in the end of Dec. off the coast of Java, where he took a Dutch corvette, he came within sight, and was but at a small distance from eight Malay vessels, called *proas*. Captain Harris sent a party to visit them, and let them know, that if they were armed, it was the English commander's orders to take them, or destroy them; but that, if they were engaged only in peaceable commerce, they should not be molested. The Malays made not the least opposition or objection to the visit; but, on the contrary, engaged four of the English sailors who had come on board one of the *proas*, to go down with them into the cabin, where they instantly massacred them, cut them in pieces, and hung up their bleeding remains among their cordage. Captain Harris, under the emotions excited by so treacherous and horrid a murder, wore the frigate nearer the shore, and poured his fire



fire on the pirates till not a vestige of them remained to be seen. The whole of those barbarous wretches; to the number of four hundred, were either killed with balls, or drowned.

After the reduction of the Isle of France, three frigates were dispatched on an expedition against Tametava, on the coast of Madagascar, and to go from thence to root out the French from the Isle of Almerante, and some other little nestling places of theirs.

But the great object of the expedition was, to destroy the batteries of Tametava, under cover of which the French vessels were wont to be victualled and repaired, when they could not reach the Isle of France; and to trade with these isles, where they procured salt fish, cocoa nuts, and tortoise shells. On the 10th of January, 1811, there did not remain to France any territory in either of the Indies, or ship in the Indian ocean.

The Dutch settlement of Amboyna, with its dependant isles, was surrendered on the 17th of February, to a detachment of an European regiment, with artillery, from Madras, together with 300 seamen from British ships of war. On the night of the 8th of August, a handful of British seamen, not more than 180, led by Captain Cole, of the Caroline frigate, took Banda, the principal of the Dutch spice islands. The guns of fort Belgia, at Banda Neira, near which the scaling ladders were placed, fortunately burnt priming, owing to the heavy rains. The Dutch garrison were panic struck, and fled in all directions, leaving

the Colonel Commandant and tea men killed. A flag of truce was dispatched to the governor, offering protection of private property, on the surrender of the island; which was refused. However, one shot from fort Belgia, and a threat to storm the town and fort Nassau, both of which lay immediately under its guns, produced an immediate and unconditional surrender; and 700 regular troops and 300 militia, grounded their arms. Banda Neira, and its dependencies, exported 900,000*l.* worth of spices annually to Batavia. The conquerors found about 400,000*l.* worth of spices at the time of the capture.

But the highest degree of bravery and enterprize could not protect the whole of our numerous ships of war from accident and disaster. A part of the squadron, stationed at the Cape of Good Hope, fell, August the 23d, into the hands of the enemy. Four English frigates, the Sirius, the Magicienne, the Nereide, and the Iphigenia, determined to attack the harbour of Sud-Est, opposite to the Isle of Passe, into which three French frigates had taken two of our Indiamen, and in which the French ships of war were stationed. Unfortunately the Sirius and Magicienne ran aground on shoals, with which the pilots were unacquainted; and the crews, after burning them, returned in the Iphigenia, which they took in tow to the Isle of Passe. The Nereide, having proceeded nearer to the inner harbour, was also stranded and shattered almost to pieces; yet the captain, Willoughby, though exposed not only to the



fire of the three frigates, but also to that of the batteries on shore, did not surrender before every man on board was either killed or wounded. The *Iphigenia*, closely blockaded in the Isle of Passe, was afterwards taken, together with the isle, by the French frigates. General Decaen, governor of the Isle of France, gave a pompous account of these conquests; and also of the previous actions, not only with the *Nereide*, but, as the governor says, with the *Sirius* and *Magicienne*, with whom there was no action, the whole fire of the three French frigates being directed, as truly stated by Captain Pym, of the *Sirius*, in his letter to Commodore Rowley, against the *Nereide*. The circumstance of our ships being stranded on unknown shoals was altogether concealed in the French Journals; in which the capture of the frigates, and the isle of Passe, was blazoned as a great, and glorious achievement. It is unnecessary to observe, that neither was any notice taken in the French papers of the retreat of a French squadron, on the 20th of July, from the presence of a small British force, under the orders of Captain Blackwood, cruising off Toulon. Though we cannot, in this summary narrative, relate all the distinguished acts of skill and bravery performed by our navy, which would require a volume, we cannot refrain from noticing that of Captain Blackwood. His squadron consisted of three 74 gun ships, with a frigate and corvette. These two last vessels being in danger of being cut off by a French squadron, of six ships of the line, of which one was

a three-decker, and four frigates, Captain Blackwood, with his three ships, drawn up in a line, bore down on the French fleet, and poured a broadside into the foremost ship. The French, intimidated by this audacious attack, which they supposed to be a certain proof of the near vicinity of the fleet under Admiral Cotton, sheered off for the harbour of Toulon. The courage of British seamen, and the excellence of the naval tactics of British naval officers, though both have been so often, were never more gloriously illustrated. It may be mentioned among the naval and colonial affairs of Britain, that the English, in the course of this year, fortified and established a commercial depôt at the small Danish island of Anholt, situated in the Categat, in the same manner as had been done in 1809, at Heligoland, an isle in the Baltic, very convenient for the smuggling of goods into the Danish territory, and also into Germany, by the Elbe and the Weser.

The burning decrees of Buonaparte, and an exclusion from the American market, occasioned much stagnation of trade in many of the manufacturing and some trading towns in England; but new avenues were opened, and our commerce still flourished, all things considered, wonderfully.

It is lamentable to see refined nations, instead of co-operating for their own, together with the convenience and comfort of society, using all possible means for oppressing each others' industry: Duties, prohibitions, conflagrations, and even punishments, usually inflicted



flicted only on criminals. There is something in this procedure, which, after all the calculations of a crafty, narrow policy, appears to be odious, immoral, and inhuman. The Ruler of France was so sensible of this, that his demi-official newspaper, the *Moniteur*, was employed to weaken the impression naturally made by such barbarous attacks on human industry and genius, by shewing that they were common, on the part of England. And certainly the *Moniteur* made it clearly out that, in matters of finance and revenue in France, there was no regulation so severe as to be without multiplied examples in the revenue laws of England. Divers English laws for the burning of French manufactures, and smuggled tobacco and tea, are cited; and one passed in the nineteen year of the reign of George the Second, making the importation of any article prohibited felony; whether the importation should be clandestine or open.

The British parliament, which lay under prorogation, assembled on the 1st of November; on which day a proclamation was issued, by the King in council, stating it to be his Majesty's pleasure that it should be further prorogued. This proclamation, which was not of itself sufficient for the prorogation of parliament, was to be followed, of course, by the usual commis-

sion, signed by the King, and read in the House of Lords, by commissioners appointed for that purpose. But the royal sign manual was not to be obtained. The parental and tender heart of the King was wrung with inexpressible grief and anguish, at the protracted sufferings which terminated November the 2d, in the death of his youngest and favourite daughter, the Princess Amelia. His whole soul was absorbed in the sufferings and fate of his amiable daughter, who had always returned his parental affection with exquisite sensibility and duty. He could not think or speak of any thing else. The powers of his understanding were impaired; and the mental malady, under which he had laboured in 1788, returned. Committees were appointed by both houses of parliament for the examination of physicians, who were examined accordingly, on the state of His Majesty's health. In this, and in other necessary points, they were guided in their proceedings by the precedent of 1788. On the 20th of December, the House of Commons passed a bill, appointing his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Regent of the kingdom, under certain limitations, during the indisposition of His Majesty. On the 28th, the Lords acceded to this resolution of the Commons.







# CHRONICLE.

## JANUARY.

1st. **A**BOUT eleven o'clock, on Monday night, a tremendous fire happened at the wharf of Messrs. Pocock and Buckley, Whitefriars Dock. It commenced at the dwelling house of Mr. Pocock, coal-merchant, at the bottom of the wharf, and about twelve o'clock the flames illuminated the horizon many miles round London. Several piles of deals which stood near the house caught the flames with astonishing rapidity; and the spectacle was awful, grand, and terrific. In Fleet-street and the Strand the light was almost as vivid as in the day-time. The timber-yard being close to the Thames, the light was thrown along the river, and presented a full view of the houses along the opposite bank. The drums beat, and the bugle sounded to summon the volunteers, who attended with alacrity to render assistance. The streets were crowded with people; the bridges were covered with spectators, and the coal-craft on the river also displayed a multitude. The wind being south, it was generally expected that the houses at the entrance of the yard would have been consum-

ed, and the efforts of the firemen were chiefly directed to prevent the fronts of the buildings exposed to the heat from taking fire. Providentially the wind shifted, and blew the flames another way, and all the houses escaped, with the exception of Mr. Pocock's house and a stable. During the confusion it was difficult to remove many valuable horses. There were nineteen in the stable, and nine of them were burnt. The carcasses of these animals remained half-burnt on the ruins. About six o'clock the fire was greatly reduced; and hours after the deals, coals and timber, which had produced the blaze of light, were burnt level with the ground, some apprehensions were entertained for the Grand Junction Canal store-house; and even in the Inner Temple several engines were brought down to the bottom of King's Bench Walk, under an idea that the fire might possibly extend to that quarter. Since the burning of Drury-lane theatre (see Annual Reg. for 1809, p. 317) no fire in the metropolis has assumed such a terrific appearance. Nearly 30,000l. of timber, 7000l. of which had only been landed a few days before, and was not insured, was burnt. Two



or three empty barges caught fire and were damaged; the dwelling-house and all the premises were reduced to ashes. It does not appear that any lives were lost.

3. At the mansion-house a Jew, of the name of De Younge, was charged by the solicitor of the mint, under an act of Queen Elizabeth, with the offence of selling the current coin of the realm called guineas, at a higher rate than the current value. By the statute in question it is declared, that any person who shall extort, demand or receive, for any of the current coin of the realm, more than the legal current value thereof, shall be esteemed guilty of felony. It appeared that the prisoner had sold fifty-six guineas for a sum amounting to about 22s. 6d. or 1s. 6d, for each guinea more than the legal price and current value. Evidence being adduced to prove this case, the prisoner was fully committed to take his trial for the offence.

4. The O. P. reconciliation dinner took place at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, between the managers of Covent-Garden Theatre, and the *soi-disant* town.

Soon after five o'clock Mr. Clifford took the chair, Mr. Kemble and Mr. Harris, jun. being seated on his right hand.

The first toast, after the removal of the cloth, was—The king. After which followed—The voice of the people—The trial by jury, with three times three—The stage—The ancient and unalienable judicature of the pit.

Mr. Clifford then entreated particular attention to the toast which he was about to propose, feeling confident that no toast could be

more appropriate to the object of the meeting—

May this happy reconciliation be of equal advantage to the public in amusement and the proprietors in emolument!

The health of Mr. Clifford being given, he rose and addressed the company to the following purport:

“Gentlemen,—I return you most sincerely my thanks for the honour you have conferred on me, by placing me in this situation, and for the very kind manner in which I have been treated. Gentlemen, there is a circumstance collateral with that of the recent dispute, to which, I trust, I may advert without offence to any person present. It was my lot to be the plaintiff in an action at law, of the trial of which all my information is derived from the reports in the newspapers, not having been myself present on that occasion. In those reports it is stated, that during the course of the trial, or after it was over, I do not know which, it was publicly said that I was the leader of an infuriated mob, meeting to injure private property, to destroy the government, to subvert the constitution, and to overthrow the monarchy. Such, gentlemen, is what is stated in the reports of that trial in the newspapers to have been said. Gentlemen, I recollect full well that when Colonel Wardle introduced the charges against the Duke of York, into the House of Commons, Mr. Canning made use of this very true, but certainly very dangerous expression—“That when the characters of others are attacked, infamy must attach somewhere—it must fall either on the accused or on the accuser.” Now, gentlemen, I have the honour of



of your authority—I have even the authority of the proprietors and managers of the theatre—and, what is still more, I have the authority of the public voice, from the Orkneys to the Land's End—to justify me in believing that infamy does not attach on my conduct in these transactions. Gentlemen, I have the same authority of the public voice for asserting, that infamy does not attach on you. But infamy must attach somewhere. Let it attach, then, where it will best fit: and let it shine not as a brilliant and luminous planet, but as a dim and pale halo, around the hoary head of him who dared to utter such a calumny. Gentlemen, I first had the honour of meeting you in this room at a period of disturbance and of great dissension between the public and the proprietors of the theatre. That such a dispute was not sooner terminated I, in common with every other person, sincerely deplored. For myself, I certainly was in some measure brought forward unwillingly, and was induced reluctantly to take the lead; but being placed in that situation, I did nothing that could tend to widen the breach, or to excite disturbance; so far from having appeared in such a character, I, on the contrary, have the pleasure of believing, that my humble efforts have contributed to restore peace and harmony between the public and the proprietors of the theatre at Covent-Garden. Gentlemen, I thank you sincerely, from the bottom of my heart, for the attention with which you have honoured me, and beg leave to have the honour of drinking all your healths."

5. The Persian ambassador visited the Bank.

6. The treaty of peace concluded between France and Sweden.

9. Dispatches were received, relating to the mutinous conduct of the Madras army.

A common hall was held for the purpose of receiving the report of the lord mayor and sheriffs, on the address voted by the livery to his majesty.

The clerk proceeded to read the report of the sheriffs, which stated, that the remembrancer had called at the secretary of state's office with the address, and an intimation that it was intended to present it on the levee day. Next day he was told that it must be left at the secretary of state's office, to be presented (as was usual with all addresses, except those from the two universities, and the corporation of London) by him to his majesty. On the levee day the lord mayor told the secretary of state, that he then had the address in his pocket, and wished to present it. The secretary said it was best to give it to him, and he would save the lord mayor all further trouble; to which his lordship replied, that he would not consent to present it to any one except to the king in person; and that it was both the wish of himself and sheriffs to do it in any way which would save his majesty most trouble. The secretary said, the king's pleasure had been already taken and expressed as to the mode of presenting it. Mr. Sheriff Wood then demanded an audience of his majesty, which the secretary replied could not be granted, except upon some especial and expressed reason, and that no audience could be granted on a subject upon which his majesty had already expressed his pleasure. Such was the



report, to receive which the hall had been called.

The following resolutions were then passed :

**SMITH, MAYOR.**

In a meeting or assembly of the mayor, aldermen, and liverymen of the several companies of the city of London, in common hall assembled, at the Guildhall of the said city, on Tuesday the 9th of January, 1810.

Resolved unanimously,

I. That it is the undoubted right of the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London, to present their petitions to the king sitting upon the throne ; that out of personal feelings towards their sovereign they did at the last common hall wave the exercise of this right.

II. Resolved unanimously, That it appears, that the secretary of state informed the sheriffs, that the petition of the livery could be received only through his office, that they have been denied not only the usual access to his majesty, by a personal audience, but the undoubted right of presenting the same when they had actual access to his majesty at the levee, where they attended to present, and did present, a petition from the court of common council.

III. Resolved unanimously, That such denial is not only subversive of the rights of the livery, but a flagrant violation of the right of petitioning, claimed, demanded, and insisted upon, and confirmed to them by the bill of rights.

IV. Resolved unanimously, That all complaints of the misconduct and incapacity of his majesty's servants are most likely to be nugatory, if such complaints must pass

through the hands of those very servants, and the people can have no security that their complaints are heard.

V. Resolved, That whoever advised his majesty not to receive the petition of the livery in the accustomed and established mode, have committed a scandalous breach of their duty, violated one of the first principles of the constitution, and abused the confidence of their sovereign.

VI. Resolved unanimously, That this common hall, disregarding all attempts and designs of interested and corrupt hirelings, who derive emoluments from the national burthens, to impute unworthy and disloyal motives to those who resist unprincipled and dangerous encroachments upon their established rights, are determined, to the utmost of their power, to maintain them against those evil counsellors, who have thus raised a barrier between the king and the people, and thereby prevented their just complaints reaching the royal ear.

VII. Resolved, That the following instructions be given to our representatives in parliament :—Gentlemen, You are hereby instructed to move in the House of Commons (or support such motion if moved) for an humble address to his majesty, praying for an immediate and rigid inquiry into the course of the unexampled failures and disasters which have attended our late expeditions to Spain, Portugal, and Holland, whereby the blood and treasure of the country have been shamefully sacrificed, without rendering any effectual assistance to our allies, checking the progress of the enemy, or tending to the glory or security of his majesty's crown and



and dominions. You are also instructed to support all motions which have for their object inquiry into the violation of the right of petitioning—into the wasteful expenditure of the public money—the correction of public abuses—the abolition of all unnecessary places and pensions---the shortening of the duration of parliaments, and restoring them to their constitutional purity and independence, as the only means of retrieving our public affairs, and enabling this country successfully to contend against surrounding nations.

VIII. Resolved unanimously, That the sheriffs attended by Mr. Remembrancer, do forthwith wait upon his majesty, and deliver into his majesty's hand, in the name of the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of London, a fair copy of the foregoing resolutions, signed by the town clerk.

IX. Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the right hon. the lord mayor, for his independent behaviour upon all occasions, and particularly for his conduct this day.

X. Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Sheriff Wood, for his general conduct, and for his having requested an audience of his majesty, agreeable to the instructions of this hall.

Resolved unanimously, That the resolutions of this day, together with the petition agreed upon on the 14th day of December last, be signed by the town clerk, and published in the morning papers.

WOODTHORPE.

*City Address to his Majesty.*---

The following is the address from

the common hall, which was intended to be presented to the king:

“To the king's most excellent majesty in council.

“The humble address and petition of the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London, in common hall assembled.

“Most gracious sovereign.

“We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London, in common hall assembled, most humbly approach your majesty at this awful crisis, to exercise a duty no less painful than imperious.

“It is to represent with humility to your majesty the present deplorable situation of public affairs, that we have again approached your royal person.

“Attached to your majesty's illustrious house from affection and from duty, we should ill demonstrate the sincerity of our loyalty; were we to conceal from your majesty that it is not amongst the least considerable of our grievances, that attempts should have been made to brand your majesty's faithful subjects with dissatisfaction to your person and government, whenever they have exercised their indubitable right to complain of gross abuses in the state, or to attribute the disgraceful failure of expensive and calamitous enterprizes to the ignorance and incapacity of those who either planned or executed them; as if infallibility were the appendage of office, and belonged of right to those who may be called into your majesty's councils.

“With equal grief and indignation we have seen the disastrous result of various expeditions, in which your majesty's armies have been unhappily



happily engaged, and which most forcibly mark the imbecility of those distracted councils which have so scandalously lavished the blood and treasure of a gallant, loyal, and burthened people.

“Towards the close of the preceding year your faithful citizens humbly expressed to your majesty their deep concern and disappointment at the disgraceful convention of Cintra; but we have yet to deplore that due and efficient inquiry has not been made into that disgraceful transaction.

“It is equally painful to call to your majesty’s recollection the melancholy fate of a second army assembled within the peninsula, under the gallant commander Sir John Moore. Ignorant alike of the state and disposition of the Spaniards, and the force and designs of the enemy, this army, being sent into the interior of Spain, was in imminent danger of being captured: in this critical emergency, and state of agonizing perplexity, abandoned to their own resources, this hapless but meritorious officer at length discovered that he had no safety but in flight: with the loss of his ammunition, horses, specie and baggage, and harrassed and assailed on all sides, he secured the retreat of the remains of his gallant followers by the sacrifice of his own invaluable life.

“Deriving no benefit from experience, a third well appointed army, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, was hurried into the interior of Spain, alike ignorant of the force and movement of the enemy, where, after an unprofitable display of British valour and a dreadful slaughter, this army, like the former, was compelled to seek

its safety by a precipitate retreat, before (what we were led to believe) a vanquished foe, leaving thousands of our sick and wounded countrymen in the hands of the enemy. This loss, like others, has passed without inquiry; and, as if impunity had placed the servants of the crown above the reach of justice, your majesty has been advised to confer titles of honourable distinction on the general who had thus exhibited a rash and ostentatious display of unprofitable bravery.

“After these multiplied errors, and in defiance of reiterated experience, we have seen another expedition, yet more expensive, more disgraceful, and more calamitous than the former. This armament, delayed until the fate of Austria was decided, landed on the unwholesome shores of the Scheldt; where, after some unaccountable state of inaction, thousands of our brave soldiers have miserably and ingloriously perished by pestilence, privation, and disease, without having accomplished one national object. On such an expedition, planned and conducted by a minister, who it is now known had been pronounced unfit for his office by his colleagues---an expedition that touches all minds with shame, and fills all hearts with agony, it is too painful to dilate.

“We cannot refrain from representing to your majesty, that while the affairs of the nation have been so shamefully misconducted abroad, the most scandalous waste, profusion, and mismanagement, have prevailed at home; and your majesty’s confidential advisers, destitute of all those qualities essential to good government, and regardless alike of the sufferings of the people



people and of the honour of their sovereign, and insensible or indifferent to the surrounding dangers and impending fate of the country, have been engaged in the most disgraceful squabbles, intrigues, and cabals, that ever disgraced the councils of any nation; and which cannot but be as disreputable to your majesty's government, as they are ruinous and dishonourable to the country.

"While we disclaim all interest in the views of contending parties, from a firm conviction that we cannot look for a reformation in the abuses of the state, from any persons or parties interested in the presentation of them; we cannot but express our ardent hope, that your majesty will be more fortunate in the choice of the men to whom you may hereafter confide the conduct of affairs; and that your councils will be no longer embarrassed, nor the country insulted and dishonoured, by those disgraceful occurrences; which, while they have exposed us to the ridicule of surrounding nations, may embolden the enemy to look forward with confidence to the subjugation of a nation so distracted in her councils, and so improvidently governed.

"That while we forbear enumerating a long train of internal grievances, we cannot but attribute such a series of failures and disasters to the abuses and corruptions of the state, and the consequent want of constitutional control over the public expenditures, and the servants of the crown, whereby the responsibility of ministers appears to exist only in name.

"We, therefore, humbly pray that your majesty will be graciously pleased to assure your loyal and

affectionate people, that the object to which their wishes are directed, is neither to be abandoned nor eluded; and that your majesty will be pleased to institute a rigid, impartial, and general inquiry into these national misfortunes into the plans upon which these expeditions were undertaken, and into the conduct of the commanders to whom they were intrusted.

"Signed, by order,

"HENRY WOODTHORPE."

11. The directors of the East India Company gave a splendid entertainment to the Persian ambassador.

15. *Berkshire County Meeting.*—At a very large meeting of the freeholders of Berkshire the following address was voted:

"We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the nobility, clergy, gentlemen, and freeholders of the county of Berks, beg leave to approach your majesty's throne with feelings of sincere attachment and devotion to your royal person, of anxious solicitude for the honour of your crown and the safety of your dominions, and at the same time with sentiments of the deepest affliction at the perilous situation of the public affairs of these kingdoms.

"It is unnecessary to remind your majesty of the enormous burdens imposed upon your people for supporting the war in which we are engaged; of the species of taxation it has given rise to, novel in its principle, offensive and invidious in its collection, and oppressive beyond all example in its magnitude.

"Your majesty has nevertheless seen that your subjects have patiently and even cheerfully submitted to sacrifices as unexampled in



the history of this country, as they have been injurious to numerous classes of its inhabitants, in the hope and confidence that, the councils of your majesty being directed by wisdom, by prudence, and fidelity, the privations of your subjects would be but temporary, and that their zeal and sacrifices would be ultimately rewarded by the security of your majesty's throne, the prosperity of your dominions, and the confirmation of their own liberties and independence. It is, however, our duty and our misfortune to have it to state to your majesty, that we discover neither wisdom, prudence, nor fidelity, in your majesty's advisers; that their acts are marked by every appearance of rashness, incapacity, and folly; and that, under the government of persons so apparently inadequate to avert the dangers and difficulties of the country, we see no end to our misfortunes.

"We humbly crave leave particularly to call your majesty's attention to the fruitless efforts of your gallant army during the last year. Your majesty's advisers and commanders had for their guidance and instruction in the last campaign in Spain and Portugal, the melancholy experience of the ever-to-be lamented Sir John Moore, and the sufferings of his brave followers: and yet a second British army, superior in numbers to the first, and alike conspicuous for its gallantry and zeal, was sent there, and hurried on into the heart of Spain, for no other purpose than that of making an useless display of valour, and meeting its own destruction. We crave your majesty's gracious attention likewise to the fatal expedition to the Scheldt; when the

flower of your troops, without the opportunity of performing any exploit worthy of them, were permitted for months to perish by diseases peculiar to the climate, and which your ministers must have known to be prevalent there at the time when they thus doomed your majesty's troops to destruction.

"It is with equal grief and shame we are compelled further to submit to your majesty's attention, that, whilst the armies of your empire were perishing by famine and the sword in Spain, and diseases in Walcheren, your majesty's ministers, regardless alike of the honour of their sovereign and the dangers of the country, have consumed the time (which ought to have been exclusively devoted to the public service) in the most disgraceful squabbles, intrigues, and cabals; and have not hesitated, by publishing these transactions to the world, to expose your majesty's councils, and the character of your government, to the ridicule and contempt of surrounding nations; and to prove themselves the faithless and unworthy servants of your majesty and the public. We humbly, therefore, supplicate your majesty, that you will be pleased to institute a most rigid inquiry into the causes of the calamitous issue of the two expeditions to Spain and the Scheldt; and we rest assured that your majesty will do all that lies in your power to prevent the recurrence of similar disasters, by bringing to condign punishment the authors of our misfortunes. We cannot conclude this our humble petition to your majesty, without alluding to your majesty's gracious answer to a similar petition from the mayor and common council of the city of London,



don, in which your majesty is pleased to refer the petitioners to the wisdom of parliament. We presume to state to your majesty, that we have seen for years past, with the deepest concern, that attempts to procure parliamentary inquiry upon the subject of our national misfortunes, have in all cases been unsuccessful: and in the course of last sessions we witnessed with not less astonishment than indignation, that a system was adopted, and almost proclaimed, of protecting public men from public inquiry; a system which is in direct defiance of the uniform practice of the best periods in our history, and the most undoubted and invaluable principles of our constitution."

The Old Bailey sessions closed; when seven prisoners received sentence of death, one was ordered to be transported for fourteen years, nine for seven years, two to be imprisoned two years, six for twelve months, and seventeen for shorter periods, eight of whom were to be whipped.

16. At half past two o'clock, the corning-house, No. 4, in the king's powder-mills at Faversham, blew up with a most tremendous explosion. Of the six men employed in the building at the time, four were blown to pieces, and their bodies and limbs were scattered to a distance of upwards of four hundred yards from the site of the building. The fifth man was taken up alive, but no hopes of his recovery were entertained. The sixth man, George Holmes, the foreman of the work, was found alive also, sitting in the midst of the smoking ruins, with his clothes burning; but he was otherwise not much injured, and is likely to do well. At the door of the

counting-house was standing a tumbril, or covered waggon, with two horses and a driver. The waggon was blown to pieces, and the driver and horses were killed. Of three horses employed within the building, two have perished, but the third is living. The scattered remains of two of the men were collected for interment; those of the other three have not been found. No circumstances have transpired from which an opinion can be formed with respect to the cause of the accident.

17. The Persian ambassador had his first private audience of her majesty.

18. Mr. Lyon Levy (an eminent Jewish dealer in diamonds) threw himself from the top of the monument, and was killed on the spot.

21. A numerous meeting of the livery of London was held at Guildhall, to consider of the rejection of their late petition to the House of Commons. Mr. Favell moved a string of resolutions, which was eloquently seconded by Mr. Waithman and others. A new petition, corresponding with the resolutions, was read to the livery for their concurrence, which was assented to with great acclamations, and ordered to be presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Alderman Combe.

I. Resolved, That the rejection of the House of Commons of our late humble address, petition, and remonstrance, appears to us a violation of our constitution and indisputable right to state our complaints and grievances, and to call for relief and redress.

II. Resolved, That such rejection is an additional proof of the shameful inadequacy of the representation of the people in the commons house



house of parliament; and more forcibly demonstrates the necessity of a speedy and substantial reform in that honourable house.

III. Resolved, That we have viewed with mixed sentiments of indignation, concern, and pity, the address of certain persons styling themselves, "an adjourned meeting of liverymen, held at the London Tavern, the 4th of May" inasmuch as the statements contained in that address, imputing to the great body of their fellow-citizens, in common hall legally assembled, motives and designs to "vilify and degrade the legislature;" to "alienate the affections of the people from the government;" to "produce contempt and distrust of the House of Commons;" to "introduce anarchy;" and to "subvert the constitution;" are false assertions, originating with individuals who derive influence and emolument from the heavy burthens of the people.

IV. Resolved, That amongst the names of those annexed to that address, appear the signatures of contractors, commissioners, and collectors of taxes; of placemen and place-hunters, with a long list of their agents, and clerks of their dependents, emissaries of minions.

V. Resolved, That it is undeniable, that power, influence, threats, and delusions, have been employed, to prevail upon many to concur in the said address.

VI. Resolved, That whilst we disclaim any imputation against the motives of several, who, by gross misrepresentations, by arts of the basest kind, or by downright intimidation, have been compelled to lend their signatures to the said address; it is to us a source of high

consolation, that the address carries within it its own refutation, consisting only of allegations unsubstantiated, and of calumnies, which those who have propagated them must know to be groundless.

VII. Resolved, That the said address appears to have for its real object, the excitement of civil dissension, the increase of public abuses, and the further and fuller participation in the wages of corruption by many of those who have signed it, and who, taking advantage of the present unhappy contest between arbitrary privilege and constitutional freedom, have endeavoured to confuse and distract the public mind, for the support and continuance in place of a corrupt, weak, and wicked administration.

VIII. Resolved unanimously, That in the years 1679 and 1680, under the infamous government of Charles the Second, the city of London, and and other parts of the country, petitioned the king for the redress of grievances, and the sitting of parliaments. That various counter-petitions were presented to his majesty, expressive of their abhorrence of the said petitioning, as tumultuous and seditious, and encroaching on the royal prerogative. That, on the 21st of October, 1680, the parliament met, and its first acts were to expel abhorrors, and to pass a vote, "That it is, and ever hath been, the undoubted right of the subject to petition the king for the calling of parliaments and redressing grievances; that to traduce such petitioning as a violation of duty, and to represent it to his majesty as tumultuous and seditious, is to betray the liberty of the subject, and contribute to the design of subverting the ancient legal constitution of the



the kingdom; and they appointed a committee "to inquire after all those who have offended against those rights, and accordingly expelled several of its members, and petitioned his majesty to remove others from places of trust." That on the 29th of October, 1680, the Commons voted, "that Sir F. Withers, by promoting and presenting to his majesty an address, expressing an abhorrence to petition his majesty for the calling and sitting of parliament, hath betrayed the undoubted rights of the subjects of England; and that the said Sir F. Withers be expelled the house for this high crime." That, for the exercise of the undoubted right of petitioning, the city charters were seized by a *quo warranto*; and it was argued for the city by Sir George Freby, then recorder, "That the constitution and the law of the land had given to the subject the right of petitioning, and access to the supreme governor, to represent to him their grievances, and to pray a redress of them; and that the same law gave them also a right to state in their petitions those facts and reasons which caused their grievances, provided those facts were true." And further, "That as there was one part of the constitution which gave the king power to prorogue, so there was another part of the constitution that gave the subject an original right to petition for redress of grievances; and that therefore to punish a man for shewing in his petition those grievances which he desires to be redressed, and the causes of them, was the same thing as to deny him the right of petitioning; and that such denial would infer oppression and the most abject slavery; for, when subjects are misused and

grieved, and are denied the liberty to complain, and pray the king to redress those grievances, or shall be punished for petitioning against them, they must necessarily be abject slaves.

IX. Resolved, That these arguments having been overruled by venal judges, judgment was obtained against the city; the abhorrors for a time triumphed; the liberties of the people, with the right of petitioning, was subverted; and the succeeding monarch, in consequence thereof, driven from his throne and dominions. At the revolution of 1688, in the bill of rights, "the undoubted right of the subject to petition" was, among other things, claimed, demanded, and insisted upon. This right has been of late again invaded; the people oppressed with unprecedented grievances and calamities, have been denied access to the sovereign, their petitions have been rejected by the House of Commons, and their grievances remain unheard and unredressed. The exploded doctrine of passive obedience has been revived in all its extravagance; and a new race of abhorrors have sprung up, who, like the abhorrors in the days of Charles the Second, by the foulest calumnies, by villifying and traducing the petitions of the people, are (in the emphatic language of the then House of Commons) "betraying the liberties of the subject, and contributing to the design of subverting the ancient legal constitution of the king." That as the corrupt participators in public abuse, under the mask of loyalty, subverted the liberties of the kingdom, and involved James the Second in ruin, so the corrupt and unprincipled of the present day, under the same legal pretence,



pretence, would involve the country and sovereign in similar difficulties, if suffered to persist. It therefore becomes the imperious duty of every real friend to the country to resist their mischievous designs, by recurring to the genuine principles of the constitution, and by using every legal means for obtaining a full, fair, and free, representation of the people in parliament.

X. Resolved, That, inseparably attached to our constitution, we admire, venerate, and will support and defend our king, our lords, and our commons, in their respective and collective capacities, with all their just prerogatives, rights, and privileges; but we can never consent to grant separatively to king, lords, or commons, a power contrary to, and above, the laws of the land, which are and must continue to be the results of their collective wisdom and authority.

XI. Resolved, That notwithstanding the rejection of our late petition, we still feel it our duty to give to the House of Commons every opportunity of hearing and redressing the grievances of the people, and that an humble address, petition, and remonstrance, be presented to that honourable house.

XII. Resolved, That the said petition be fairly transcribed, and signed by the lord mayor, the aldermen, and ten liverymen, and presented to the House of Commons by H. C. Combe, Esq. one of their representatives.

XIII. Resolved, That the thanks of the common hall be given to the Right Honourable Lord Erskine, Sir Samuel Romilly, Knight, M. P. and Samuel Whitbread, Esq. for their able, constitutional, and independent conduct on all occasions,

particularly for the stand they have lately made in favour of the dominion of the law, against arbitrary discretion and undefined privilege.

XIV. Resolved, That the thanks of this hall be given to Hervey Christian Combe, Esq. alderman, and one of the representatives of this city in parliament, for his support, in the House of Commons, of the right of the livery to petition the house, and for his general conduct in the house.

XV. Resolved, That the thanks of this hall be given to the right honourable the lord mayor, for his readiness in calling this hall, and for his independent and honourable conduct in discharging the duties of his office.

XVI. Resolved, That the thanks of this hall be given to Matthew Wood, Esq. one of the sheriffs of this city, for the independent manner in which he has always discharged the duties of his office.

The following resolutions, passed by the ward of Farringdon Without, are inserted as a summary of the reasonings adopted in the popular questions at issue between the country and the majority of the House of Commons.

I. Resolved, That in the 29th chapter of Magna Charta it is declared, that no freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or be disseized of his freehold or liberties, or free customs, or to be outlawed or exiled, or any otherwise destroyed; nor will we not pass upon him, nor condemn him, but by lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

II. Resolved, That the commitment of Mr. John Gale Jones, and Sir Francis Burdett, to prison, during pleasure, by the order of the honourable



honourable the House of Commons, for supposed libels, appears to this ward meeting an unreasonable and illegal assumption in their own cause, of the accumulated offices and power of accuser, juror, judge, and executioner.

III. Resolved, That the late assumption of undefined privilege by the honourable the House of Commons will, in effect, abolish that bulwark of our liberties, trial by jury, will supersede the habeas corpus act, will annul the bill of rights, and the wholesome provisions of Magna Charta.

IV. Resolved, That the exercise of illegal power naturally engenders violence, riot, commotion, and ultimately revolution; that the introduction of the standing army to enforce the arbitrary warrant of the speaker of the House of Commons, has already produced the most deplorable calamities; our sacred charters have been violated, the blood of peaceable passengers have been spilled, and our fellow-citizens have been murdered in our streets; and this ward meeting entertain a fervent hope, that any future attempts to introduce arbitrary power, to excite violence and riot, and to goad the people into resistance and commotion, may, by the steady, firm, and wise conduct of our countrymen, be foiled.

V. Resolved, That this ward meeting trembles for the consequences probable upon this conflict between the people and the privileges of the House of Commons; and they aver it to be their opinion, that this unnatural struggle is a certain evidence of the little influence they possess in that honourable house. That they believe the representation of the people in par-

liament is unequal, deficient, and now manifestly inadequate to the security of the subject; that it appears uncontradicted upon their journals, that seats in the honourable the House of Commons are notoriously sold and bartered; that a majority in that honourable house may be at all times, with perfect facility, procured and purchased, by any set of ministers, with the ready means of places, pensions, sinecures, patronage, and jobs; as only 154 powerful individuals, peers, and others, return 307 members for England and Wales; and the representation of Scotland and Ireland is equally corrupt; that by means of the majorities thus obtained, public defaulters have not only been exculpated, but suffered to enjoy the fruits of their nefarious conduct, and retain their seats in that honourable house.

VI. Resolved, That this ward meeting declares its entire approbation of the conduct, resolutions, and petition, of the livery of London, in their last common hall; that this meeting avails itself of this first opportunity to express its abhorrence of the seditious attempts of a band of contractors and venal jobbers, to decry all public spirit; and to induce the timid and the weak to join in libellous declarations against their fellow-citizens, and the venerable magistracy of our city.

VII. Resolved, that for those accumulated evils and calamities, one only remedy offers itself; namely, a full, fair, and free representation of the people in parliament.

VIII. Resolved, That this ward meeting do hereby instruct their representatives in common council to promote and support in that

court



court all legal measures whatever, that may be proposed to procure the liberation of Sir Francis Burdett and John Gales Jones; and for that necessary and indispensable object, a radical reform in the common house of parliament.

IX. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting are due to Sir Francis Burdett, for his manly and constitutional resistance to oppression, and for his learned and legal argument in favour of the unalienable rights of the people.

23. Meeting of parliament (for his majesty's speech see Appendix *infra*.)

24. At Stockholm, the prince royal publicly and solemnly pronounced his oath of fidelity, and received the homage of the states. The ceremony took place in the hall of the throne. His majesty opened the assembly by a discourse, in which he declared his having adopted prince Christian Augustus for his son, giving him the name of Charles Gustavus. The hereditary prince mounted upon the steps of the throne, took off his crown, and upon his knees, with his hand upon the Bible, took the oath according to the formula read to him by the minister of foreign affairs. The prince royal then delivered a short harangue, replaced his crown upon his head, kissed his hand to the king, and seated himself in his chair; when the states did homage to him, according to the formula read also by the same minister.

30. Mr. Wardle attended at Guildhall, to receive the thanks and the freedom of the city, in a gold box, of the value of 100 guineas, voted him by the corporation, for his able and patriotic conduct in the House of Commons, in bringing

forward charges against the commander-in-chief.

*Singular legacy.*—A gentleman of Aberdeen, recently deceased, has by his will directed his executors to offer a sum of not less than 1200l. for the best treatise on “The evidence that there is a Being, all-powerful, wise, and good, by whom every thing exists; and, particularly, to obviate difficulties regarding the wisdom and goodness of the Deity; and this, in the first place, from considerations independent of written revelation; and, in the second place, from revelation; and, from the whole, to point out the inferences most necessary for and useful to mankind.” The ministers of the established church of Aberdeen, the principal and professors of King's and Marischal Colleges of Aberdeen, and the trustees of the testator, are appointed to nominate and make choice of three judges, who are to decide, after the 1st of January, 1814, upon the comparative excellencies of such treatises as shall be laid before them. There is also left, by the same testator, a further sum, not exceeding 400l. for a treatise on the same subjects, which shall be thought, pursuant to the same decision, next in merit to the first premium treatise.

## FEBRUARY.

1. Miss Elwes, daughter of George Elwes, Esq. eloped with a clergyman of Oxford, of the name of Duffield, who was assisted in the plot by two other gentlemen of the cloth. Mr. Elwes is, perhaps, the richest ready-moneyed commoner in England. He is heir to the peculiar virtues of his economical father, and



and is estimated to be worth near a million of floating disposable cash, and she is his only child. She is under age, but was not made a ward of chancery. The plan was as follows:—One of the clergymen, under pretence of paying his addresses to a lady on a visit to Mrs. Elwes, contrived to be received into the family in the character of her lover, where he was treated with the utmost respect; and this gave him opportunities of arranging the matter for his friend, Mr. Duffield. On Wednesday morning he prevailed on Mrs. Elwes to accompany his intended wife a shopping; and in their absence he handed, with the utmost openness, Miss Elwes to the door, near which a chaise and four was drawn up. He met Mr. Elwes in the hall, who asked them where they were going; she was without a hat or bonnet, and said she was going to her mamma, who was waiting for her. The reverend gentleman proceeded with her, placed her in the chaise by the side of her gallant, and returned to the house with the utmost unconcern. Mr. Elwes had inquired in the mean time how long Mrs. Elwes had been out, and, seeing her conductor return, inquired where his daughter was. The clergyman, with perfect *sang-froid*, told him he had delivered her to the man destined to make her happy; and that she was off to Greina-Green, where he advised him to follow, and assist in the ceremony. The distress of Mr. Elwes, and still more of Mrs. Elwes, on her return, may be conceived. They both set off in a post-chaise and four, on the north-road; but we believe they proceeded no further than St. Albans, where not

having heard the least account of their route, they resolved to return.

8. The surrender of Guadaloupe took place.

9. On Monday and Tuesday a court-martial was held at Portsmouth, on the honourable Capt. W. Lake, of his majesty's ship *Ulysses*, for having, when commander of his majesty's ship *Recruit*, on the 13th of December, 1807, at six o'clock in the afternoon, caused a seaman of the name of Robert Jeffery to be put on shore on the desert island of Sombbrero in the West Indies.

It appeared, that in the month of November, 1807, Jeffery went into the gunner's cabin, and took out a bottle with some rum in it; that on the day he was sent on shore he broached a cask of spruce-beer, which had been brewed for the ship's company; and that his general character was that of a skulker. The *Recruit* being off the isle of Sombbrero, Captain Lake asked the master what island it was, and if there were not some thieves on board? To which the master answered, "Yes, there were two." Captain Lake then desired him to send Jeffery up to him: the man soon came up, and Captain Lake said he would not keep such a man in the ship. He then ordered Lieut. Mould to land the man, and return immediately to the ship. As soon as Admiral Cochrane heard of the circumstance he reprimanded Capt. Lake, and sent him to take the man off the island. Some of the officers of the *Recruit* landed, and explored the island, but they found only a barren spot, covered in the middle with a kind of rough grass-weed. There was no house or inhabitant



on it : It appeared, however, by the American newspapers afterwards received, that the man had been taken off the island by an American ship, and landed in America. Capt. Lake, in his defence, admitted that he put the man on shore, but denied that he ever intended to put his life in jeopardy, as he thought the island was inhabited ; that in landing him he thought he would be more sensible of his want of conduct, and would reform in future. The court agreed that the charge had been proved, and sentenced Capt. Lake to be—Dismissed from his majesty's service.

11. The spire of St. Nicholas's church, Liverpool, fell down with a tremendous crash, just before divine service began. Not more, perhaps, than from fifteen to twenty grown persons were in the church at the time, and of these the greater part escaped ; but the children of the Moor-fields charity-school, who are regularly marched in procession from the school to the church, somewhat earlier than the time of service, had partly entered. The boys following last, all escaped ; but of the girls, who were either entering the porch or proceeding up the aisle, we lament to state that a great number were instantly overwhelmed beneath the falling pile. The whole number of bodies taken out from the ruins is twenty-seven. Of these twenty-two were either dead or died almost immediately after their removal ; five were taken to the infirmary, and one of these is since dead. The hideous crash of the steeple, and the piercing shrieks which immediately issued from those who escaped in the church, or were witnesses of the catastrophe

in the churchyard, immediately brought a large concourse of people to the spot ; and we notice, with pleasure, the prompt exertions which were immediately made for rescuing the unfortunate victims, by the immediate removal of the fallen masonry, which were continued with unabated attention until the whole of the bodies were extricated, notwithstanding the menacing appearance of the remaining part of the tower, and the roof of the church, which every moment threatened a second fall. The scene was, throughout the whole of the forenoon, deeply affecting ; the parents of the children in the school, and a number of others, hurrying from place to place, inquiring the fate of their children or relatives, in the utmost agitation, heightened, in many cases, by a long and awful suspense, and terminating in the extremes of joy or sorrow, as they found the objects of their search in safety or among the sufferers. Accidents of this kind usually give rise to many hairbreadth and surprising escapes. We have collected the following from authentic information :—The ringers, though apparently exposed to the greatest danger, were all fortunate enough to escape, with the exception of one, who was caught in the ruins, along with a boy of fourteen years of age, who was in the steeple at the same time. They were, however, both immediately extricated by the exertions of the other ringers. The man was but slightly wounded, but the boy is since dead. The alarm, it appears, was given to the ringers by the fall of a stone upon the fifth bell, which prevented its swinging ; upon which they immediately ran out. A moment did



did not elapse before the bells, beams, and upper floor fell to the bottom of the tower; and their escape would have been impossible, had not the belfry been upon the ground floor.

12. At Paris, on the 17th ult. a *senatus-consultum* passed, for uniting Rome to the French empire.

23. Mr. Waithman, at a court of common council, brought forward a motion for a petition to parliament, against granting a pension to Lord Wellington, for his services, which, after two divisions, was carried by a majority of seven; and a petition to the house of commons agreed to accordingly. The sheriffs, attended by the remembrancer, directed to present the same.

24. Mr. Perry, proprietor of the Morning Chronicle, tried and acquitted, in the Court of King's Bench. He conducted his own defence, on the charge of having published a libel in that paper, copied from the Examiner, reflecting on his majesty's character.

28. The general fast.

### MARCH.

1. The body of the Hon. Frederic Eden was found off Mill-bank, by a bargeman: it was conveyed to a publican's house on the bank; and, on a coroner's inquest being held, the jury returned the following verdict:—"Found drowned in the river: but, by what means it came there, there was no evidence before the jury."

Eugene Beauharnois appointed successor to the Prince Primate, in the Grand Duchy of Frankfort.

The Old Bailey sessions closed, when sixteen prisoners received sen-

tence of death; two were ordered to be transported for fourteen years, twenty-four for seven years; and twenty-six to be fined and imprisoned.

3. The king held a chapter of the most noble order of the garter at Windsor, when the Marquis Wellesley was installed a knight, in place of the late Duke of Portland.

6—8. A violent tempest at Cadiz, which caused great destruction among the shipping, and drove a prison-ship ashore, when the French prisoners effected their escape.

11. Bonaparte was married, by proxy, at Vienna, to the Arch-Duchess Maria Louisa, daughter of Francis II. Emperor of Austria.

16. Treaty concluded between France and Holland.

18. Hanover formally annexed, by Bonaparte, to Westphalia.

21. Eliab Harvey, who had been broken for disrespect to Admiral Lord Gambier, was restored to his former rank of rear-admiral.

### APRIL.

1. Bonaparte married, at Paris, to the Arch-Duchess Maria Louisa.

6. After Sir Francis Burdett had intimated his intention of resisting the execution of the speaker's warrant for arresting, a tumultuous mob assembled in Piccadilly, near and around the baronet's house, with the apparent design of protecting him and his family. They committed great outrages in the neighbourhood.—For an account of the resolutions, &c, connected with this affair, see the *Parliamentary History*, and *Appendix to this Chronicle*.



7. The mob continued their violent proceedings; the military were called in, to maintain peace, when a life-guardsman was shot through the cheek by one of the mob.

9. By virtue of the speaker's warrant, the serjeant at arms (supported by the military) forcibly entered Sir F. Burdett's house, arrested him, and conveyed him along the road, skirting the town on the north to the Tower. On the return of the escort through the city of London, the military were repeatedly assaulted, fired at, and at length were compelled to fire in return upon the mob; by which several lives were lost.

10. The coroner's jury return a verdict of *justifiable homicide*, in the case of Thomas Bryant, an old man shot by the military which had formed the escort of Sir F. Burdett on the preceding day.

11. A proclamation issued, calling on all justices of the peace, &c. to aid and assist in suppressing all tumultuous meetings; and offering a reward of 500l. for the apprehension of any person who had been concerned in firing at, or wounding the military, in the discharge of their duty.

12. Another proclamation issued, offering a reward of 500l. for the apprehension of the person who had fired at Ensign Cowell while on duty, on the night of the 9th instant.

13. The coroner's jury return a verdict of *wilful murder*, in the case of Thomas Ebrall, a young man shot by the military, in Fenchurch-street, on returning from the Tower on the 9th instant. A stone, with the following inscription, has since been erected to his memory:—

Sacred  
to the memory of  
**THOMAS EBRALL,**  
Who was shot by a Life-guardsman,  
on the 9th of April, 1810,  
In the shop of Mr. Goodere,  
Fenchurch-street,  
And died on the 13th of the said  
Month.

The coroner's inquest brought in a verdict,  
Murdered by a Life-guardsman,  
unknown.

“Thus saith the Lord God, My right hand shall not spare the sinners, and my sword shall not cease over them that shed innocent blood upon the earth.”  
2 Esdras, chap. xv, v. 21, 22.

Capture of the East India Company's settlement of Tappanoolly, by the French.

14. The sword, buckles, and straps, fell from the equestrian statue of Charles I. at Charing Cross.

15. A grand military inspection in Hyde Park.

16. General review, in Hyde Park, of all the cavalry in and near London.

17. Meeting of the inhabitants of Westminster; the conduct of Sir F. Burdett approved, and the following petition was prepared and agreed to.

*To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.*

The petition and remonstrance of the inhabitant householders of the city and liberties of Westminster, assembled in New Palace Yard, the 17th day of April, 1810, by the appointment of Arthur Morris, Esq. the high bailiff, in pursuance of a requisition for that purpose. We, the inhabitant householders, electors of the city and liberties of Westminster, feel, most sensibly, the indignity offered to this city in the person of our beloved representative, whose letter to us has fallen  
under



under the censure of your honourable house; but which, so far from deserving that censure, ought, in our opinion, to have led your honourable house, to reconsider the subject, which he had so ably, legally, and constitutionally discussed. We are convinced that no one ought to be prosecutor and juror, judge and executioner in his own cause; much less to assume, accumulate, and exercise all those offices in his own person. We are also convinced that the refusal of your honourable house to inquire into the conduct of Lord Castle-reagh and Mr. Perceval, then two of his majesty's ministers, when distinctly charged with the sale of a seat in your honourable house, evidence of which was offered at the bar by a member of your honourable house; and the avowal in your honourable house, "That such practices were as notorious as the sun at noon-day,"—practices, at the bare mention of which, the speaker declared, that our ancestors would have startled with indignation; and the committal of Sir Francis Burdett to prison, enforced by military power, are circumstances which render evident the imperious necessity of an immediate reform in the representation of the people. We therefore most earnestly call upon your honourable house to restore to us our representative; and, according to the notice he has given, to take the state of the representation of the people into your serious consideration; a reform in which is, in our opinion, the only means of preserving the people from military despotism.

This petition was rejected by the house.—*See History of Europe.*

19. Dinner of a part of the li-

very, at the city of London Tavern, to commemorate the triumph of Colonel Wardle, in the case of the Duke of York.

The Old Bailey sessions closed, when nine prisoners received sentence of death, two were ordered to be transported for fourteen years, several for seven years, two to be imprisoned two years, and others to minor punishments.

23. All the Turkish vessels in the port of Trieste placed under sequestration.

26. A meeting of the freeholders of Middlesex, at Hackney, to complain of the conduct of the House of Commons, respecting the committal of Sir F. Burdett and Mr. Gale Jones.

Copy of the petition agreed to.  
*To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.*

The petition of the freeholders of Middlesex, agreed to in full county, this 26th day of April, 1810: Sheweth, that we have observed with concern, that, in the cases of Mr. Gale Jones, and Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. your house assumed and exercised a power unknown to the law, and unwarranted by the constitution. Your speaker's warrant has been executed by military force; an Englishman's house, his sanctuary, has been violated; and the blood of unoffending citizens has been shed in the streets. Against the existence as well as the exercise of this power, we solemnly protest—a protest the more necessary, because your votes in its support are entered on your journals—not so the letter of Sir F. Burdett to your speaker, denying you such jurisdiction. In the early part of this reign, in the case of Mr.



Wilkes, the rights of this county, and of the nation, were repeatedly and grossly violated by the House of Commons. At length the law triumphed. After a struggle of nearly twenty years, the house abandoned the pretensions they had arrogated, and, "expunged from their journals, all their declarations, orders and resolutions, as being subversive of the rights of the whole body of electors of this kingdom." You have, during your pleasure, deprived the citizens of Westminster of their share in the representation of the public at large, of the exertions of a faithful servant, in whose ability, firmness, and integrity, they pre-eminently confide. We view with jealousy and suspicion the shutting up Sir Francis Burdett in prison, when the attention of the nation is directed with anxiety to his intended motion for a reform in the representation of the people in your honourable house; that house in which the traffic of seats has been avowed, in the case of Mr. Perceval and Lord Castlereagh, "to be as notorious as the sun at noon-day;" a practice, at the mention of which, in the emphatic language of your speaker, "our ancestors would have startled with indignation."—We, therefore, pray you to follow the example of your predecessors, "to expunge all your declarations, orders, and resolutions on the subject, as tending to the subversion of our liberties," and to the introduction of a military despotism; and to recall Sir Francis Burdett to the service of the country in parliament, that he may there enforce that plan of reform which, last session, he so powerfully recommended, and which, in our opinion, is absolutely necessary for the stability and honour of the throne, and

the safety and well-being of the people. Signed in the name and on the behalf of this meeting.

This petition also was rejected by the house.

## MAY.

1. An act was passed by the American government, respecting the commercial intercourse between the United States, Great Britain, and France.

2. Middlesex petition rejected by the House of Commons.

4. A meeting and *counter meeting* of the livery of London, to consider of the discretionary power of imprisonment, claimed by the House of Commons.—*See Appendix.*

7. Meeting at Reading, to consider the case of Sir Francis Burdett, Gale Jones, reform in parliament, &c.

8. House of Commons rejected the petition of the livery of London, respecting the right of the house to the power of imprisonment.

\*Meeting of the Whig Club.

9. The sheriffs of London, accompanied by a deputation of the livery, in pursuance of the resolutions of the last common hall, went from Guildhall to the Tower, to deliver to Sir Francis Burdett a copy of the proceedings of the livery upon that occasion. Lord Moira, as constable of the Tower, attended, and admitted only the sheriffs and deputation, on foot, at the wicket door: the mob waiting without.

*Revolution in Spanish America.*—The Musette, which arrived on Thursday at Spithead, from Curacao, brought dispatches for government of a most important nature. They state that the whole of the



the inhabitants of the Caraccas had proclaimed themselves independent, in consequence of having received intelligence of the sudden departure of the Spanish junta, and of the approach of the French to Seville. In their proclamation of independence, the inhabitants of the Caraccas have expressed, in the strongest language, their determined hatred to the French, their attachment to Great Britain, and their desire to form an alliance with us. Several private letters respecting this transaction have reached town, by which we learn that the revolution took place on the 19th of April.

15, 16. Escape of a number of French prisoners from one of the hulks at Cadiz.

16. A meeting of the freeholders of Middlesex at the Free Mason's Tavern, for the purpose of voting resolutions counter to the proceedings of the meeting of the freeholders convened at Hackney, on the 26th of April.

21. Duke of Albuquerque, ambassador from Spain, landed at Portsmouth.

Meeting of the livery of London, to consider of the rejection of their petition by the House of Commons, on the 8th inst.

22. Dinner of the liverymen, who signed a declaration counter to the proceedings at the common hall on the subject of Sir Francis Burdett's committal to the Tower.

27. French papers received, developing a pretended plot of the English government for liberating Ferdinand VII. from his prison at Valancey.

28. Dinner of the electors of Westminster, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, to commemorate the

return of Sir Francis Burdett to parliament.

29. Sudden death of the Crown Prince of Sweden.

The Dey of Algiers declared war against France.

31. A most extraordinary and atrocious attempt was made nearly this morning to assassinate the Duke of Cumberland. His royal highness dined on Wednesday at Greenwich, returned to town in the evening, and went to the concert for the benefit of the royal society of musicians. He returned home about half past twelve, and went to bed about one. About half past two he received two violent blows and cuts on his head. The first impression upon his mind was, that a bat had got into the room, and was beating about his head: he was soon convinced to the contrary, by receiving a third blow: he jumped out of bed, when he received a number of other blows: from the glimmering light, and the motion of the instrument that inflicted the sounds, reflected from a dull lamp in the fire-place, they appeared like flashes of lightning before his eyes. He made for a door near the head of his bed, leading to a small room, to which the assassin followed him, and cut him across his thighs. His royal highness not being able to find his alarm-bells, which there is no doubt the villain had concealed, called with a loud voice for Neale, his valet in waiting, several times, who came to his assistance, and, together with his royal highness, alarmed the house. The duke desired Neale not to leave him, as he feared there were others in the room. His royal highness, however, shortly afterwards proceeded



to the porter's room, and Neale went to awaken Sellis (a Piedmontese) another of the duke's valets. The door of Sellis's room was locked, and Neale called out to him, saying, "The duke is murdered." No answer being given, the door was broke open, and Sellis was found dead in his bed, with his throat cut from ear to ear. It is supposed that Sellis, conscious of his own guilt (for there appears no doubt that he was the assassin) imagined, when the alarm was given at his door, that they were about to take him into custody, and immediately cut his throat. His blue coat was found folded up on a chair in one corner of the room, the inside of which was stained with blood; and, as he had cut his throat in another part of the room, the blood must have been that of his master. A pair of his slippers were also found in the closet adjoining the duke's chamber, where he had concealed himself until his royal highness was asleep. The assassin seems to have stood rather back towards the head of the bed, which was placed in a small recess, in order to avoid discovery, and was therefore obliged to strike down at the duke's head in a slanting direction; in consequence of which, the curtains which hung from the top impeded the action of the sword; and to this alone can his royal highnesses preservation be imputed—several of the tassels of the curtain were cut off. The sword was a large military sabre of the duke's, and had been lately sharpened. The whole edge appeared hacked and blunted with the force of the blows. His royal highnesses shirt was cut through in several places, and a great splinter

was shivered from the door through which he made his escape. Adjoining the room itself, and communicating with it, is the little closet where the murderer secreted himself. There is in this closet a small press, in which the bolsters were usually put, and in which he hid himself, as the scabbard of the sabre was found in it. Sellis had five different rooms to pass through from the duke's bed-room to his own, and his traces were distinctly marked by the blood left by his left arm upon the sides of the narrow door; and when his coat was examined, the left sleeve was found to be covered with blood. His royal highness, we understand, received six distinct wounds: one upon the forehead, towards the top of the head, another down the cheek, one upon the arm, another by which his little finger was nearly severed from the hand, one on the front of the body, and another on the thigh, besides several punctures in different parts with the point of the sabre. Mr. Home, the surgeon, was immediately sent for, who pronounced that none of them were mortal. Sir H. Halford was also called in. The prince of Wales went to the palace early in the morning to visit his royal brother; and about eight o'clock set off for Windsor, to communicate to the royal family the intelligence of the attack made upon the duke. A coroner's inquest was held on the body of Sellis, who, after sitting four hours, to hear evidence, &c. deliberated about an hour, and then returned a verdict of *Felo de se*.

In pursuance of a petition to the House of Commons, from the trustees of the British Museum, Mr. Greville's



Greville's minerals have been valued by Drs. Babington and Wollaston, C. Hatchett, Esq. and four other gentlemen, who report that the whole collection consists of about 20,000 specimens; that the series of crystallized rubies, sapphires, emeralds, topazes, rubelites, diamonds, and precious stones in general, as well as the series of the various ores, far surpass any that are known to them in the different Europeans collections: and that the value of the whole is 18,727l. including that of the cabinets, which cost 1600l.

JUNE.

4. His royal highness the *Duke of Kent*, conceiving that Mrs. Clarke's publication tends to implicate him as being the *first cause* of the recent inquiry into the conduct of his royal brother, has thought proper to publish the following assertions of Major Dodd. The questions were proposed to that gentleman as early as July last, but from some cause or another have not been made public till now.

*Queries put to Captain Dodd by his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent; and his answers thereto, 26th July, 1809.*

*Query*---Have I either directly or indirectly sanctioned, advised, or encouraged any attack upon the Duke of York?—*A.* Never.

(Signed T. Dodd.)

*Query*—Have I had to your knowledge, any acquaintance or communication with Colonel Wardle, or any of the persons concerned in bringing forward the investigation respecting the Duke of York's conduct which took place in parliament last winter, either direct or

indirect?—*A.* I feel confident that your royal highness has no such knowledge or acquaintance.

(Signed T. Dodd.)

*Query*—Have I, to your knowledge, ever had any acquaintance with, or knowledge of, Mrs. Clarke, or any communication with her direct or indirect, upon the subject above-named, or any other.—*A.* I am confident your royal highness never had. (Signed T. Dodd.)

*Query*—Have I every expressed to you any sentiment which could induce you to believe that I approved of what was brought forward in parliament against the Duke of York, or of any proceeding that would tend to his obloquy and disgrace?—*A.* Never. I have heard your royal highness lament the business *viva voce*: and you made the same communication to me in writing. (Signed T. Dodd.)

*Query*—Have you ever, to your recollection, expressed yourself, either by word or writing, either to Colonel Wardle or Mrs. Clarke, or to any other person connected with the investigation of the Duke of Yorke's conduct, in any way that could give them reason to suppose that I approved of the measure, or would countenance those concerned in bringing it forward?—*A.* Never. But I have on the contrary expressed myself, that your royal highness would have a very different feeling.

(Signed T. Dodd.)

*Query*—What were my expressions on the subject of the pamphlet which appeared, passing censure on the conduct of the Duke of York, and others of my family, and holding up my character to praise; and what have been the sentiments which I have uniformly expressed on similar publications, whether in



the newspapers or otherwise?—*A.* I have invariably heard your royal highness regret that any person should attempt to do justice to your own character at the expense of that of the Duke of York, or any other member of your family.

(Signed T. Dodd.)

*Query*—During the ten years you have been my private secretary, when, in the most confidential moments, I have given vent to my wounded feelings upon professional subjects, did you ever hear me express myself inimical to the Duke of York, or that I entertained an expectation of raising myself by his fall?—*A.* Never: on the contrary, I have frequently heard your royal highness express yourself very differently. (Signed T. Dodd.)

The above questions, written in Col. Vesey's hand, were all dictated by me.

(Signed) EDWARD.

In the presence of Lord Harrington.

(Signed) HARRINGTON.

J. A. VESEY.

6. A court of common council of the city of London held, "to consider the extraordinary and alarming power lately assumed by the House of Commons, of imprisoning the people of England for offences cognizable in the courts of law, and to adopt such measures as may be deemed necessary for obtaining a redress of grievances, and to reform the corrupt and inadequate representation of the people in parliament.

8. A meeting of the freeholders of Middlesex, at the Mermaid, Hackney, at which a petition, was agreed to, justifying the former petition, which had been rejected by the House of Commons on the 2d of May; and praying for a re-

form in parliament, and the release of Sir F. Burdett.

12. General Sarazin arrived in London, having effected his escape from Bologne.

14. Persian ambassador made a freemason, at the Thatched-House Tavern.

At the close of the Old Bailey Sessions, eleven prisoners received sentence of death, nine were ordered to be transported for life, and thirty for seven years.

15. Mr. W. Cobbett was tried in the Court of King's Bench, and convicted of a libel, respecting the German legion.—*See Appendix.*

19. *Jeffery the Seaman.*—The following deposition was this day received by government:—"This is to certify, that personally appeared before me, John Adams, master of the American schooner Adams, belonging to Marblehead, in the state of Massachusetts, and voluntarily made oath, that in the month of December, 1809, he did, whilst passing the island of Sombrero, in the Sombrero passage, in the West Indies, discover from his vessel a man waving his hand on the said island; whereupon the said deponent hove his vessel to, and sent his boat on shore with the mate, who found a man on the said island extremely reduced and exhausted, so as not to be able to speak. That the man having been brought on board the schooner, and somewhat recovered, declared, that his name was Robert Jeffery, a seaman, belonging to his majesty's brig of war Recruit, commanded by Captain Warwick Lake, and that he had been eight days on the said island. This deponent further said, that the said Robert Jeffery became quite recovered, and went to Beverly, where



where he resided, working at his trade of a blacksmith, when deponent saw him last.

“ JOHN DENNIS.

“ Sworn before me, at Corunna, 19th May, 1810.

“ J. L. MANJAC, vice-con.

“ Done in the presence of George Digby, captain of his majesty's ship Cossack, and George White, assistant-commissary.

“ (A true copy.)

“ GEO. DIGBY.”

20. Orders issued by the Swedish government, for cessation of intercourse with England.

21. Prorogation of parliament, and consequent liberation of Sir F. Burdett, who evaded appearing in the procession; and Gale Jones. The following are the principal circumstances, connected with this affair: The prorogation being expected to take place this day, great interest was excited on account of the procession, which it was intended should have taken place for the purpose of conducting Sir Francis Burdett from the Tower. The town was all in a bustle during the whole of the forenoon. Due precautions for preserving the peace were taken by the civil magistrates, and the number of military assembled in and about the metropolis was very considerable. The 12th light dragoons arrived from Woolwich. A park of artillery was stationed on the parade in St. James's park. A regiment of horse was stationed in Somerset-House. The volunteers mustered strong in their respective parishes, in consequence of circular letters having been sent to the whole of the volunteer corps, requiring each volunteer to appear with arms, in full uniform on their respective stations, for the purpose

of assisting the civil power in the preservation of peace, should their services be required. A detachment of the queen's dragoons was stationed near the Asylum.

The fineness of the day afforded a favourable opportunity for the populace to assemble on Tower-hill, which they did at a very early hour. Crowds were collected there at eight in the morning, and all along the line of streets from the Tower to Sir F. Burdett's house, in Piccadilly, every point was thickly planted with people towards the afternoon. Every window and elevated station was occupied, and all eyes were eagerly turned toward the east, whence the spectacle so much desired was expected to come. The display of beautiful females could not have been equalled in any other city in the world.

Most of the ladies wore the garter blue ribbon. From many houses rods with ribbons of the same colour were suspended. In every convenient situation, waggons, carts, and chairs, were filled with well-dressed females. In Piccadilly, &c. scaffoldings were erected. A severe disappointment was, however, experienced, in consequence of Sir Francis Burdett having declined to join the procession. Numerous bodies of the Westminster electors began to repair to the Tower about one o'clock. A party of about 500, from Solio, with blue cockades and colours flying, proceeded down Catherine-street and the Strand, for the city. They marched two and two, and invited every passenger whom they met to join them. They were met in the Strand by the 12th light dragoons, on their way to Hyde Park corner. The 14th light dragoons followed;



ed ; both regiments mustered very strong. The one body was preceded by a military band of music, and three blue silk banners. On the first was inscribed, "The constitution;" on the second, "Trial by jury;" and on the third, "Burdett and freedom." About 300 gentlemen assembled on horseback in different parts of the city, and arrived on Tower-hill about two o'clock. Among them we observed Major Cartwright, and a number of gentlemen who compose the Westminster committee. In the Minorities the carriages were arranged about two hundred in number. There were about twenty gentlemen's carriages, the remainder were stage and hackney-coaches. The latter were crowded outside and in with men and women, who wore blue favours and other tokens of their attachment to Sir Francis Burdett. As early as twelve o'clock the greater part of the shop windows by which the procession was to pass were shut, and the other front windows were left for the accommodation of persons who wished to witness it. The sides of all the streets were also nearly lined with teams and carts, which were filled by men, women, and children. The north and west sides of Tower-hill were immensely crowded by people of every description, which absolutely prevented the procession from being arranged in that regular order which was originally intended. The ramparts of the Tower were filled by soldiers, chiefly in their slop-dress, and without arms. They were frequently cheered by the people on Tower-hill, but did not once return it. After a long and anxious suspense for the appearance of Sir Francis Burdett, a soldier in the

Tower called several times through a speaking-trumpet—"He is gone by water:" but no person seemed to give any credit to what he had said to them. A little afterwards, one of the constables, with much difficulty, assured the people that Sir Francis Burdett had gone by water; but he received no more credit for his assertion than the person who spoke from the Tower. At half past four o'clock, however, three placards were suspended over the gates of the Tower, with the following inscription:—"Sir Francis Burdett left the Tower by water at half-past three."

The appearance of this notice soon spread the utmost astonishment and consternation among the whole people assembled; and gave rise to very different and contradictory surmises. Some asserted that Sir Francis Burdett never would depart by water, and disappoint the good intentions of his friends, unless he were compelled to do so. Others said he had withdrawn himself privately, lest his appearance should excite tumult, and he should afterwards be blamed for the consequences; and many even asserted that he had been ordered to attend the House of Commons, where he was to receive a reprimand previous to his discharge.

Mr. Sheriff Wood and Mr. Sheriff Atkins at last came to the Tower-gate on horseback, and appeared as little able as the rest to account for the non-appearance of the honourable baronet. They then entered the Tower, where they remained about a quarter of an hour; when they returned, and informed Major Cartwright and the other gentlemen who were appointed to conduct the procession, that Sir Francis



Francis Burdett had actually left the Tower in a boat, accompanied by two gentlemen.

Mr. John Gale Jones was liberated from Newgate about four o'clock, when he took a hackney-coach, and proceeded to join the procession at Tower-hill. His name was chalked upon the pannels, and he repeatedly addressed the people; but the confusion was so great that we could scarce hear a word he said, excepting that he complained he had been turned out of prison at two minutes notice.

The following letter was received by Mr. Sheriff Wood, while in waiting, on Thursday, at the Tower, in expectation of Sir Francis Burdett:

*“ Tower, June 21, 1810,  
half-past four, p. m.*

“ Sir—At the request of the bearer, John Stock, Esq. of Poplar, I beg leave to assure you, upon my honour, that at half past three o'clock this afternoon, I saw Sir Francis Burdett, accompanied by three friends, get into a boat, and he was instantly rowed down the river. I have the honour to be,

“ Sir your obedient servant,

“ DANIEL WILLIAMS,

“ Magistrate at the police-office,  
“ Whitechapel.

“ *Mr. Sheriff Wood.*”

*British Heroism.—Report by the Minister of War to his Majesty the Emperor and King of France.*

“ I have the honour to inform your majesty, in consequence of the orders I received, that the number of English prisoners who distinguished themselves at the fire that broke out at the town of Auxone is twenty-one: to wit, twelve of the first class of captains of merchant

vessels; three of the second class; four passengers; one merchant detained as an hostage, and a sailor. Ten of them received hurts; viz. Messrs. West, Humble, Dobbins, Hurst, Fenil, and Topping (rather severe ones); and Messrs. Mosely, Welsh (who had before saved a child from the flames at Arras) Robinson, and Davies, less severely; they are all recovered. Those who appeared to have exposed themselves the longest, without having received any injury, are Messrs. Atkinson (Robert) Macginnis, Pemberton, Delivet, and Smaile. Great praise is due to Messrs. Thornbill, Hollby, Miller, Atkinson (Thomas) and Collins. They also gave proofs of zeal, and afforded great assistance. The account transmitted by the prefect of the Côte d'Or, will put your majesty in possession, if you will deign to look at it, of fuller particulars respecting the conduct of these prisoners, and the nature of the reward which your majesty seems inclined to bestow on them.

“ *Paris.* Duke of FELTRE.”

“ The minister of war will express to them my satisfaction; will order them to be paid a reward, amounting to six month's pay, and will send them to their own country, under their promise not to serve until they are exchanged.

“ *Antwerp.* NAPOLEON.”

Insurrection at Stockholm, on the day appointed for the interment of the Crown Prince. Count Ferzen, who conducted the procession, killed. The cause of this is very obscure; but supposed to be connected with suspicions of the Crown Prince being poisoned: several persons were afterwards arrested and examined on this suspicion.

JULY.



## JULY.

1. Louis Buonaparte abdicated the throne of Holland, by a rescript of this day's date.

Calamitous *fête* given at Paris by the Prince of Schwartzburgh: when many persons were burnt in the building erected for the ball. The following are some of the details received from Paris, concerning this melancholy event:

"The emperor and empress had scarcely retired at the commencement of the tumult, when the crowd precipitated itself towards the three doors which led from the hall. It is impossible to form an idea of the despair and terror which seized upon every body when the cry of 'Save himself who can,' was heard; they crowded together, they ran against each other; some persons were trampled under foot. The lustres, the ceiling, and the beams fell, and wounded the unfortunate, who issued frightful cries. The heat caused the glasses and lustres, with which the hall was decorated, to crack with an explosion as loud as that of a pistol. Prince Kurakin was thrown down by a lustre, which broke his arm, and in this condition was trampled upon by those who endeavoured to save themselves. Many ladies experienced the same fate: others were overtaken by the flames, which set their robes of gauze and lace on fire, and either consumed or damaged them. A great number of ladies made their escape to the garden almost naked, and hid themselves in the thickets. Many wished to save themselves by a hole which the fire had made in the wall; but not being able to find the passage, many were suf-

focated or burnt. They reckon the number of persons who perished at from sixty to seventy. Diamonds and jewels to the amount of many millions were lost in the tumult. Prince Kurakin had in his hat a superb solitaire, estimated at four hundred thousand franks, which he lost, as well as his epaulets, worth eight hundred thousand franks; besides, at the moment he was thrown down, he was nearly losing a finger on which he wore a superb ring in brilliants. It is suspected that many were at this *fête* who were not invited.

A very violent storm in the metropolis: its effects felt in most parts of England.

3. The first annual commemoration since the installation of Lord Grenville, commenced at Oxford this day. The morning was ushered in by the ringing of bells, of which there is a profusion in all parts of this city. At nine o'clock the outer gates of the yard of the theatre were opened, when ladies and gentlemen had their clothes actually torn to rags, and lost their shoes, rings, &c. A number of rings and trinkets were afterwards picked up out of the mud. The rising semicircle was reserved empty for the noblemen and doctors who were to be in the procession. Sir Sidney Smith entered the area at ten o'clock, in his uniform: he was soon recognised by the bachelors of arts and under-graduate members of the university in the upper gallery, where an avenue was made for Sir Sidney, by the masters of arts and bachelors of law, when he bowed respectively to all parts of the gallery. The head of Worcester college had the care of the semicircle set apart for the noblemen and



and doctors, when he very politely admitted Sir Sidney to a seat.

At a quarter before eleven o'clock, Dr. Crotch, the professor of music of the university, announced the approach of the chancellor and the procession, from the vice-chancellor's, upon the organ; and the excellent band under his direction, amounting to about 100 performers, struck up the march in the occasional overture. The six beadles of the university, in their full dresses, entered, followed by Lord Grenville, the chancellor, in his new robes, which for elegance far exceed the lord chancellor's state robes. Dr. Parsons, the vice-chancellor, followed his lordship in full robes; there were also in the procession, Earl Spencer, Lord G. Cavendish, Lord C. Spencer, Viscount Morpeth, the Bishop of St. Asaph, the judge of the admiralty, the speaker of the House of Commons, Sir J. Hippesley Cox, Sir W. W. Wynne, Mr. Bouverie, Mr. T. Grenville, &c.

After the chancellor had taken his seat in the chair, and all those in the procession, the music ceased. His lordship then opened the high convocation, in a Latin speech, declaring the purposes of the convocation, viz. to commemorate the benefactors of the university, according to the intention of the Right Honourable Nathaniel Lord Crewe, late bishop of Durham; also to confer degrees upon qualified persons. While the chancellor was addressing the meeting, all those who came in the procession stood; Earl Spencer was on the right of the chancellor, and Dr. Parsons, the vice-chancellor, on his left. After his lordship had finished reading the list of names, he sat down and put on his cap; the

proctors did the same, being the only privileged persons to be covered in the presence of the chancellor. The band then played a very charming piece; after which the six beadles entered again in procession, followed by a doctor of laws, and those who were candidates to have that honour conferred upon them. The doctor we understand to be Dr. Heber, of Brazen Nose college: he addressed the chancellor in a long Latin speech, recommending the personages who were candidates for the honour of being admitted doctors of civil law. The chancellor rose from his chair, took off his cap, and answered the doctor.

His grace the Duke of Somerset, was the first candidate proposed, who, being informed by the chancellor he was admitted a doctor of civil law of that university, bowed respectfully, and then approached towards the semicircle, the seat of the doctors, where he was introduced to his seat by Dr. Parsons, the vice-chancellor, and one of the proctors. The next candidate was the Marquis of Buckingham, who, on ascending the steps to take his seat in the semicircle among the doctors, unfortunately fell; he was raised up by the chancellor and vice-chancellor. The noble marquis did not appear to have received any material injury.

The following is a correct list of the noblemen and gentlemen who were admitted afterwards to the degree of D. C. L. The Marquis of Downshire, Marquis of Ely, Earl of Essex, Earl of Abingdon, Earl of Jersey, Earl Fortescue, Earl of Carysfort, Earl Temple, Lord Viscount Bulkeley, Lord Viscount Carleton, Lord Braybrook, Lord Cawdor,  
Lord



Lord Carrington, Mr. William Wickham, Mr. George Tierney, Mr. William Elliot, Sir William Drummond, K. C. Sir John Newport, Sir John Anstruther, Mr. Fagel, late greffier of the United Provinces.

The Rev. William Crowe, of New College, the public orator of the university, then entered the rostrum, and delivered a Latin oration commemorating the benefactors of the university, which received great applause. The recitation of the chancellor's prize odes then took place. All the gentlemen were extremely perfect; we did not hear any of them once prompted; and they were all highly and deservedly applauded, particularly Mr. Chinnery, who delivered himself with the utmost effect and grace. The new ode was then performed, written in honour of the new chancellor.

The proceedings of the day being concluded, the chancellor rose and adjourned the convocation. His lordship then left the chair, and proceeded throughout the crowded area singly, when he was cheered generally throughout the theatre. All the doctors followed his lordship singly, according to their rank: every thing was conducted with the greatest decorum and regularity. The chancellor, several noblemen, heads of houses, doctors and proctors, to the number of about 200, dined with the vice-chancellor at Baliol College, where every delicacy was provided.

The concert at the theatre was crowded long before the performances commenced. The female part of the audience was most brilliant. The orchestra was directed by the almost unequalled skill of

Dr. Crotch, the university professor, and Bartleman, Braham, and Catalani, exerted their powers with effect. Catalani was peculiarly excellent in her last song, "*O ti muova*," and curtsied at every expression of general approbation in the most winning way in the world. At the end, after the coronation anthem, "God save the king" was called for by several. Most of the performers were moving, but she showed a strong disposition to comply with the wish, which was becoming more general. She then sang "God save the king" in better English than one could expect, and was assisted in the last verse by Braham.

At night a grand ball took place in the town-hall, where about 700 persons assembled, and in which the wealth and beauty of the city and its neighbourhood was mixed with the academics, and graced with the rank and dignity of the nobility. This grand fête lasted four days; but the entertainments were varied.

9. Holland was united to France by a decree of Buonaparte, dated this day at Rambouillet.

11. The Persian ambassador, Sirs G. and W. Ousley, with Mr. Morier, formally took leave of their majesties, at the drawing-room, previous to departing for Persia. His majesty presented the ambassador with a dirk mounted with diamonds: the queen also made several presents.

The comparative state of poverty to which the once opulent inhabitants of Hamburgh are reduced, may be inferred from the following circumstance:—Mollitor, the French commander, had it recently in contemplation to march the division under his command, amounting to 18,000 men, to the frontiers of Holland, with



with the view of encamping there for a limited time. He applied to the senate to furnish the necessary supplies; but they, in reply, declared their finances to be so low, as to be unable to purchase even the wood for building huts and temporary erections for the officers. Mollitor remonstrated, and threatened; but the senate persisted in their declaration; and in consequence, the French general was obliged to relinquish his design.

12. About six o'clock in the evening the inflammable air in a coal-pit, at Grange-colliery, near Bolness, Scotland, exploded; out of twenty-three persons who were in it at the time, awful to relate, only six were saved, seventeen having suffered. This melancholy event, which was altogether unexpected and undreaded (accidents, the effects of inflammable air, having been long unknown in that part of the country) is understood to have been occasioned by one of the suffering women having placed a light in a part of the pit, where, from the late uncommon closeness of the atmosphere, that air had collected in strength, and of which she had been warned by one of the survivors, and there to have set fire to it. The fatal effects were produced, not by burning, as is common in cases of explosion of inflammable air, but by its suffocating quality. Although immediate medical attendance was given, and every means used for restoring suspended animation, only four out of twenty-one were recovered, the other two having got out without receiving any injury. Besides the other calamities attending this dreadful accident, eighteen children have been left un-

provided for; for whose relief a subscription was set on foot.

The roof of a barn, which had recently been converted into a meeting-house, at Horne-End, between Christchurch and Poole, fell in, while—Hodges, a methodist, was preaching. There were a hundred people present, many of whom were much hurt, and four persons were killed.

17. The Queen Charlotte, of 120 guns, was launched at Deptford.

23. The Earl of Northesk and Sir Richard Strahan, received, at the Mansion House, the swords voted to them by the city of London. They were accompanied by the Earl of St. Vincent. Appropriate speeches were made by the chamberlain, and answered by the admirals. After this ceremony, they staid and dined with the lord mayor.

29. A destructive fire broke out at Mr. Gillet's printing-office, in Salisbury Square, Fleet Street. The premises had been rebuilt, at great expence, after a former calamity of the same kind, in 1805. Several neighbouring houses were greatly damaged.

## AUGUST.

3. This was an indictment against the defendant, for selling guineas at a rate beyond their intrinsic value.

The defendant has long been suspected of being the medium by which a vast deal of the gold coin of the realm has been sent out of the kingdom, and the prosecution was carried on by the Mint.

Persons were employed for the purpose



purpose of entrapping him, by purchasing fifty guineas from him at the rate of 22s. 6d. each guinea, which they did, and he was immediately apprehended. The case was proved. His counsel, however, took objections, which are to be argued next term, and the jury, under his lordship's directions, found him guilty, subject to the opinion of the judges upon the law of the case.

5. A thunder-storm passed over the metropolis between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, accompanied by a heavy rain and a quantity of hail. The storm was of short duration, but did some mischief. The house of Mr. Horniblow, in Upper Marsh, Lambeth, was struck about half past one. The electric matter entered at the upper part of the chimneys, and descended to the attic story, where a man and his wife were sitting at dinner: it passed within a foot of the woman, but providentially without doing her any injury. Thence it passed into the second floor, rending every thing in its way, and to the first floor, where the chimney-piece was torn away, and a picture rent. It then descended to the lower part of the house, where an old lady received a considerable shock, but was not hurt; and passed to the entrance, splintering the door in its progress. Several of the windows were broken, and the house was much shaken and materially damaged. The house has a N. W. aspect. A house in Bowling Street, Westminster, was struck in a similar manner; the electric matter entering by the chimneys and passing through the floors. A bell-wire was melted, and the door at the entrance was broken.

A newspaper which a person was reading at the time was set on fire, but the person reading received no injury. A female servant and a child were hurt, but not dangerously. During the storm a remarkable phenomenon occurred at Mr. Frazer's, botanist, King's-road, Chelsea, behind whose house, in a southern exposure, the hailstones, in consequence of a strong eddy of wind, had fallen in such quantities into a back cellar, the door of which happened to be open, as to become a complete piece of solid ice, about eight feet in circumference, and two feet in depth.

12. A dreadful earthquake happened this day at noon, at St. Michael's, one of the Azores. The village of Cozas, situated on a plain, comprising twenty-two houses, was swallowed up; and in the spot where it stood, a lake of boiling water gushed forth. Many of the unfortunate inhabitants had previously retired to the elevated ground; but about thirty-two persons, it is calculated, have lost their lives by this awful and calamitous event, and cattle and property to a considerable amount were destroyed. A great degree of alarm continued to pervade the whole island, as on the east side an orifice had been discovered resembling the crater of a volcano.

14, 15. The tremendous thunder-storm on these two days has done infinite damage. At two o'clock in the forenoon it appeared as if a cloud burst over the metropolis, and discharged in the course of a minute a profusion of water: this was succeeded by a shower of very large hailstones, which broke several windows, and much glass in the gardens



gardens south-west of the town. The flashes of lightning succeeded in the most rapid succession; and, from the clouds being so low, the air was so strongly impregnated with sulphur as to become quite offensive. About a mile beyond Kilburn Wells, a brilliant ball of fire passed rapidly along, which had a sublime and awful effect. The Watford coach was coming to town at the time, and the coachman and a female passenger were struck down by the lightning. The hand of the woman was very much hurt, and the ring on her finger was fused. A team which was near the coach had one of the horses killed, and a woman in the cart struck down by the lightning. An aged man, working in the garden of Mr. Sneathe, in the Edgeware road, was struck blind by the lightning. Three men were struck by the lightning on Bexley Heath, one of whom was killed, and his watch much fused. At Ditton, a barn filled with corn was burnt by the lightning. At Hampstead and Highgate the claps of thunder resembled the firing of heavy artillery. The tempest extended to most parts of Kent, and two gentlemen were killed near Canterbury while taking shelter under a tree. But the greatest damage was produced by the rain: in many parts, the streets were impassable, and the property of the inhabitants in their kitchens and cellars received injury. Westminster Hall presented an unusual appearance. The water overflowed the sewer at the back of the Exchequer coffee-house, and soon covered the lower part of the hall. Boys were stationed with brooms to sweep away the inundation, but the stench pro-

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duced by the overflow made the place uncommonly disagreeable to those who attended on business. The coruscations, which prevailed at intervals, frequently occasioned a momentary suspension of the proceedings in the courts, as the lightning had a peculiar effect on the eye-sight. We did not hear of any fatal accident in town; but it is highly probable that the most serious misfortunes have occurred in consequence of the storm.

Sunday afternoon, the 15th inst. about three o'clock, there was a very tempestuous storm at Windsor, of thunder, hail, and rain, which lasted for upwards of half an hour. The hailstones that fell were as large as a common marble. It has beaten all the fruit off the trees, and cut the peas and beans down in the gardens in Windsor and its environs.

At Wellingborough, in Northamptonshire, the electric fluid descended through the chimney of a house; and, entering the bed-room, killed Mr. Hornby, of that place, shoemaker, who was in bed with his wife and child, but neither of these sustained any injury.

16. At the assizes held at Chelmsford, James Sweeny, Richard Pearce, Edmund Buckley, Patrick Fleming, Maurice Brenwick, and John Sullivan, were indicted for the murder of John Bolding, a publican, at Forest Gate, in West Ham, on May 20.

This crime originated in a squabble between two persons drinking in the house; one of whom was an Irishman, who went and fetched a number of his countrymen, at least thirty; they assaulted the house, and not finding the man first quarrelled with, they turned their anger



on the landlord, and beat him, so that he died in about seven days.—  
Guilty.

Lord Ellenborough, in passing sentence on the six Irishmen, convicted of murder, observed:—It was a most melancholy spectacle to see so many men, in the flower of youth and health, who, from the turbulence of unruly passion, had forfeited their lives. It was a case of the most atrocious sort, and which he found himself bound to leave to the severity of the law. If the laws were suffered to slumber, where they had been so grossly violated, the country would justly have to dread that such sort of turbulent riot would end in the more formidable crime of rebellion, and we should perhaps be exposed to miseries which had been suffered by other countries, to which he would not now more distinctly allude. The prisoners all protested they were innocent, and seemed to think that nobody could be guilty but the man who actually killed the deceased. They were executed, with the exception of Sullivan, who had been recommended to mercy.

## SEPTEMBER.

1. A meeting for the repeal of the union, took place at the Royal Exchange, Dublin. At half past twelve o'clock Sir James Riddall took the chair. Mr. Hutton, after an introductory speech, moved that a committee of nine gentlemen be appointed to prepare the petition to the king for a repeal of the act of union.

The following gentlemen were then named:—

Mr. Hutton, Mr. M'Donnell, Mr.

Ashenhurst, Counsellor O'Connell, Mr. Ambrose Moore, Mr. Abbott, Mr. Farrell, Mr. Nicholas Mahon, and Mr. M'Bride.

*To the Right Hon. the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Petition of, &c.*

That your petitioners feeling, as they have ever felt, the warmest attachment to British connection, and (from a conviction of their excellence) to the principles of the British constitution, in support of which they have shed their blood and exhausted their treasure, and anxious only that those sacrifices shall not have been made in vain, most humbly present themselves before this honourable house, beseeching it, as the constitutional guardian of the British empire, to take into its most serious consideration, the consequences resulting from that legislative union which, in the year 1800, was enacted between Great Britain and Ireland. And your petitioners the more earnestly beseech this honourable house now to enter on this investigation, because it was an increase of the great, solid, and extensive benefits which “were promised to this country, and an immense addition and consolidation of interest, strength, and affection,” to the empire at large—a measure which was to counteract the restless machinations of an inveterate enemy—to calm all dissensions—to allay all animosities—and dissipate all jealousies—which was to communicate to the sister kingdom “the state of the capital and industry of England”—and give to her “a full participation of the commerce and constitution of Great Britain.”

Your petitioners consequently entreat



treat the honourable house to enquire, whether that measure, which has now been put to the decisive test of experience, has, in any degree, fulfilled, or whether it is calculated to fulfil, the sanguine expectations of its advocates; and whether its repeal has not been indispensably necessary for the accomplishment of those very ends for which its enactment was made a pretext.

That your petitioners humbly conceive a revisal and repeal of the legislative union, between Great Britain and Ireland, irresistibly called for by the following, amongst other considerations:—

Because, from the earliest establishment of English dominion in this country, to the year 1782, a resident parliament was, by the British kings, deemed necessary, and alone competent to understand its wants, to encourage its resources, and promote its interests.

Because the government of England, while it could controul the proceedings of the Irish legislature, never proposed or recommended to the consideration of either, a legislative union between the two countries, but that when compelled to renounce that controul, and, finally, to declare the parliaments of Ireland independent, the minister of England never ceased to plot its extinction; and, consequently, that the real motive for a union was not the mutual benefits of the countries, but the trouble and difficulty of managing an independent parliament, and the desire of procuring an increase of influence in that of Great Britain.

Because the moment seized on by the British minister for the ac-

complishment of his views, was that least fitted for a calm discussion and fair investigation of the merits of any serious and impartial political question: and because, even under such unfavourable circumstances, the means employed to effect it were the most corrupt and iniquitous.

Because the parliament of Ireland “being delegated to make laws, not legislators,” could not transfer their legislative authority without the express sanction and approbation of their constituents; and that a decided majority of the constitutional body was hostile to the measure, is evident from their petitions against it, and from the fact, that the minister, even after his defeat, feared to appeal to the sense of the people, by a dissolution of the then refractory parliament.

And your petitioners submit, that so decided was the opinion of the Irish people, respecting the incompetency of the Irish parliament to enact the measure of union, and so strong their abhorrence of that measure, and their conviction that they could not, in the language of the immortal and constitutional Locke, be bound by any laws but such as are enacted by those whom they have chosen and authorised to make them—“that an appeal to Heaven must, in all probability, have been the inevitable consequence, but for the preconcerted horrors of the preceding rebellion.”

Because the rapid improvement of Ireland, under an independent parliament, together with the annexed statement, must demonstrate that the interests of the country were much better understood, and its resources better managed by an



Irish, than an imperial parliament.

During the seven years' war, from 1793 to 1800, the national debt, under an *Irish* parliament increased but twenty millions.

During seven years' war, from 1803 to 1810, the national debt, under an *imperial* parliament, has increased forty millions.

During the year 1798, a year of foreign invasion and domestic rebellion, the expenditure of Ireland, under an Irish parliament, was but four millions.

During the year 1809, a year in which the army were so employed as to leave Ireland under an apprehension of either invasion or rebellion, her expenditure, by an imperial parliament, was ten millions five hundred thousand pounds.

The debt of Ireland, in 1793, was to the debt of Great Britain, as one to one hundred, and is now as one to seven; and, since the union, has increased in proportion to the debt of Great Britain, as one to two; whereas had the relative resources of the two countries been justly estimated at the enactment of that measure, the proportion should have been as two to seventeen.

And your petitioners cannot but conceive this statement the more irresistibly conclusive in favour of a repeal of the union, inasmuch as the warmest advocates of that measure ever maintained the avowed and notorious corruption of the Irish parliament as the strongest argument against its enactment. Your petitioners therefore submit to the good sense of this honourable house, whether a still more economical management of Irish resources, and a still more enlarged

understanding of Irish interests, are not to be expected from a reformed legislature, such as must exist in Ireland on a repeal of the union, all the Irish objectionable boroughs being now extinct by purchase.

Because the imperial parliament is composed of members, five-sixths of whom have never visited Ireland, or acquired any personal knowledge of the genius and character of its inhabitants—of their wants and grievances: because one-sixth of even the Irish representatives are neither natives of that country, nor have ever set foot on Irish ground; and because, by consequence, the affairs of Ireland are neglected and mismanaged, or her interests disregarded.

Because the promises officially announced to this country by the British minister, as the grounds upon which he ventured to propose the union, and which, though not inserted among its articles, were considered by the Irish people as equally binding, were forgotten by him, disowned by his successors, and disregarded by the imperial parliament.

Because the dangers and distresses of Ireland have ever taken their chief rise from the following, among other evils: from the inattention of its landlords to the welfare and comforts of their tenantry; from the foreign expenditure of the country, caused by its absentees, and its foreign national debt; from its consequent want of capital, of trade, and tranquillity—because all these sources of poverty and discontent have been, and ever must be, increased and multiplied by a legislative union between the two countries—and because upon a removal



moval, or an alleviation, of these evils, and upon a fulfilment of the promises made to the nation, depend the safety of Ireland—its future attachment to the crown of Great Britain, and the ultimate security of the empire.

That your petitioners, in conclusion, beg to state to this honourable house, that having, from 1782 to 1800, experienced the beneficial effects resulting from a resident and independent parliament, and having now for ten years felt the operative influence of British legislation, are impelled, from the recollection of the past, and sad experience of the present, to express their conviction to this honourable house, that the very serious distresses of the Irish people, and the dangers to which the country is consequently exposed; are principally to be attributed to the want of a resident legislature, as your petitioners, in expressing this conviction, are confident that, if admitted to the bar of the House of Commons, they shall be able to prove, to its full satisfaction, that such is the real source of the national distress; and that to the repeal of the legislative union can the people of this country look as the only efficient means of obtaining it present relief, of procuring it future prosperity, and securing its permanent connection with Great Britain.

Mr. O'Connell seconded the motion.

After Mr. O'Connell had concluded his speech, Sir James Riddall put the question separately, that the address and petition should stand as the address and petition of the meeting, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. Hutton then proposed that a committee of twenty-one be chosen, as a standing committee, to co-operate with the other meetings throughout the kingdom, which was unanimously agreed to, and a committee was appointed accordingly.

Mr. N. Mahon, after a very handsome eulogium upon his Grace the Duke of Richmond, whom he wished particularly to consider as distinct from the present administration, moved a resolution of thanks to his grace, for his conciliating and impartial conduct as chief governor, and for the encouragement he had afforded to the manufactures of Ireland. The resolution was received with very distinguished approbation, and was carried unanimously.

The thanks of the meeting were unanimously voted to Sir James Riddall, and a piece of plate, value 100 guineas, is to be presented to him.

Lord French, Messrs. Keogh, Randall, M'Donnell, Plunkett, Hay, and many other leaders of the catholic body were present, and appeared to assent to the speech of Counsellor O'Connell; who, it was reported, spoke the sense of the catholic body, when he asserted that *catholic emancipation was only a secondary consideration* to the repeal of the union.

6. A fatal duel was fought on Thursday morning upon Wimbledon Common, by two gentlemen. At half past five o'clock three post-chaises were noticed passing over Putney bridge, and at half past six one of the chaises returned to the Red Lion, at Putney, with a wounded gentleman, of the name of



Payne. Mr. Heaviside was sent for, and found that a pistol-ball had gone through the groin: the unfortunate gentleman died at half past four on Thursday afternoon. Mr. George Payne, the deceased, was the younger son of the late René Payne, Esq. who left him his fortune, to the amount of 14,000*l.* a year. Mr. Payne has left four children by his wife, who was a Miss Gray. The cause of the fatal duel is truly melancholy. The challenge took place about ten days ago, at Scarborough, but the quarrel was of a more distant date. The orphan daughter of the late Dr. Clark, of Newcastle, was the friend of Mrs. Payne, and a visitor in the family. An unfortunate attachment took place between Mr. Payne and Miss Clark, which transpiring, the irritated feelings of the brother forced him to resent. Every means were tried by Mr. John Payne, the elder brother of the deceased, to avert the catastrophe, but in vain. Mr. George Payne was most exemplary in all his conduct through life, except in this fatal attachment. He was a most liberal and most amiable man. He had whispered to his second, Mr. Abbott, that he should not return Mr. Clark's fire; but the first shot was mortal. Mr. Clark has effected his escape.

An inquest was held at four o'clock, on Friday afternoon, by — Jemmett, Esq. at the Red Lion, at Putney, on the body of Mr. Payne, who died the preceding afternoon, at four o'clock, in consequence of a wound he had received in the above duel, on Wimbledon Common, but of the circumstances of which no evidence whatever could be produced to the jury.

The jury returned a verdict of *wilful murder* against some person or persons unknown, supposed to be by a pistol-shot.

*Jeffery, the seaman.* (See p. 264.)  
Extracted from a provincial paper.

*Plymouth, Sept. 17.*

Having been requested by several gentlemen to write to Mrs. Coad, the mother of the unfortunate Jeffery, for the purpose of ascertaining if he had written to her; the following is the letter which I sent to her, the answer, and inclosure.

A CONSTANT READER.

*Plymouth Dock, Sept. 11.*

“Madam, Several gentlemen of this town, who feel themselves interested in the fate of your son, R. Jeffery, late of the Recruit, have requested me to write to you, for the purpose of ascertaining, if possible, whether he be living or dead. The papers in general have published statements, purporting that he was taken from the island of Sombbrero by a vessel belonging to Marblehead, and that he now lives in the province of Massachusetts, America. Now as it appears that he was a particularly dutiful and affectionate son, and one who let slip no opportunity of writing to you while on board the Recruit, it is probable that, if living, he has written to you; and this, of course, would place the fact of his existence beyond a doubt. Have the goodness to excuse the trouble which I give you on this subject, and rest assured that nothing but a participation in that lively interest in the fate of your son, which pervades



pervades all parts of the British empire, could have induced me to have intruded on your time.

"I am, &c.

" \* \* \* \*

"*Mrs. Coad, Polperro, Cornwall.*"

ANSWER. (EXTRACT.)

"*Polperro, Sept 14, 1810.*

"Sir, This evening's post has brought me the favour of yours of the 11th instant, for which be pleased to accept my humble thanks. In reply to your obliging inquiries respecting my unfortunate son, I have to inform you, that I have had no other account than those published in the papers until this evening. So long time had elapsed since the account published, that my doubts had overcome my hopes of his existence, and I took the liberty of troubling Mr. Whitbread, who interested himself in his behalf. I yet think, if my son were living, and had given his deposition, as stated officially, that he certainly would have written to me; and I also think, that if he really was the person, they would have pressed him to write to me, to convince me and the public of his existence. I have also requested to have a letter sent to him, but have yet had no answer, or opportunity of so doing. I shall subjoin an extract from a letter to Mr. Whitbread, from the secretary of the admiralty, in answer to his letter, which he has inclosed to me, and sent here. I shall feel it my duty to give you any information in my power at any future time, and am much obliged for the trouble you and your friends have taken, and am, sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"HONOR COAD (late JEFFERY.)"

(INCLOSURE.)

"*Admiralty, Sept. 11.*

" ——— of Jeffery's mother, as she seems to say that nothing but a letter from him will satisfy her. I have no such letter to send you; and have only to assure you, that we have received official information of his having been living and well a few months ago, in America; and I have also some reason to expect, that he will, at no great distance of time, come to England.

"I am, dear sir, faithfully yours,

"J. W. CROKER.

"*S. Whitbread, Esq.*"

28. *Death of Mr. Abr. Goldsmid.*

—About half past seven o'clock in the morning, Mr. Goldsmid was seen to pass over the bridge that leads to the wilderness, or rookery, in the grounds at Morden-House: shortly after the coachman, as was usual, inquired what horses were to go to town; upon which he was referred to Mr. Goldsmid, being told at the time which way his master had walked. The coachman went in search of him, and was the first that found him weltering in his blood, with the pistol grasped in his right hand. Life was not quite extinct, but before any aid could be procured, Mr. Goldsmid expired.

The cause of this rash act it is not difficult to assign:—Mr. Goldsmid was a joint contractor for the late loan of fourteen millions, with the house of Sir Francis Baring, and taking the largest probable range, that he had dealt amongst his friends one half of the sum allotted to him, the loss sustained by the remainder, at the rate of 65l. per thousand, which was the price of Thursday, was more than any individual fortune could be expected to sustain,

T 4

Ever



Ever since the decline of omnium from par, Mr. Goldsmid's spirits were progressively drooping; but when it reached 5 and 6 per cent. discount, without the probability of recovering, the unfortunate gentleman appeared evidently restless in his disposition and disordered in his mind; and, as we have reason to believe, not finding that cheerful assistance amongst his monied friends which he had experienced in happier times, he was unable to bear up against the pressure of his misfortunes; and hence was driven to terminate a life, which, till then, had never been chequered by misfortune. The moment intelligence of the distressing event reached the city, which was about the period of the opening of the Stock Exchange, the funds suddenly felt the effects, and consols fell in a few minutes from  $66\frac{1}{2}$  to  $63\frac{3}{4}$ . Omnium declined from about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  to  $10\frac{3}{4}$  discount, and then remained steady at that price for some time. It is understood that Mr. Goldsmid had determined, if possible, to perform his contracts at the Stock Exchange, hoping still to have a competency left to retire with into private life from the wreck of his fortune. He had already commenced his retrenchments, by discharging all the workmen and outdoor labourers employed on his extensive premises at Morden.

## SEPTEMBER.

24. The Spanish cortes, met and proceeded to enact several regulations.

By a second decree, dated the 25th, the cortes are to be addressed by the title of majesty; and the

executive power by that of highness. The publication of the laws which emanate from the cortes, is to be made in the following manner:

“Don Ferdinand VII. by the grace of God, King of Spain and the Indies, and in his absence and captivity the council of regency authorised *ad interim*, to all to whom these presents come:—Know ye, that in the general and extraordinary cortes assembled in the Royal Isle of Leon, it has been resolved and decreed as follows, &c.” The same decree requires all civil, military, and ecclesiastical authorities, to acknowledge and take the oath of obedience to the general cortes of the nation.

27. Cooke, the publican of the Swan, in Vere Street, Clare Market, and five others of the eleven miscreants convicted at Clerkenwell sessions, of detestable practices, stood in the pillory in the Haymarket, opposite to Panton Street. Such was the degree of popular indignation excited against those wretches, and such the general eagerness to witness their punishment, that, by ten in the morning, all the windows and even the roofs of the houses were crowded with persons of both sexes; and every coach, waggon, hay-cart, dray, and other vehicle which blocked up great part of the streets, were crowded with spectators.

The sheriffs, attended by the two city marshals, with an immense number of constables, accompanied the procession of the prisoners from Newgate, whence they set out in the transport caravan, and proceeded through Fleet Street and the Strand; and the prisoners were hooted and pelted the whole way by the populace. At one o'clock  
four



four of the culprits were fixed in the pillory, erected for, and accommodated to the occasion, with two additional wings, one being allotted for each criminal. Immediately a new torrent of popular vengeance poured upon them from all sides: blood, garbage, and ordure from the slaughter houses, diversified with dead cats, turnips, potatoes, addled eggs, and other missiles, to the last moment.

Two wings of the pillory were then taken off to place Cooke and Amos in, the two remaining ones; who, although they came in only for the second course, had no reason to complain of short allowance. The vengeance of the crowd pursued them back to Newgate, and the caravan was filled with mud and ordure.

No interference from the sheriffs and police officers could restrain the popular rage; but notwithstanding the immensity of the multitude, no accident of any note occurred.

## OCTOBER.

3. The Coffre-dam at the Line-house entrance of the West India docks, erected for the purpose of keeping out the water, while the building of the wing-wall of the lock was going on, gave way. At nearly high water in the afternoon, the workmen employed in excavating the earth for the foundation, having observed the water to burst underneath the piles, were ordered to remove immediately from the dam. The confidence however reposed in its security, from the immense strength of the braces, &c. was such, that hopes were enter-

tained that it would not entirely give way. But in a few minutes, the piles (which were upwards of thirty feet long) were forced perpendicularly into the air, the water of course filled the dam, and the effects were immediately felt in the bason, though not to the extent that might have been expected. Fortunately no lives were lost.

The situation of the dam was so much exposed that not less than from thirty to forty vessels passed every tide. Many of these, in passing (notwithstanding every exertion on the part of the dock master) came with a severe crash against the dam, and from this circumstance, and the pressure of about fifteen hundred thousand tons of water, the blowing up of the whole was not to be wondered at.

The monument erected in Guildhall to the memory of Lord Nelson, consists of three figures—Britannia weeping over the bust of Nelson—the City recording his brilliant victories—and Neptune leaning on a Dolphin. The base contains, in *basso relievo*, the battle of Trafalgar, with Lord Collingwood's ship in the state it remained in after the action. A seaman is placed at full length on each side the base, holding the implements of war and navigation.

4. *Galway*.—Monday night last, the greatest take of herrings remembered here for many years took place at our roads; such was the quantity taken, that at 20s. per thousand, it was computed that the fishermen would have received no less than 3000l. for the night's fishing; notwithstanding which, they seem to have no inclination to take advantage of what Providence puts in their power, for yesterday evening they entered into a combination



bination for putting a stop to the coasting boats throwing out their nets, at a time when, we are given to understand, our bay swarms with that useful fish; which having come to the knowledge of Anthony Morris, Esq. commander of the Townshend, revenue cruizer, he immediately hastened to arm his boats, for the purpose of putting a stop to such unlawful proceedings: in despite of his utmost vigilance, those deluded people, to the amount of several hundreds, armed with sticks and stones, put off from the shore, for the purpose of opposing him by force: he was compelled to fire several shots, in order to disperse them.

The vault which Mr. Horne Tooke has caused to be prepared for his remains, is situated under a plot of grass in his garden, near the north wall, on Wimbledon Common; it is now ready for his reception. A handsome tombstone, of finely polished black marble, about eight feet long and two wide, with the following engraven epitaph, was, a few days ago, by his own direction laid down:

JOHN HORNE TOOKE,

Late proprietor, and now occupier,  
of this spot, was born in June,  
1736, and died in —

Aged — years,

CONTENTED and GRATEFUL.

15. Sixty pounds was last week paid at Plymouth for a substitute for the Militia. One man went on condition of receiving 1s. per day during the war; and another sold himself for 7s. 3d. per lb.

16. Mr. Adam of the Transport-office lately received private information that three French officers, on their parole at Lichfield, were

about to make their escape; and were to be assisted by an Englishman. The information was so very particular, that it even mentioned the house they were to come to in London, and the time they were expected to arrive, which was last Monday night; at which time Mr. Adam, attended by Wood the messenger, belonging to the Alien-office, and several police officers, went to a house in Lemon-street, Goodman's-fields, the house described in the information, where Mr. Adam and Wood the messenger, gained admittance, leaving the police officers at the outside, with instructions not to suffer any person to escape who came out of the house. Mr. Adam and the messenger remained in the house some time, conversing with the landlord, under pretence of his procuring them a passage to Ostend. After some time they heard some voices in conversation in an adjoining room, and they had no doubt but they were foreigners, but could not distinguish what they said. About this time a man went out of the house, who proved to be the Frenchmen's guide; but as soon as he got outside the door, observing the police officers waiting about in the front of the house, he suspected they were discovered, and instantly returned into the house, gave the Frenchmen to understand his suspicions, and they all instantly rushed out of the house, and were then seized by the police officers at the door. They were taken before Mr. Adam, and interrogated. The Frenchmen proved to be Colonel Bouis, Lieutenant-Colonel Weikel, and Lieutenant Mervin. The Englishman said his name was Henry Proctor; and acknowledged that he



he had assisted the officers in their escape from Lichfield. Mr. Adam cautioned him against criminating himself, and informed him of the heavy punishment that awaited him, in case of his being found guilty of assisting prisoners of war to make their escape. Proctor, however, persisted in giving an account of his conduct, which he did in the most candid manner. He stated that he went to France very young, for his education, and married there a relation of one of the officers; they were made prisoners, and remained confined for a considerable time: he, however, made his escape to his native country, by the assistance of one of the officers, and he had pledged himself, on his arrival in England to use every endeavour in his power, in return, to effect the escape of his friend's brother, in this country, and procure his return to France; and he had found himself bound to pursue this conduct by every tie of honour and friendship. On searching him 28l. in bank notes were found, which belonged to the officers, and some papers which corroborated the suspicions that they had come from Lichfield. They were all secured, and taken to Tothil-fields, Bridewell; and on Wednesday afternoon they were fully examined before Mr. Read at Bow Street; when a post-boy who drove them, and several other witnesses were produced, to prove their coming from Lichfield together, and that Proctor was the managing man. They were all remanded to Tothil-fields Bridewell. The officers were sent on board the prison-ship at Chatham; and Proctor will be tried for assisting them in their escape.

25. Jeffery the seaman arrived in town on Monday last, when the lords of the admiralty gave him his free discharge from the service; and the friends of Captain Lake made him a liberal compensation for the hardships he had sustained. He is a good-looking young fellow, and confesses he made the X for his name, though he can write; but he says that it is common among sailors to use the cross for shortness.

In his account of his sufferings and preservation, he says, that at first he did not believe that it was intended to leave him on the island; he saw the ship the morning after he was put on shore, and expected every moment that a boat would be put off to take him on board. He suffered at first very much from thirst, and to allay it he drank a considerable quantity of salt water, which only increased it. Most fortunately for him some rain fell on the third day after he was put on shore, and the quantities that remained in the cavities of the rocks supplied him while he remained there: he was under the necessity of sucking it out with a quill. He saw great numbers of birds of the gull kind, rather larger than a goose, but he could not catch any of them. He found only one egg, but it was in such a putrid state that he could not eat it: the only food (if it may be called food) that he had was some bark, which he found on the shore. He saw five ships pass by while he was on the island, but at too great a distance for him to be visible to the people on board; and the vessel by which he was at last taken off would probably have passed on in the same manner, if the captain had not hove-to



hove-to from motives of curiosity, to examine the birds which were flying in great numbers about the island.

26. A court of common council was held, which was fully attended. On bringing up the report of the committee appointed to consider of the propriety of extending the time at present allowed for the election of Aldermen (three days) to eight days, and for increasing the sum necessary for qualifying a person to take that office upon him, from 10,000*l.* to 30,000*l.*

The building adjoining St. George's chapel, Windsor, called Cardinal Wolsey's chapel, was some time since filled with lumber, although it had been understood that his majesty intended to have a vault made there for the interment of the remains of his family, however, within these few days, the lumber has been taken out of it, and the windows put in. On Friday as some labourers were employed in digging an archway in Cardinal Wolsey's chapel, they discovered a coffin; the wooden one was decayed, but the leaden coffin was in a very good state of preservation. The inscription on it could not be made out. On opening it, the contents proved to be a woman, wrapped up in waxed canvas, of fifty folds, and a child, in a very high state of preservation, in spirits. It was supposed to be the queen of Edward the IVth. and one of her children. It was kept open till Monday when it was obliged to be soldered up.

31. A very full court of common council met for the purpose of taking into consideration the following motion, of which Mr. Jacks had given notice:

“That a bust of our most ex-

cellent sovereign George III. be placed in the council chamber of this city, as a grateful testimony to descend to the latest posterity, of the high sense this court entertains of the manifold blessings enjoyed under his paternal reign; in which, during the long period of fifty years, continued in the most eventful times, and under the most arduous circumstances ever recorded in history, Britons have the proud satisfaction to feel, that amid the wreck of surrounding nations, their beloved country has preserved its laws, its religion, its liberties, and its independence unimpaired.”

This resolution was, in the issue, changed to an order for a whole length statue.

## NOVEMBER.

1. The lord mayor received a communication from Mr. Ryder, secretary of state for the home department, informing his lordship that in consequence of the continuing indisposition of his majesty, no new chief magistrate of the city could be submitted for the royal approbation, and that in consequence his lordship would be expected to continue in the discharge of the duties of that high office until his majesty's pleasure could be taken on the appointment of his successor.

*Income Tax.*—The following uncommon entry appears in the Newgate calendar of the present sessions:—“Joseph Goslick committed by D. Jennings, S. Weddell, and N. Brickwood, Esqrs. commissioners of the property acts, to remain without bail or main-prize until



until payment shall be made of the sum of 3l. rated and assessed on him, upon profits and gain arising from his trade, employment, or vocation. Dated 10th September, 1810.

3. The workmen employed to repair the church of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, discovered a few days since the remains of the notorious Chancellor Jeffries. A large flat stone was removed near the communion-table, and in a vault underneath the men found a leaden coffin, containing the body. The coffin did not appear to have suffered much decay. It was closed, and a plate remained on it, inscribed with the name of Chancellor Jeffries. His son and daughter are also buried in the same vault. The coffin was not opened; and after public curiosity had been gratified, it was replaced in the vault, and the stone fastened over it.

*Dated Nov. 9. Paper addressed by Brigadier D. Joao Dias Porlier, to the Commander of the French troops in Spain.*

“ Having learnt, that on the seventh instant, three soldiers of the hussars of Cantabria, who had been taken at Corvera, were put to death in the city of Palencia; in execution of the orders which the national government has issued in opposition to those of the robber Soult, alias Duke of Dalmatia, I have ordered six French soldiers to be shot, and to be suspended on trees, or the walls of a place, the nearest possible to the city of Palencia.

“ All the nations who compose the French armies in Spain must therefore understand, that by orders of the Spanish nation, for its own honour and that of all the sol-

diers who defend it, all acts committed in future by the French generals, contrary to the rights of war, shall be considered as crimes committed against the rights of men, and on all occasions the strictest retaliation shall take place.”

10. *Tremendous storm.*—This morning, about seven o'clock, it began to rain at Boston, and continued to do so throughout the day. The wind accompanied the rain impetuously from the E. S. E. and gradually increased in roughness; from eleven o'clock in the day till six in the evening, it blew extremely hard; and from that hour till nine a perfect hurricane. In consequence of this continued gale for so many hours in one point, the tide in the evening came in with great rapidity, and rose, half an hour before the expected time of full flood, to a height exceeding, by four inches, what it is recorded to have attained on any occasion preceding. What is called a *good tide* was expected; but the consternation produced by the rise of the water several feet above its usual level, may well be imagined to have been excessive. Houses which on no occasion whatever before had been invaded by the tide, were now, by its overpeering all probable bounds, filled to a great depth with the water, which rushed into kitchens and cellars, and inundated every apartment until it found its level. Whole streets were thus circumstanced; and some were for two or three hours inaccessible but to those who had resolution enough to wade up to the knees. Withamplace, Wormgate, and all the streets and houses near to the river, were in the latter predicament; and as it was night, and rained heavily, the



the situation of the inhabitants was most distressing.

What was a very extraordinary thing, the tide, when it had flowed to its highest, did not perceptibly subside for more than an hour. To those who had any knowledge of the way in which such an effect could be produced, this was a sure prognostication of an extensive calamity; to them it was clear that the sea-banks had broken, or were overflowed; and fortunately for the town of Boston (but most miserably unfortunate for the surrounding country) was it that this thing happened; for had not this tide found another and less straitened course, but flowed till it had spent itself in its accustomed channel, it would have risen in all probability even some feet higher than it did in the town, and have swept almost every thing before it. As it happened, the town was saved, and the neighbouring country deluged. Friskney new sea-bank is broken by the tide in two or three places; Liverton new sea-bank the same; of Frieston new bank scarcely a vestige is left; the old bank also in that parish is broken in many places; as is Boston east old bank, and the banks at Skibock Quarter, Wyborton, Frampton, and Fossdyke. It may be well to observe, that the new banks are those lately made on the inclosure of the marshes from the sea, but are not relied upon for the defence of the country at large. The old sea-banks, unhappily for the country, have proved insufficient in height, as the surge passed over them almost along the whole line; and this was the cause of the breaches, the overflow having first scoured away the banks, from the summit

to the base, on the land side. The situation of the country, in consequence, from Wainfleet almost to Spalding, a distance of thirty miles, is such as exceeds our powers of description. The intelligence of distress which we have for two days hourly had brought into us, amazes, and almost incapacitates us from our duty of relating what we hear.

The calamity has been naturally more severe in the low districts of this country, which, with difficulty, find an outfall for their drainage; and the tide having once broken into them, pursues its course irresistibly for miles. All the fine pastures, the pride of this neighbourhood, have in one night been laid under water; and some thousands of sheep and other cattle have been drowned. The ruin came so rapidly and unexpectedly, that the farmers had no time to save their cattle, had the thing been practicable; but in some instances the inhabitants of farm-houses have had difficulty in saving their own lives; and one instance is mentioned to us, in which two persons at Fossdyke perished by the flood, which completely swept away their dwelling-house.

At Fishtoft, Mr. Smith Sessop (formerly in trade as a grocer at Boston) lost his life in endeavouring to rescue some of his father's sheep.—On Saturday night, old Mr. Sessop, accidentally looking out of his house and mistaking the approaching deluge for a fall of snow upon the ground, exclaimed to his son that care should be taken of some sheep on his pastures. The deceased immediately went forth, and before he recovered from the astonishment excited by the



the scene, walked through the water, in his way to the sheep, into a pit, where he was drowned before any assistance could be rendered.

Plummer's hotel at Frieston shore was some hours in danger of being quite washed down; the great bow window of the dining-room, although a considerable height from the ground, was forced from the building by the water, and carried to the distance of several fields.

Some few farmers are said to have lost nearly all the stock upon their lands. Great difficulty will be experienced in supporting such cattle as may not have perished on the inundated farms, all the ditches, ponds, and wells, in many parishes being filled with salt-water, which it will take some time to get rid of. The appearance of the country from the top of Boston steeple is melancholy in the extreme. At the seventh mile-stone towards Spalding the water runs over the road, and the country looks like a sea. From the hour of three, on Friday morning last, till five, it lightened as vividly and repeatedly, as is common in the season when we most look for such phenomena.

On the 10th a very heavy rain commenced in the neighbourhood of Exeter, which continued without intermission until ten o'clock the succeeding night, accompanied by a strong gale of wind: the waters rose so rapidly that all the low grounds were presently deluged. The flood was three inches higher on the Exeter quay than ever known before. Three vessels of large burthen were thrown completely on the quay, and with much trouble and danger launched

into the river a day afterwards; many walls were entirely thrown down or carried away, and several out-houses totally destroyed. The Monmouthshire regiment of militia, in coming from Honiton, were under the necessity of wading through the water.

The Clarence coach from Plymouth was entirely stopped on this side of Alphington, about half a mile from Exeter. There were five gentlemen inside, three men and the coachman on the outside. This coach was drawn by six horses, with a post-boy; the waters being higher than the horses, they all swam with the coach against a strong current; but the postillion losing his seat clambered up a hedge. The two leading horses immediately began to turn, which the coachman perceiving, descended from his seat, and cut off the harness, being up to his chin in the water: four of the horses swam off, but the other two were drowned. Six passengers, after struggling with the water, got on a hedge, and from thence reached a neighbouring house, the inhabitants of which immediately gave the distressed travellers an asylum for the night. Another passenger, a stout black man, taking a different course, remained under a high hedge nine or ten hours, till he was released the next morning. The empty coach was carried back a considerable distance by the stream, and stuck in a hedge.

At Dawlish, nine or ten new houses with their furniture were nearly demolished, and one swept into the sea: the water coming down the hills, burst forth with such force that nothing could withstand its fury. Mr. Tapper of that



that place was awoke by the noise of the water running through his house; but not considering any danger, remained within till daylight, when, at the persuasion of the neighbours, he with his wife and child quitted the premises—which they had scarcely left, when the roof fell in, and the whole house was drifted into the sea, with the furniture, and not an article was saved. The alms-house adjoining, which had stood the brunt of many a storm and tempest upwards of 100 years, was likewise demolished. The beautiful canal at Dawlish with the bridges are so entirely destroyed, that not the least resemblance of its original form can be perceived.

Some very serious disturbances have taken place at Falmouth. The men on board most of the packets in the harbour mutinied, it is said, in consequence of the severity of the custom-house officers, who persisted in searching every sailor's chest, many of which were burst open before the owners had time to bring the keys. The seamen handled the officers roughly, and proceeded to other acts of tumult and violence, which called for the interposition of the civil, and afterwards of the military power. The riot act was read, whilst the Cornish miners approached Falmouth in large bodies, and affairs began to wear a threatening aspect, when some of the ringleaders were secured. Two of them were instantly sent to London, where they arrived on Monday, and were safely lodged in the Compter. They have since undergone an examination at the Mansion House, and stand committed.

12. Arrived at Yarmouth, his

majesty the late King of Sweden. His intention of coming to England has been known for some time. His majesty having embarked in an American vessel in one of the Russian ports, fell in with the Ruby man of war, on his passage down the Baltic, and availed himself of that opportunity of coming under British protection. He went on board the Ruby, and afterwards changed from that vessel to the Tartarus, in which he arrived. Parties of French gens d'armes, it is said were in pursuit of him: near Leipsic he was attacked (by robbers, as the German papers said) but he and his attendants fired upon the supposed robbers, and he escaped. The gens d'armes gave up the pursuit when his majesty had reached Riga. He quitted that place under a royal salute.

13. Argument between the Attorney-General and Mr. Serjeant Shepherd, on the propriety of postponing the trial of Sir Francis Burdett against Coleman, sergeant at arms of the House of Commons, till after the trial of the action of trespass, arising from the same cause, Sir Francis Burdett against Abbott, Speaker of the House. After much debate, rule made absolute to put off this trial *generally*.

The Countess de Lisle, queen of France, died at Hartwell.

14. The remains of her Royal Highness the Princess Amelia [*See the obituary in the Appendix*] were privately interred this evening in St. George's chapel. At eight o'clock a procession was formed from Augusta-Lodge, in the following order:

Servants and grooms of  
their majesties and the royal family,  
in state liveries,  
trumpets



trumpets of the royal horse-guards  
blue,

THE HEARSE,  
drawn by the king's set of eight  
English black horses fully  
caparisoned,  
escorted by royal horse guards blue,  
one of his majesty's carriages,  
drawn by a full set of  
English black horses, conveying  
the Prince of Wales  
and the

Duke of Cambridge, the executors;  
also escorted by horse-guards.

Two of his majesty's carriages, each  
conveying four of  
the attendants of the late princess.

Carriages of the Prince of Wales,  
and the Duke of Cambridge, each  
drawn by six horses.

The whole flanked by the  
Staffordshire militia,  
every 6th man bearing a flambeau.

Upon arrival at the chapel, the  
servants, grooms, and trumpets,  
filed off without the south door.  
At the entrance the dean and pre-  
bendaries, attended by the choir,  
received the body; and the re-  
mainder of the procession having  
previously been formed, the whole  
proceeded down the south aisle, and  
up the nave into the choir, in the  
following order (the procession be-  
ing flanked by the royal horse-guards  
blue, every fourth man bearing a  
flambeau):

Poor knights of Windsor;  
pages of the royal family and their  
majesties;

C. Bicknell, Esq. solicitor to the  
princess;

R. Battiscombe, Esq. D. Dundas, Esq.  
apothecary, surgeon;

Rev. Mr. Gosset, Rev. Mr. Plimley,  
curate and rector of Windsor;

Drs. Baillie and Halford,  
physicians;

equerries of the royal family and  
their majesties;

Honourable General Finch, General  
Campbell, Honourable R. F.  
Greville, C. Herbert, Esq.

grooms of the bedchamber to  
the king;

Lieutenant-Colonel Desbrowe,  
queen's vice-chamberlain;

Lord G. Thynne, and  
Earl of Courtown, comptroller and  
treasurer of the king's  
household;

Earl Harcourt;  
queen's master of the horse;  
Lords Arden, St. Helen's, Rivers,  
and Boston,

lords of the king's bedchamber;

Earl of Macclesfield,  
captain of yeomen of the guard;

choir of Windsor;  
prebendaries;

dean;  
Lord J. Thynne, acting as lord  
chamberlain;

Earl of Aylesford, lord  
steward of the king's household;

Vere Warner, Esq.  
gentleman usher of his majesty,  
bearing the cornet on  
a black cushion;

### THE BODY

In a coffin covered with crimson  
velvet, and a black velvet pall,  
adorned with eight escutcheons  
of her royal highness's arms; the  
coffin carried by eight yeomen of  
the guard; the pall supported  
by Viscountess Cranley, Lady E.  
Thynne, Countess of Ely, and  
Lady G. Murray;

Countess of Chesterfield, veiled,  
chief mourner,

her train borne by a baronet's wife,  
Lady Halford, veiled;

Countesses of Macclesfield and  
Ilchester, supporters to the chief  
mourner, veiled;



D. of Cambridge, Pr. of Wales,  
 D. of York, D. of Clarence,  
 D. of Kent, D. of Cumberland,  
 Duke of Sussex,  
 in long black cloaks,  
 the prince's train borne by two of  
 his gentlemen, the dukes'  
 by one;  
 Marquises Abercorn, Cornwallis,  
 Wellesley;  
 Earls Westmorland, Chesterfield,  
 Bathurst, Camden.  
 Liverpool, Wilton, Harrowby;  
 Bishop of Salisbury,  
 Chancellor of the Garter;  
 Lords Walsingham, Mulgrave, and  
 Eldon;  
 Right Honourable Spencer Perceval,  
 C. Yorke, R. Rider,  
 R. Dundas, and Sir D. Dundas;  
 Lieutenant-General Calvert,  
 Count Munster,  
 Major Price, Colonel Taylor,  
 ladies attendants on the queen and  
 princesses, viz.  
 Lady Albinia Cumberland,  
 Miss Goldsworthy, Mrs. Williams,  
 Honourable Mrs. Fielding,  
 Honourable Mrs. Egerton, Honour-  
 able Miss Townshend,  
 Madame and Mademoiselle  
 Beckendorff;  
 Mrs. Adams,  
 Miss Knight, Miss Montmollin,  
 Miss Planta, Miss Gaskin,  
 Miss Byerley,  
 Mrs. Davenport, Mrs. Robinson,  
 the queen's and princess's  
 dressers.

Upon entering the choir, the  
 body was placed on tressels, the  
 head towards the altar; the coro-  
 net and cushion on the coffin. The  
 chief mourner sat at the head of the  
 corpse; her supporters on either side;  
 and the supporters of the pall in  
 their places near the body. Dur-  
 ing the service, which was read by

the Honourable and very Rev. the  
 Dean of Windsor, the Prince of  
 Wales and his royal brothers, as  
 well as the Knights of the Garter  
 present, occupied their respective  
 stalls. The nobility, privy coun-  
 cillors, and officers of the house-  
 hold, as well as others who had  
 followed the body, were placed in  
 the vacant and intermediate stalls.  
 The ladies' attendants were in the  
 seats below the stalls on the north  
 side nearest the altar; the grooms of  
 the bedchamber, physicians, rec-  
 tor and curate of Windsor, sur-  
 geon, apothecary, and solicitor of  
 her late royal highness, in the seat  
 below the stalls on the south side,  
 nearest the altar; the equerries,  
 and the queen's and the princess's  
 other attendants, in the front seats  
 on either side; the pages were ar-  
 ranged below the altar. The part  
 of the service before the interment,  
 and the anthem being performed,  
 the procession moved out of the  
 choir in the order in which it had  
 entered, and proceeded up the north  
 aisle of the choir, flanked by the  
 royal horse-guards blue, to the  
 place of burial behind the altar. The  
 body being deposited in the vault,  
 and the service concluded, Sir Isaac  
 Heard, garter, after a short pause,  
 pronounced, near the grave, the  
 style of her late royal highness, as  
 follows:

"Thus it hath pleased Almighty  
 God to take out of this transitory  
 life unto his divine mercy, the late  
 most illustrious Princess Amelia,  
 sixth and youngest daughter of his  
 most excellent majesty George  
 the Third, by the grace of God  
 of the United Kingdom of Great  
 Britain and Ireland King, defender  
 of the faith; whom God bless and  
 preserve with long life, health,  
 and



and honour, and all worldly happiness!"

After which, the royal princes, the nobility, and others, who had composed the procession, returned, having witnessed that every part of this mournful and afflicting ceremony had been conducted with great regularity, decorum, and solemnity.

The following is the inscription (issued from the heralds' office) engraved upon the plate of the coffin:

"Depositum

Illustrissimæ Principissæ Ameliæ,

Filiæ sextæ et natu minimæ

Augustissimi et Potentissimi

Georgii Tertii,

Dei gratiâ Britanniarum Regis,

Fidei Defensoris, &c.

Obiit IIda die Novembris,

Anno Domini MDCCCX.

Ætatis suæ XXVII."

The shops and houses in Windsor and Eaton were shut up, from respect to the memory of the princess, during the whole of the day on which the funeral took place; and scarce an individual was to be seen in the streets who was not attired in mourning.

19. The theatre at Plymouth Dock opened for the first time this season, with the tragedy of *Jane Shore*, and the farce of *Lock and Key*. The house having been newly painted and decorated, the manager thought proper to raise the price of admission, the boxes from 3s. to 4s., and the pit from 2s. to 2s. 6d. with an additional six-pence on the half-price admission to the boxes. At half-price commenced a riot of the most vociferous and abusive description. In the end the manager lowered the prices to their former rate.

20. Bernadotte landed this afternoon at Helsinburgh in Sweden.

26. *A Hoax*.—This very malignant species of wit was most successfully practised at the house of Mrs. T. a lady of fortune, at No. 54, Berners Street, which was beset by dozens of tradespeople at one time, with their various commodities, and from the confusion altogether such crowds had collected as to render the street impassible. Waggons laden with coals from the Paddington wharfs, upholsterers' goods in cart-loads, organs, pianofortes, linen, jewellery, and every other description of furniture, was lodged as near as possible to the door of No. 54, with anxious tradespeople and a laughing mob. About this time the lord mayor arrived in his carriage, but his lordship's stay was short, and he was driven to Marlborough Street police office. At the office his lordship informed the sitting magistrate that he had received a note, purporting to have come from Mrs. T. which stated that she had been summoned to appear before him, but that she was confined to her room by sickness, and requested his lordship would do her the favour to call on her. Berners Street at this time was in the greatest confusion, by the multiplicity of tradespeople, who were returning with their goods, and spectators laughing at them. The officers belonging to Marlborough Street office, were immediately ordered out to keep order, but it was impossible for a short time. The first thing witnessed by the officers was six stout men bearing an organ, surrounded by wine porters with permits, barbers with wigs, mantua-makers with band-boxes, opticians with their various articles of trade;



and such was the pressure of trades-people who had been duped, that at four o'clock all was still in confusion. Every officer that could be mustered was enlisted to disperse the people, and they were placed at the corners of Berners Street, to prevent trades-people from advancing towards the house with goods. The street was not cleared at a late hour, as servants of every denomination, wanting places, began to assemble at five o'clock. It turned out that letters had been written to the different trades-people, which stated recommendations from persons of quality. This hoax exceeded by far that in Bedford Street, a few months since; for besides a coffin, which was brought to Mrs. T.'s house, made to measure, agreeable to letter, five feet six by sixteen, there were accoucheurs, tooth-drawers, miniature-painters, and artists of every description.

26. *Court of King's Bench.*—Mr. John Gale Jones was brought up to receive sentence, to be imprisoned in the House of Correction in Cold-Bath-fields, for twelve months, and to find securities to keep the peace for three years, himself in 500*l.* and two sureties in 250*l.* each.

*O. P. Liverpool rioters.*—The persons found guilty of exciting the disturbances at the Liverpool theatre received sentence:

Abraham Lemon and Charles Rowlandson, to be confined in the Castle of Lancaster for twelve months; John Robinson Molineux and Thomas Turner, for three months; Barton Wilson and Matthew Carter, for two months each, in the same Castle of Lancaster.

27. Accounts received from Gibraltar of an enterprize, command-

ed by Lord Blayney, against a number of privateers and gun boats fitted out at Malaga.

This detachment, consisting of 373 British, 470 Germans (deserters) and 630 Spanish troops, was placed under the command of Major-General Lord Blayney. Part of the expedition was successful; part was unfortunate; Lord Blayney, with many of his men, being taken prisoners.

The loss of Major Grant, of the 89th regiment, who was mortally wounded in the first transaction of this expedition, is particularly regretted.

The total amount of loss sustained by the detachment from Gibraltar, consists of one officer and nine privates killed; an officer and twenty privates wounded; seven officers, five serjeants, and 162 rank and file missing, of whom 115 were foreign deserters.

## DECEMBER.

8. In the morning about three o'clock, an alarming fire broke out in Lisle Street, Leicester Square, in the extensive premises occupied by Mr. Simeon, at the Mexican coffee-house and American hotel. Mr. Simeon and his wife perished in the flames; and a boy so dreadfully burnt, that his recovery is doubted. Mr. Simeon was an old and faithful domestic to the late Duke of Portland, and attended his grace at his death.

10. A very melancholy accident happened in Swan-yard, near Drury-Lane. At the head of Swan-yard several houses had been pulled down, but the corner house was left standing, and was occupied by families



families from the top to the bottom. A large sack of chimneys belonging to this house having lost its former support and protection, and owing to the high winds, gave way on Friday night about six o'clock, and falling in upon the roof, brought the whole down through all the floors successively. A man named Anderson, and his wife, in the third floor, were carried down with the ruins, and almost literally crushed to pieces. About half an hour afterwards they were dug out of the ruins, but without any signs of life. Their son, a boy about twelve years of age, was carried also down by the ruins, but escaped nearly unhurt. The father and mother were found in each other's arms, and in a state completely mangled; the bodies were conveyed to the Apple Tree, a public house in the neighbourhood. The father was an old soldier, who, in the field of battle, had had many an hair-breadth escape. A poor woman, who lived in the cellar, with four children, had just gone out about a minute before the fatal accident, with all her children, to a neighbouring shop for a candle; otherwise they must have been crushed to pieces, as the whole floors of the house came down. It is supposed that another man has lost his life, but the body has not been found. Very fortunately the different families in the house were from home at the time.

11. The nineteen journeymen printers of the Times office, convicted of a conspiracy, received sentence; Robert Howlett and John Gee, to be fined one shilling and imprisoned two years in Newgate.

William Clifton, Stephen Beckett, and George Westray, to be fined

one shilling, and imprisoned eighteen months.

Stephen Hurley, Henry Byrne, and Thomas Woolley, to be fined one shilling, and imprisoned twelve months.

Roderic Paskin, Edward Kidd, William Williams, Corbet Latham, William Coy, James M'Cartney, John M'Intosh, Nathaniel Collins, Malcolm Craig, John Chapman, and John Simpson, to be fined one shilling, and imprisoned nine months.

Two of the prisoners begged hard for some abatement of their punishment.

John Newbolt Hepburn, convicted of a detestable crime, pleaded his innocence in a speech purposely composed: he alluded to an anxious request which he had made to the learned judge, before whom he was tried, at the close of Mann's evidence; namely, that the deposition of Mann, before the magistrates at Bow Street, might be read, in order to be contrasted with his testimony upon the trial. With this request his lordship was pleased to promise compliance, but terminated his charge to the jury without reading those depositions. He now implored of the court, that in reporting his conviction to his majesty with the judge's notes of the evidence on which it was founded, the report might be accompanied by the depositions of the witness Mann before the magistrates: and, from an examination of the contradictory statements of that witness upon the charge against him, he should look with humble but confident hope to the mercy of his sovereign.

The recorder desired to have the written statement which had been



read by the prisoner, and promised to comply with his request; it was delivered to the prince regent. He was executed; and died protesting his innocence.

16. The inhabitants of Dover were again greatly alarmed by the unexpected falling of the cliff, which extends along the houses on the north-west side of Snargate Street, about one o'clock on Sunday morning. The quantity is so great, that it has filled up the whole space between the back of the street and the cliff. No person, however, sustained any injury by this fall. To the sufferers of the former accident, we have to add a child of Mrs. Poole's sister, dug out of the ruins on Saturday, making in all seven persons. Mr. Poole, the only survivor of his family, is likely to recover, although he lay buried in the earth half an hour before he was extricated. The quantity of land lost by the falls of the cliff between Dover and Folkestone, is estimated at six acres.

18. Lucien Buonaparte, his family, and suite, landed this afternoon at the Victualling Office, Plymouth, about two o'clock, having been brought from the President frigate in the admiral's cutter, and proceeded to the King's Arms in carriages, accompanied by Sir Robert Calder (the port admiral) General England, Lord Boringdon, and several other naval and military officers. They are expected to remain here a few days before they proceed on their journey. Lucien appears about fifty years of age, about five feet seven inches high, of a sallow complexion, thin visage, has a pale, intelligent face, large whiskers, a piercing eye, and is a very gentlemanly-looking

man, is very much like the pictures seen here, which are said to be a good likeness of his brother the emperor. Madame Buonaparte is a stout handsome woman. The children consists of five daughters and two sons: the eldest is about seventeen years of age, and very handsome, so are her sisters; the boys are very young, the eldest not being more than eight years old.

The baggage of Lucien Buonaparte and his attendants is stated to weigh thirty-three tons. There was a perfect squabble among the innkeepers of Plymouth and Dock, to know which of them should have the honour of lodging these persons under his roof. Lucien studiously avoids all pomp and ostentation. His eldest son was, on Tuesday, taken through the dock-yard, accompanied by Captain Warren, who brought them to England.

19. The Pallas, of thirty-two guns, and the Nymphe, of thirty-six, one mile below Dunbar, the other three miles further, coming up the Firth at half-past ten last night, at the rate of ten knots an hour, they both ran a-ground on the rocks, and were totally wrecked. Fortunately only seven or eight men have lost their lives. The first lieutenant was brought out apparently dead, but after an hour and a half, was so far recovered as to be removed to the Duchess of Roxburgh's, now well. The life-boat upset with forty men in it, luckily only one was drowned.

20. His majesty's sloop Satellite, of sixteen guns, commanded by the Honourable Willowby Bertie, perished, with all the crew. She sailed from Spithead on December 17, to join the ships that were cruising off La Hogue. On Wednesday, the



19th, at six in the evening, she was in company with the Vautour, Captain Lawless. It was then blowing very hard; and in the course of the night the gale increased excessively, blowing in most tempestuous squalls. In one of these sudden gusts she is supposed to have upset, and every soul on board perished. The next morning her boats, some spars, &c. which were upon her deck, were picked up by the Vautour, but no other vestige of her has ever been seen.

24. *Sacrilege and Robbery.*—On Saturday night, or early on Sunday morning, St. Paul's cathedral was robbed of the whole of the church service of plate, of considerable value. The difficulties and ingenuity required to get at the property, prove the depredators to have been complete masters of their profession. The plate carried off consists of the following articles, all silver gilt:

One large embossed chased waiter, with the emblems of the Lord's Supper, weight 128 ounces.

The covers of a large folio Bible, richly chased, 110 oz.

Ditto of a prayer-book, 100 oz.

One large plain salver, with an angel's head engraved in the centre, 108 oz.

One smaller salver, engraved with a glory, 67 oz.

Two rich chased waiters, with very fine alto-relievo figures, occasionally to use in the centre, 153 oz.

Two very large chased altar candlesticks, 330 oz.

Two smaller candlesticks, 200 oz.

Two very large rich chased flagons, 260 oz.

Two smaller flagons, 130 oz.

Two chased chalices, with sexa-

gon feet, and two salvers for the covers, 112 oz.

Two small salvers richly chased, 31 oz.

And one pierced spoon.

Several of these articles were used on the 21st inst. at a private ordination by the Bishop of Lincoln; and after they were done with they were locked up in the plate-room, immediately over the vestry, in iron chests, which had on them padlocks as well as other locks. There are two doors to the room, an inner and outer one; the former was entirely iron, the other plated, and of uncommon strength. To these principal doors there are several passages leading, all of which have doors always locked, through which persons must pass before they reach the plate-room; and it is only known to a few persons to what apartment they lead. All these doors remained locked, and it was not until Sunday morning, when the plate was wanted for the church service, that the robbery was discovered. The person who had the plate under his care opened the passage doors with the keys belonging to them, but the lock of the main door he could not open until he had procured the master-key. He there found the chests containing the plate had been broken open with an iron crow, or some such instrument, after having opened the padlock in the usual way. Notice was immediately given to the magistrates at Bow Street, and Mr. Read the magistrate, and Mr. Stafford the clerk, went and inspected the apartments, &c. in the afternoon, and the most vigilant means are using to detect the villains guilty of this sacrilege.

The police officers are of opinion,



nion, that the robbery of the above cathedral is what is called, in the slang language, a *put-uprobbery*, or that the quantity and value of the plate, the place where it was kept and the way to get at it, were all previously well known, and the crime committed by persons perfectly acquainted with the place. The weight has been erroneously stated at 700 ounces whereas it was 1760 ounces. It had very lately been newly double-gilt, which gave it the appearance of gold. The robbers must have passed *nine doors or gates* before they could get at the property. The master-key was kept in a closet where one of the vergers usually placed his silver staff; but that was not stolen, although it is supposed the key was used to effect the robbery. It is thought by some the locks might have easily been picked with skeleton keys. An attempt to steal the plate from the above cathedral was made twenty-seven years since. The robbers then got as far as a closet where the keys were kept; but whether they were prevented from proceeding by being alarmed, or by their light going out, was never ascertained.

A man has been taken into custody upon suspicion of being concerned in this sacrilegious depredation; he was formerly a servant employed therein. It appears, upon

further inquiry, that there was a master-key to all the doors leading to the room wherein the plate was deposited; and that it was not unusual for that key to be publicly shown to any person who might express a wish to see or examine it. The officers of police have no doubt but that by means of taking an impression of the key in wax, the robbers gained access thereto. The person taken up on suspicion has been discharged, no proof appearing against him.

26. About three o'clock the king of Sweden attended at St. James's Palace, to make inquiries after the state of his majesty's health; he signed his name "Count de Got-torp."

30. *Loss of the Elizabeth, extra India ship, Captain Jackson, off Dunkirk.*—The Elizabeth was anchored off the South Foreland on Thursday preceding (December 27) but drifted from thence into Calais Roads, where she knocked off her rudder, and cut away the mainmast. No assistance coming, after her repeated signals, the captain put off to obtain it; but when about half way between the wreck and Dunkirk, his vessel drove on the outer edge of Dunkirk brake, Dunkirk steeple bearing S. by W. and instantly went to pieces, when all on board perished except twenty-two, who landed at Dunkirk.



## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

### GAZETTE INTELLIGENCE,

CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED.

*Dispatches, &c. from the London Gazettes.*

#### JANUARY.

2. Capture, by the Royalist, Captain Maxwell, of La Françoise of fourteen guns and sixty men; and re-capture of two English vessels by the same.

13. *Captures.*—Le Saratu, of fourteen guns, by the Plover, Captain Browne; and l'Amiable Nelly, of sixteen guns, by the Cherokee, Captain Arthur.

#### FEBRUARY.

3 Capture of Le Général Prignon, of fourteen guns, by the Amazon, Captain Parker.

6. *Dispatches, of which the following is the substance, from Sir A. Cochrane, Commander-in-chief at the Leeward Islands.*—A letter from Captain V. Ballard, of the Blonde frigate, stating the destruction, on the 25th of September, of an enemy's privateer off Basseterre, in the West Indies, by the boats of the Blonde, Falcon, and Scorpion. Mr. Thompson, master, and one sailor

of the Blonde (since dead) were severely wounded.

A letter from Captain Cameron, of the Hazard sloop, announcing his having destroyed, on the 17th of October, under the battery of St. Mary, Guadaloupe, a French privateer, of 100 tons, by the boats of the Hazard and Pelorus. The Hazard had three men killed, and four wounded; the Pelorus three killed, and five wounded.

A letter from Captain Miller, of the Thetis frigate, stating that the French corvet Nisus having taken shelter under the battery at Hayes, Guadaloupe, Captain Elliott, of the Pultusk, at the head of the marines of his own ship, of the Achates and Bacchus, with a party of seventy-five seamen, landed, carried the battery, and brought out the corvette.

A letter from Captain Hawker, of the Melampus, stating the capture of Le Bernais, a brig corvette, carrying sixteen twenty-four-pounder carronades, with warlike stores for Guadaloupe.

A letter from Captain Walker, of the Rosamond, announcing the capture of Le Papillon brig, of fourteen twenty-four-pounder carronades.

A letter from Sir A. Cochrane, giving



giving an account of the destruction of the French frigates *La Loire* and *La Seine*, off *Ba-seterre*, *Guadaloupe*, December 18, by the ships of his squadron.

A letter from Captain Ballard, praising the captains, officers, and seamen, employed in the above service: and also stating the loss of the *Blonde* to be, seven killed, including the first lieutenant, Jenkins, and Mr. Freeman, master's mate; seventeen wounded, including Mr. Richardson, and a midshipman, severely. The *Thetis* had seven men wounded.

A letter from Captain Bouverie, of the *Medusa*, stating the capture of *l'Hirondelle*, French privateer, of fourteen guns.

A letter from Captain Mudge, of the *Phoenix*, stating the capture, by the boats of his ship, and of the *Jalouse*, of the French privateer brig, *Le Charles*, of fourteen guns.

*Members returned to parliament.*—Borough of Malmesbury, A. Smith, of Woodhall Park, Hertford, Esq. in the room of Sir G. Bowyer, Bart.—Borough of Cockermouth, W. Lowther, Esq.—Borough of Milbourn Port, Lord Viscount Lewisham, in the room of Lord Paget.—Borough of Camelford, H. Brougham, junior, of Brougham Hall, Esq. in the room of Lord H. Petty (now Marquis of Lansdown).—Borough of Bossney, the Right Honourable J. Otway, Earl of Dysart.—Borough of Scarborough, the Right Honourable C. M. Sutton.

10. Order in Council of the 7th inst. for regulating the intercourse between this country and the *Ferroe* islands.

*Captures.*—The French frigate, *Cannonière*, of 137 men, by the

*Valiant*, Captain Bligh; *Le Comte de Hunebourg*, of fourteen guns, by the *Pheasant*, Captain Palmer; and *Le Transit*, of fourteen guns, by the *Clyde*, Captain Stuart.

13. Dispatches from Admiral Bertie and Lieutenant-Colonel Keating, giving an account of the attack on the Isle of Bourbon. “At five A. M.” says Colonel Keating, “on the 23d of September, the troops were disembarked to the southward of Point de Galotte, seven miles from St. Paul's, and immediately commenced a forced march, with a view of crossing the causeways that extend over the lake, before the enemy could discover our debarkation or approach to the town, which we were fortunate enough to effect; nor had they time to form in any force till we had passed the strongest position. By seven o'clock we were in possession of the first and second batteries, *Lambousiere* and *La Centiere*; when Captain Willoughby, of the royal navy, who commanded a detachment of about a hundred seamen on shore, immediately turned the guns on the enemy's shipping, from whose fire, which was chiefly grape, and well directed, within pistol shot of the shore, we suffered much. From the battery *Le Centiere*, Captain Imlack was detached with the second column, composed of 142 of the second battalion of the second regiment of Bombay native infantry, and twelve Europeans, to take possession of the third, or battery of *Le Neuf*, deserted by the enemy. On his way thither, he fell in with and was opposed by the entire force of the French, which had concentrated, and taken up a very strong position behind a stone wall, with eight brass field-pieces, six-pounders,



pounders, upon their flanks. This point was instantly charged in the most gallant manner by that officer and his men. The enemy however maintained their position, and Captain Hannor, of the 56th regiment, was ordered to proceed with the third column to his support, who charged, and took two of the enemy's guns. The action now became warm, but never doubtful. The enemy being reinforced from the hills, and having also received one hundred and ten troops of the line, from the French frigate *La Caroline*, and the squadron not being able to stand in to support us, our movements being endangered by their fire, except at intervals, which they always took advantage of, Captain Willoughby was directed to spike the guns of *Lambousiere* and *La Centiere*, and with the seamen to man the third battery *Le Neuf*, continuing to fire upon their shipping. By this arrangement Captain Forbes, who with the reserve had covered those batteries, was enabled to advance against the enemy, who, after an honourable resistance, were compelled to give way, their remaining guns being carried by that excellent officer, and a sufficient number of men were ordered to act as light troops, and to pursue the enemy, whilst the third column, with part of the reserve, advanced against the fourth and fifth batteries, *La Pierre* and *La Caserne*, which fell into our hands without opposition, and whose entire fire was immediately directed against the enemy's shipping. By half past eight o'clock, the town, batteries, magazines, eight brass field-pieces, 117 new and heavy iron guns, of different calibres, and all the public stores, were

in our possession, with several prisoners. The instant the squadron perceived that the object in landing had succeeded, and that they could, with safety to the troops, stand in effectually, they immediately anchored close to the enemy's shipping, which, after a short firing, surrendered. The entire of the batteries being destroyed, and the town completely commanded by our squadron, the troops were re-embarked by eight o'clock the same evening."—"On the 24th, all the remaining public stores were delivered over by the head of the police, and fatigue parties from the squadron and troops, were ordered to embark them on board the honourable company's re-captured ship *Streatham*, which, together with the *Europe*, were placed under the orders of their former commanders. From the 25th to the 28th, the whole of the guns, &c. were finally destroyed, our guards continuing to mount regularly in the town, for the protection of the inhabitants and their property."

Killed: *Raisonable*, one able seaman, one private marine; *Boadicea*, one private marine; *Sirius*, two private marines; *Nereide*, one able seaman; *Otter*, one private marine. Total seven.

Wounded: *Raisonable*, one lieutenant (4th); one able seaman; one lieutenant of marines (2d); three private marines; *Boadicea*, one lieutenant of marines (1st); one corporal, two private marines; *Nereide*, one corporal, four private marines; *Otter*, one able seaman; *Sirius*, two private marines: total eighteen. Missing; *Sirius*, one ordinary seaman.

Return of the guns, ammunition, &c. found at Port St. Paul's, Island



Island of Bourbon, 1809. Total; thirty-seven iron guns, twenty-four-pounders, sixteen iron guns, eighteen-pounders, nineteen iron guns, twelve-pounders, twelve iron guns, nine-pounders, one iron gun, six-pounder, nine iron guns, four-pounders, four carronades, twelve-pounders, eight brass field-pieces, six-pounders, two thirteen and half inch mortars, two eight-inch mortars, one five and half inch mortar, 5170 balls of different sizes, 155 thirteen and half inch shells, 135 eight-inch shells, twenty-four, five and half inch shells, 320 one to four inch shells, 260 bar shot, seventeen boxes of ammunition, eight barrels of ammunition, two barrels of fuzees, twelve barrels of gunpowder, 290 cannisters of grape shot, 127 rounds of grape shot, 320 pikes, forty rammers, forty sponges, one stand of arms.

Subsequently to the making out of this return, a battery of five eighteen pounders was found and destroyed.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing, of the force under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Keating, 22d September, 1809, Island of Bourbon. Royal marines; seven rank and file, killed; two lieutenants, seventeen rank file, wounded. First battalion 56th regiment; one serjeant, five rank and file, killed; one serjeant, twenty-six rank and file, wounded; one drummer, two rank and file, missing. Second battalion of the second regiment of Bombay native infantry; two rank and file, killed; one lieutenant, one soubaltdam, two haval-dams, one drummer, seven rank and file, wounded. Total: fifteen killed, fifty-eighty wounded, three missing.

17. *Captures*.—Le Gascon, of sixteen guns, by the Unicorn, Captain Kerr; and L'Amable Josephine, fourteen guns, and Le Duguay Trouin, fourteen guns, by the Narcissus, Captain Aylmer.

Appointment of W. Manley, Esq. to be a commissioner of the excise, Vice C. T. Maling, deceased.

An order in council, dated the 7th February, for prolonging to the 1st of December next, the allowance contained in the orders of council of the 12th of April and 16th of August, 1809, and 10th of January, 1810, for the importation into the West India islands, of staves, lumber, live stock, and provisions (excepting beef, pork, butter) by neutral vessels, till the 1st of December, certain duties being chargeable upon such of the foregoing articles as may be the produce of the United States of America.

24. A notification from Marquis Wellesley, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, to the present ministers of friendly and neutral powers, that his majesty has judged it expedient to blockade the coast and ports of Spain from Gijon to the French territory.

27. *Captures*.—La Modeste, eighteen guns, by the Raleigh, Captain Sager; and the Prince Eugene, fourteen guns, by the Royalist, Captain Maxwell.

## MARCH.

3. *Member returned to Parliament*.—Borough of Plympton-Earle: Henry Drummond, of the Grange, in the county of Hants, Esq.



Esq. in the room of the Hon. William Asheton Harbord (now Lord Suffield).

10. *Captures*.—L'Eole, of twenty guns, by the Weazle, Captain Prescott; L'Aigle, of fourteen guns, by the Pylades, Captain Ferguson; and Le Scipion, of four guns, by the Cephelus, Captain Harvey.

13. *Member returned to parliament*.—Borough of New Woodstock: Hon. George Eden, in the room of the Hon. W. F. E. Eden, deceased.

*Captures*.—The Capricieux, of sixteen guns, by the Echo, Captain Keen; and the Carrilla, of fourteen guns, by the Owen Glendour, Captain Selby.

17. *Captures*.—Tuyncellaar, of eight guns, by the boats of the Modeste and Baracouta, under the direction of Lieutenant W. Payne, of the Modeste; and L'Oreste, of fourteen guns, by the Scorpion, Captain Stanfell.

Destruction and capture of two convoys, by the Christian VIIth, Captain Sir J. S. Yorke; destruction of the Wagster, of eight guns, by the Procris, Captain Maunsell; and destruction of the batteries at Bay Mahaut, Guadaloupe, and of a ship and schooner at anchor there, by the boats of the Freiga, Captain Hayes.

*Member returned to parliament*.—Borough of New Windsor: John Ramsbottom, the younger, Esq. in the room of R. Ramsbottom, Esq. who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

20. Regulations respecting future promotions and appointments in the commissariat department:—That the gradation of rank be, commissary-general, deputy commissary-general, assistant commissary-gene-

ral, deputy assistant commissary-general, clerk. That no person be allowed to enter the commissariat, but as clerk. That no clerk be eligible for promotion until he has served at least one year as clerk. That no deputy assistant commissary-general be eligible for promotion until he has served at least four years as deputy assistant, or five years from his first entering as clerk; in which latter case, only one year's service as deputy assistant would be required. That no assistant commissary-general be eligible for promotion until he has served at least five years as an assistant, or ten years from his first entering as a clerk; in which latter case, two years service as an assistant commissary only would be required. That no deputy commissary-general shall be eligible for promotion until he has served at least three years as a deputy. That no person be appointed a clerk under the age of sixteen years.

*Captures*.—La Nécessité, French frigate of twenty-eight guns, by the Horatio, Captain Scot; and destruction of three vessels; and capture of a gun-boat, by the boats of the Christian VIIth, Seine and Armide.

24. *Captures*.—A French privateer schooner, by the Drake, Captain Mounsher; and a French privateer schuyt, by the Quebec, Captain Hawtayne.

26. *Member returned to parliament*.—Borough of Westbury: John de Ponthieu, Esq. of Esher, in Surry, in the room of Francis Whittle, Esq. who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

30. License to Sir H. Jones, Bart. member of the Order of the Crescent, and ambassador to the court of



of Persia, to bear certain honourable augmentations to his armorial ensigns.

*Supplementary.* — Dispatches from Lieutenant-General Sir G. Beckwith and Sir A. Cochrane, containing the details of the capture of the islands of St. Eustatia, St. Martin's, and Saba.

Capture of l'Impératrice, of fourteen guns, by the Quebec, Captain Hawtayne.

#### APRIL.

7. *Captures.*—La Levrette, of four guns, by the Arethusa, Captain Mends; and La Belle Etoile, of eight guns, by the Emerald, Captain Maitland.

14. Dispatches from Lord Wellington, dated Vigo, March 28, containing particulars of a partial action fought on the 19th, between four companies of the ninety-fifth regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Beckwith, and a French force of 600 men, at Barba del Puerco, on the frontiers of Portugal. The enemy were repulsed with the loss of two officers and seven men killed, and six prisoners and thirty firelocks. Lieutenant Mercer of the ninety-fifth, and three men, were killed, and ten were wounded.

*Captures.*—The Navarrois, of sixteen guns, by the Rhin, Captain Malcolm; and the Tilsit, of eighteen guns, by the Drake, Captain Mounsher.

*Member returned to parliament.* —Borough of Marlborough; Hon. Edward Stopford, in the room of Lord Viscount Stopford (now Baron Saltersford) a peer of the United Kingdom.

Order in council of the 10th in-

stant, allowing the importation, duty free, of corn, live stock, &c. till the 25th of March, 1811, by vessels belonging to countries in amity with Great Britain.

21. Capture of L'Espérance, by the Unicorn, Captain Kerr.

Notice from the lords of the treasury of their intention to extend the acts of the forty-sixth and forty-seventh of the king, for abolishing fees received at the custom-houses in England, and for regulating the attendance of custom-house officers to the several ports in Scotland, including Grangemouth (intended to be constituted a port) from and after the 31st of May next.

*Member returned to parliament.* —Borough of Callington: William Stephen Poyntz, of Midgham-House, Berks, and Cowdray Park, Sussex, Esq. in the room of Thomas Carter, Esq. who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

#### MAY.

1. *Appointments.*—The Right Hon. Henry Baron Mulgrave the office of master-general of his majesty's ordnance of the United Kingdom; and the Right Hon. Charles Yorke, Sir Richard Bickerton, Bart. Vice-Admiral of the Red; Robert Ward, Esq. James Buller, Esq. William Domett, Esq. Vice-Admiral of the Blue; Robert Moorson, Esq. and William Lowther, Esq. (commonly called Viscount Lowther) to be his majesty's commissioners for executing the office of High Admiral of the United Kingdom.

*Captures.*—Le Grand Napoleon, of sixteen guns, by the Helena, Captain Worth; and L'Alcide, of four



four guns, by the *Surly*, Lieutenant Welsh, accompanied by the *Firm* and *Sharpshooter*.

5. *Member returned to parliament*.—Borough of St. Germans: Right Hon. Charles Philip Yorke, of Bonington, county of Hertford, in the room of Sir Joseph Sydney Yorke, who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

8. *Member returned to parliament*.—Shire of Renfrew: Archibald Speir, of Eldersie, in the room of William M'Dowall, Esq. deceased.

12. A dispatch from Lieutenant-General Graham, at Cadiz, containing an account of the fall of Fort Matagorda, one of the outworks of Cadiz, on the 22d of April.---List of killed and wounded: royal engineers, one major killed; royal artillery, one lieutenant, one serjeant, eight privates, wounded; royal marines, two privates killed, ten wounded; eighty-eighth regiment, two privates killed; ninety-fourth ditto, one corporal, three privates killed; twenty-five wounded; seven seamen killed; two midshipmen, ten seamen wounded.—Total, one major, fifteen seamen, marines and soldiers, killed; one lieutenant, two midshipmen, one serjeant, fifty-eight seamen and privates wounded.

An order in council of the 2d instant, for the capture and condemnation of all such vessels as belong to ports that we are prevented by France from trading with.

19. Capture of *Le Dorade*, of ten guns, by the *Orestes*, Captain Lapenotiere; the *Favourite* in company.

An order in council of the 16th instant, empowering the Governor of Newfoundland to import provi-

sions, stores, &c. from America, in licensed British ships.

22. *Member returned to parliament*.—County of Gloucester: William Fitzhardinge Berkeley, commonly called Viscount Dursley, in the room of the Hon. George Cranfield Berkeley, who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

Capture of *La Canonniere*, of five guns, by the *Nonpareil*, Lieutenant Dickinson.

Account of the capture and destruction of seventeen vessels, under the batteries of the Isle of Rhe, by the boats of the *Armide* and *Cadmus*, and the *Monkey* and *Daring* gun-vessels, under the direction of Lieutenant S. Roberts, first of the *Armide*.

26. Capture of the Dutch corvette *de Havik*, of ten guns, by the *Thistle*, Lieutenant Proctor.

License to Lieutenant-General Sir J. Stuart, that he and his descendants may bear and use to his and their armorial ensigns the honourable augmentation of a bend charged with a sword, representing the sword, richly ornamented with various devices, in allusion to the brilliant and decisive victory obtained over the French troops on the plains of Maida, on the 4th day of July, 1806, which was presented to the said Sir John Stuart by his majesty Ferdinand the Fourth, King of the two Sicilies.

29. Notification of the blockade of *Elsineur*.

Account of Captain Reynolds, of the *Tribune*, of his having, on the 12th instant, fallen in, off Mandal, on the coast of Norway, with four Danish brigs, two of twenty guns each, one of eighteen, and one of sixteen, which, after a severe action

of



of two hours, made all possible sail for the shore, and, owing to the damages sustained by the Tribune in her sails, and the want of wind, escaped amongst the rocks. Eight men and one boy were killed on board the Tribune, and thirteen men wounded.

### JULY.

2. Order in council of the 16th ult. farther prohibiting the exportation of gun-powder, &c. for six months, from the 6th instant.

5. License to Francis Brian Hill, Esq. his majesty's secretary of legation at the court of Rio Janeiro, to wear the insignia of a knight commander of the royal Portuguese order of the tower and sword.

Dispersion of a Danish flotilla, by the Raleigh, Captain Sazer, in company with the Alban and Princess of Wales; destruction of a Danish privateer, by the boats of the Woodlark, Captain Watts; capture and destruction of several armed vessels in the Vlie, by the boats of the Desirée, Quebec, Britomart, and Bold.

9. Destruction of a Danish privateer, of three guns, by the Woodlark; and capture of two Danish privateers, of three guns each, by the Prometheus, Captain Robinson.

16. Capture of three chase mares, under the batteries of Belleisle, by the boats of the Defiance, Captain Hotham.

19. *Captures.* — The Juliana, Danish privateer, of six guns; Zuka, ditto, of six guns; a small schooner privateer, of one gun; and a privateer, of two guns, under French colours, by the boats of the Fisgard, Captain Mason.

23. Dispatches from Sir J. Stuart, with inclosures from General Oswald, detailing the proceedings of the expedition against St. Maura. The troops, with the naval forces, under the orders of Captain Eyre, of his majesty's ship Magnificent, with the Belle Poule and Imogene, sailed from Zante on the morning of the 21st of March, and reached the Island of St. Maura the same evening. Early the next day the army disembarked to the southward of the town. The enemy retiring from the batteries on the approach of his majesty's ship Imogene and gun boats, the troops immediately moved forward. Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, commanding the advance, a portion of which (Greek light infantry) under Major Church, was kept upon the flank, and drove a party of Albanians from the adjacent heights. The town was found to be evacuated; the French General, Camus, having with his whole force (above 1000 men) retired into the fortress and strong field works contingent thereto. Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe being left to watch the enemy's movements from the town, supported by Colonel Wilder and two battalions, General Oswald proceeded with a portion of light infantry to reconnoitre the isthmus. Major Church, he found, had already, with four companies of the Greek light infantry, gallantly carried the first redoubt; the enemy retiring upon his next entrenchments, where he remained in force, assiduously employed in completing its defence. It was obvious that no time ought to be lost in carrying this work. The line to be attacked extended from sea to sea, mounted with four pieces of cannon,



non, well flanked; had a wet ditch and abbatiss in front; manned by about 500 infantry, and was so defended from the sea as to render it almost secure from the fire of the shipping. His majesty's ship *Leonidas* came to anchor as close as the water would admit of; meanwhile the troops formed in columns approached, and were to a certain distance covered by the ground. On opening the front of the work, they became exposed to a heavy and well-directed fire of grape and musquetry. Captains Eyre and Stevens, of the royal navy, were among the most animated in the combat, and were both wounded in the display of professional characteristic valour. Upon finding the head of the column could not be brought to the assault, General Oswald immediately directed Major Clarke to bring up the battalion of detachments, consisting of two companies of the royal marines, under Captains Snow and Stuart, two companies of the *Roll's*, under Major de Bosset, and two companies of Calabrian free corps, under Major Oswald. The royal marines, led by Major Clarke, and headed by their officers, broke through the abbatiss, and charged into the intrenchments; they were nobly supported by the *Roll's* under Major Bosset. The contest was not of long duration; the enemy fled at all points, pursued with the bayonet from work to work; and such was his precipitation, that he not only abandoned the camp and cannon of the attacked line, but left his remaining strong position, followed by Major Clarke's command even to the gates of the fortress. The fortress surrendered to his majesty's arms on the 16th of April; nine

days after, batteries, consisting of two thirty-two-pounders, nine eighteen-pounders, four howitzers, and six mortars, were opened against it: a portion of this artillery, however, had only been three days in action. The garrison were to be prisoners of war; the officers to be sent to Italy on parole.---Return of the French garrison: one brigadier-general, one aid-de-camp, two attached to the staff, one lieutenant-colonel, three staff, four captains, eight lieutenants, twenty-seven serjeants, thirty-nine drummers, 638 rank and file. Total, 714.---N. B. Seventeen sick, and sixty-nine wounded, not included.---Return of killed, wounded, and missing, of the troops under the command of Brigadier-General Oswald: total, one staff, twelve rank and file killed; two field officers, seven captains, six subalterns, one staff, four serjeants, seventy-four rank and file wounded: seventeen rank and file missing, March 24.---Total, one serjeant, ten rank and file, killed; one field officer, thirty-two rank and file, wounded, April 16.

26. Capture of *Le Maitre de Danse*, of four guns, by *La Bonne Citoyenne*.

30. Order in council of the 27th instant, directing ships bound to Liverpool, &c. from places whence quarantine is required to be performed, in future to perform their quarantine at Bromborough Pool.

## JULY.

10. Letter from Captain Hart, of his majesty's ship the *Fox*, to Admiral Drury, stating that the boats of that ship had cut out *La Caravane*, mounting eight four-pounders,



pounders, from under the batteries of Saprara, in the East Indies.

14. Account of the operations of the British force under the command of Captain Wainwright, against the pirates in the Persian Gulf.

In November, 1809, the principal town, Ras Alkhyma, with other settlements, and upwards of fifty vessels, were destroyed. Afterwards twenty more vessels, in the port of Linga; also eleven more in the port of Luft.

## AUGUST.

4. Dispatch from Lieutenant-General Sir John Stuart, dated Messina, June 11, informing of the destruction of a convoy of enemy's vessels, between Bagnara and Palmi, by Captain Reade of the British flotilla, engaged in defending Sicily. The capture was fourteen gun-boats, each carrying a long eighteen pounder: the remainder was store-boats, laden with ammunition, in all to the number of forty.

From Admiral Cotton, communicating an account of an action of the Spartan frigate, May 3, with a French force in the bay of Naples, consisting of the Ceres frigate, of forty-two guns and 350 men; severely crippled, escaped under the batteries. — Fame corvette, of twenty-eight guns and 260 men; lost her fore-top-mast, and otherwise crippled. — Le Sparviere brig, of eight guns and ninety-eight men; taken. — Achilles cutter, of ten guns and eighty men, escaped under the batteries. — Eight gun-boats, each with one twenty-four pounder and ten men, ditto. — Recapitulation, ninety-six guns and 1108 men. Captain Brenton commanded the

Spartan, and was wounded. Killed ten; wounded twenty-two.

This combat passed within sight of the city of Naples; the inhabitants saw with astonishment their numerous vessels return unsuccessful.

Account of the capture of the island of St. Maure, by Captain Eyre, of the Magnificent.

Account from Captain Maxwell, dated 26, of the Alceste, of the storming of several batteries on the coast of France, in the bay of Agæe, with an attack on the vessels, in which the following were captured: Santa Maria, of six guns, twenty men, and ninety tons, from Marseilles, bound to Naples, laden with wax, wine, leather, &c. — Porto Salvo, of four guns, twenty men, and 100 tons, from Marseilles, bound to Naples, laden with wax, wine, leather, &c. and others.

Account of a spirited attack on a French convoy, by the boats of the Success, Captain Ayscough, and the Espoir (companion of the Spartan, Captain Brenton) but not completely successful, owing to three of the boats striking, while pressing forward, on a sunken rock, by which misfortune two men were drowned. Their ammunition being wet, the officers and men swam to the beach with cutlasses in their mouths, when the enemy fired upon them from two long six-pounders and four wall-pieces; they being secreted behind the rocks, were not perceived until the boats grounded. The enemy's fire served only to increase the zeal of the party, and their perseverance so intimidated the enemy, that they deserted their guns, and retreated to the houses which were near, keeping up a heavy fire of musquetry from the windows;



dows; but being also dislodged from them, they fled into the mountains. The guns were spiked, carriages destroyed, two vessels set on fire, their cargoes (which consisted of oil) stove. They with difficulty launched the boats that were swamped, and returned on board.

Admiral Sir Charles Cotton has transmitted to John William Croker, Esq. reports of the following captures made by ships under his command, viz. *Revanche*, French schooner privateer, of eight guns and fifty-three men; taken on the 10th of March, by the *Eclair* sloop.

---*La Fortune*, French letter of marque, of ten guns and fifty-three men; taken on the 30th of March, by the *Pomone*.---*Le General Olta*, French brig privateer, of twelve guns and fifty men; taken on the 10th of April, by the *Swallow*.---*La Stella di Napoleon*, Neapolitan privateer, of two guns and forty men; taken on the 8th of May, by the *Sea-Horse*.---*Du Guay Trouin*, French schooner privateer, of five guns and 116 men; taken on the 10th of May, by the *Unite*.---*La Minerve*, French corvette, pierced for eighteen guns, but only two mounted; taken on the 17th of May, by the *Bustard*.---*La Jupiter*, zebec of Genoa, of eight guns and sixty-eight men; taken on the 5th of May, by the boats of the *Pomone*.

11. Lieutenant Warrant, commanding his majesty's gun-brig *Bloodhound*, the 6th instant, captured off the North Foreland, the *Becassine*, French privateer, of two guns and twenty-six men; out one day from Calais, without having made any capture.

Account from Lord Wellington of an attack made by the army of

Massena, on the corps of British, which formed the advanced guard under General Craufurd, near Fort Conception, on July 24. The British repulsed the French; but being greatly outnumbered, were obliged to retreat across the river Coa. The loss was considerable.

14. Letters from Captain Maxwell, of his majesty's ship *Alceste*, giving an account of the capture of two vessels in the bay of Martino, in the island of Corsica.

Captain Wormeley, of the sloop *Minorca*, captured the *Sans Peur*, privateer of Genoa.

Captain Pringle, of the *Sparrow Hawk*, captured *l'Intrepide*, privateer of Marseilles.

18. The king has been pleased to cause it to be signified by the most noble the Marquis Wellesley, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, to the friendly and neutral powers residing at this court, that the necessary measures have been taken by his majesty's command, for the blockade of the canal of Corfou.

The Chevalier de Souza Coutinho, heretofore envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, had a private audience of his majesty, to deliver new credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary.

23. Court mourning ordered on Sunday next, for the late Queen of Prussia: to go out of mourning, Sunday, Sept. 16.

25. Lieutenant Templar, commanding the *Earnest* gun-brig, has captured a Danish cutter privateer, of two guns and thirteen men, in the *Cattegat*, on the 28th ult.—The boats of the *Censor*, Lieutenant Lucas, cut out a French privateer sloop



sloop from the harbour of Stralsund, on the 25th; she is pierced for four guns, with a crew of forty men, three of whom were only on board.—The Marshal gun-brig has captured a row-boat privateer, belonging to Bornholm, with twelve men; and the Swan cutter has this morning brought in another row-boat, of the same description, with eleven men, one of whom was killed, another wounded, in attempting to make their escape; and also recaptured a galliot which she had taken.

28. Convoy of Danish coasters driven on shore, by Lieutenant John Nugent, of the Strenuous gun-brig.

### SEPTEMBER.

1. Captain Robinson, of his majesty's sloop *Prometheus*, chased on shore and destroyed, near Pillau, on the 2d of last month, the French schooner privateer *Messalina*, carrying six guns and thirty-eight men.

4. Vice-Admiral Bertie, commanding at the Cape of Good Hope, transmits from Captain Wilmoughby, of his majesty's ship *Nereide*, an account of his having landed a party, May 1, on the south east-coast of the Isle of France, and running up to the battery by which an intricate passage was defended, having taken it in ten minutes; they then, partly swimming, partly wading, crossed the river Jacotel, took prisoner the commandant of the enemy, spiked the guns and a mortar, burnt works, magazines, and stores; and retired to the ship with little loss, having thoroughly sounded the harbour.

Captain Hawker, of his majesty's ship *Melampus*, in company with

his majesty's sloop *Driver*, on the Halifax station, captured the French letter of marque *La Fantome*, with ports for twenty heavy carronades.

8. Captain Briggs, of his majesty's ship *Clorinde*, captured off the Basses (East Indies) the French privateer *l'Henri*, mounting eight twelve pounders; pierced for fourteen.

Captain Byron, of his majesty's ship *Belvidera*, relates the capture of three Danish gun-boats, the *Baldor*, the *Thor*, and No. 5; the latter blown up, by the boats of his ship, July 22, without loss.

*Horse Guards, Sept. 9.* His majesty having been graciously pleased to command, that, in commemoration of the brilliant victories obtained by divisions of his army over the enemy in the battles of Roleia, Vimiera, also in the several instances where the cavalry had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves against the enemy in Spain, and in the battles of Corunna and Talavera de la Reyna, the (under-mentioned) officers of the army, present on those occasions, should enjoy the privilege of wearing a medal: by the general officer, suspended by a ribbon of the colour of the sash, with a blue edge, round the neck; and by the commanding officers of corps (not being of rank inferior to lieutenant-colonel) and the chiefs of military departments, attached by a ribbon of the same colour to the button-hole of their uniform. His majesty has also been pleased to command, that the medals which would have been conferred upon the officers who have fallen at, or died since, the above-named actions, shall, as a token of respect for their memories, be deposited with their respective families.



18. Lord Wellington, in a letter dated Guarda, Aug. 29, gives an account of the fall of Almeida, which was hastened by the explosion of the principal powder magazine. The enemy opened their fire on the 26th, and the place surrendered on the 27th. The enemy immediately advanced on the outposts of the British army.

22. Captain Wolfe, of his majesty's ship the *Aigle*, relates that on the 12th, after a chase of thirteen hours, he captured *Le Phoenix*, ship privateer, of Bourdeaux, last from Passage, pierced for twenty guns, carrying eighteen English eighteen-pounder carronades, and a complement of 129 men, burthen about 200 tons (French measurement) commanded by M. Jacques Pertaud.

The capture of this privateer is of great importance to the British trade; she has the best crew I ever saw, composed of strong, healthy, active, stout young seamen, and her commander a very clever experienced officer, a lieutenant de vaisseau, brought up in the French navy prior to the revolution, and received the orders of the Legion of Honour from Buonaparte, for the havoc he made in the East Indies, being captain of the *Bellona* privateer upwards of nine years, and came to Europe captain of the *Cannoniere*; he tried us on every point of sailing; but, thanks to a gale of wind, we caught her, having run 134 miles in thirteen hours. She is a very superior sailer, and has headed the *Aigle* ever since her capture; was chased by four different vessels, but escaped; she is copper fastened.

Information from Admiral Sir R. G. Keats, at Cadiz, of the landing

a force of Spanish troops, under the orders of General Lacey, in their way to Maguer, where it was understood the French were. The Spaniards surprised the French; but the combat lasted the whole day. The naval part of the enterprize was under the direction of Captain Cockburne, of the *Implacable*; who, besides speaking highly of the cheerfulness with which the Spanish troops bore the fatigue of marching twenty-two miles, after being without rest for three successive nights, says, the steadiness and valour they displayed in the action that ensued, has excited my highest admiration, and made me more sanguine than ever in the hope, that such people in such a cause must be ultimately successful.

Sir Home Popham, of the Venerable, captured *L'Alexandre*, a privateer ketch of St. Maloes, of sixteen guns, in a fog, Sept. 18.

Lieutenant Streatfield, of his majesty's ship *Ruby*, destroyed two Danish armed vessels of Lessae.

The king has signified to the lords commissioners of the admiralty his royal pleasure that those post captains of his majesty's navy, who, being commissioners of the navy, victualling, or transport service, may have been passed over at any flag promotion, by officers junior to themselves being promoted to the rank of rear admirals, shall be allowed to wear the undress uniform of a rear admiral of his majesty's fleet, with the deviations undermentioned, viz.—The epaulettes to be without the star of those worn by rear admirals, and in all respects similar to those worn by post captains. The buttons to contain the arms of the navy-office (three anchors) or of the victualling-office



(two anchors crossed saltier wise) or of the transport-office (one anchor and one cannon crossed saltier wise) as the case may be, respectively surrounded with laurel.— And also, that those post captains who may be commissioners of the navy, victualling, or transport service, but from their seniority have not been passed over, shall continue to wear the uniform of their rank, without any deviation whatever.

25. Dispatches from Admiral Drury, communicating intelligence of the capture of Amboyna, by Captains Tucker, Montague, and Spencer, of the navy, February 17.

Since the English restored this island, in 1803, there have been numerous batteries erected, which command the fort and anchorage of Victoria, and Portuguese Bay.

These anchorages are also further protected by the fort of Victoria, the sea-face of which is extremely strong, a battery close on the beach, well to the right of the port, mounting four twelve-pounders, one eight-pounder, two six-pounders, and one brass thirty-two-pounder, and a heavy battery built upon piles far out in the sea, mounting nine twelve-pounders (iron) and one brass thirty-two-pounder.

The arrangements for the attack were, that four hundred men, troops and seamen, including officers, under the command of Captain Court, should be landed a little to the right of Portuguese Bay, and advance immediately to the attack of the batteries on the heights commanding that anchorage, as well as the town and fort of Victoria, and that at the same time the ships could commence their attack on the fort

and such batteries as they could be brought to bear upon. About two *p. m.* the boats being all out, and every thing in readiness for landing the party selected for that purpose, the ships were got under weigh, and stood across the bay, with the apparent intention of working out to sea; but by keeping the sails lifting and other manœuvres we contrived to drift in towards the spot fixed upon for a landing, at the same time keeping the boats on the opposite side of the ship, so as not to be perceived by the enemy.

Upon a nearer approach, the preparative signal was made to bear up and sail large: the ships bore up together with a fine breeze, and passing within cable's length of the landing-place, slipped all the boats at the same moment, per signal. The troops, seamen, and marines, were instantly landed, and formed.

The ships immediately commenced an attack upon the fort and surrounding batteries, which was continued without intermission for two hours and a half, by which time, having drifted very close in, exposed to an extremely heavy fire, particularly from the heights on the left of the town, with red-hot shot, and the object of the attack being accomplished by the unexampled intrepidity of the troops, seamen, and marines, in storming and gaining possession of the heights commanding Portuguese Bay, I took advantage of a spurt of wind off the land, and ordered the ships to anchor there.

During the night forty men were landed from the Samarang, and two field-pieces from the Dover, under the direction of Captain Spencer, who volunteered on this occasion, and succeeded in getting the



the guns up the heights, over a very heavy and difficult ground.

Daylight on the 17th shewed the very great advantage obtained over the enemy in the attack of the preceding day, as he had abandoned in the night the battery on the beach, as well as the water battery, both of which being very low, had much annoyed the shipping. Shortly after some shells were thrown from the fort at our positions on the heights, without doing any injury, while the shot from our batteries, in return, were seen to have considerable effect.

These decided advantages, with the progress making by the troops, led to a capitulation; by which the town, the island, and its dependencies, were surrendered.

This important colony was defended by 130 Europeans, and upwards of 1000 Javanese and Madurese troops, exclusive of the officers and crews of three vessels sunk in the inner harbour, many of which are Europeans, amounting to 220 men, aided by the Dutch inhabitants and burghers, who were stationed in the batteries on this very formidable line of defence.

A great number of ships and country vessels were taken on this occasion, or fell into the hands of the British by the course of subsequent events.

Sir George Collier relates the cutting out of a vessel from under the French batteries, on the coast of Quiberon, by the boats of his ship, the *Surveillante*.

Also the destruction of a small watch tower, and a new battery on the same coast: thus, in less than five minutes time, rendering useless the labour of some months.

29. Admiral Sir C. Cotton, Bart.

relates the proceedings of the French fleet at Toulon: with their reluctance to engage a weak British squadron; although by so doing they must have taken two British frigates. This flattering respect to the British navy gives the admiral peculiar pleasure.

The French schooner *San Joseph*, of St. Malo, of sixteen guns, taken by Captain Malcolm, of the *Rhin*, off the Lizard.

## OCTOBER.

2. The Danish schooner *Horsp Mod*, of six guns and four swivels, taken by the *Pyramus*, Captain Dashwood.

6. The *Indomptable*, French privateer, taken in the middle of an English convoy, by Captain Selby, of his majesty's ship the *Owen Glendower*, off the Lizard.

9. The Danish privateer *Aelberg*, of eight guns, destroyed by Lieutenant Nugent, off the *Hare*, September 10. Also the Danish privateer *Popham*, and the Danish brig *Troforte*.

13. Report from Admiral Sir H. Neale, of the *Caledonia*, of an attack on the French coast, in Basque Roads, by landing the marines of that ship, and capturing two brigs, and destroying others, by the boats, notwithstanding they were under protection of the land batteries, and field pieces brought down on purpose.

14. *Extraordinary*.—From Lord Wellington, detailing the march of his army from Celorico towards Lisbon, from the 20th to the 30th of September. His lordship particularly describes the battle of *Busaco*, fought the 27th.



The Sierra de Busaco is a high ridge, which extends from the Mondego, in a northerly direction, about eight miles.

At the highest point of the ridge, about two miles from its termination, is the convent and garden of Busaco. The Sierra of Busaco is connected, by a mountainous tract of country, with the Sierra de Caramula. Nearly in a line with the Sierra de Busaco is another ridge of the same description, called the Sierra de Murcella.

All the roads to Coimbra from the eastward lead over one or the other of these Sierras. They are very difficult for the passage of an army, the approach to the top of the ridge on both sides being mountainous.

With some exception, the whole army was collected upon the Sierra de Busaco, with the British cavalry observing the plain in the rear of its left.

At six in the morning of the 27th, the enemy made two desperate attacks upon our position, the one on the right, the other on the left of the highest point of the Sierra. The attack upon the right was made by two divisions of the second corps, on that part of the Sierra occupied by the third division of infantry. One division of French infantry arrived at the top of the ridge, when it was attacked in the most gallant manner by the thirty-eighth regiment, under the command of the Hon. Lieutenant-Col. Wallace; and the forty-fifth regiment, under the command of the Hon. Lieutenant-Col. Meade; and by the eighth Portuguese regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Douglas, directed by Major-General Picton.

These three corps advanced with the bayonet, and drove the enemy's division from the advantageous ground which they had obtained. The other division of the second corps attacked farther on the right, by the road leading by St. Antonio de Cantarô, also in front of Major-General Picton's division. This division was repulsed before it could reach the top of the ridge, by the seventy-fourth regiment, under the command of the Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel French, and the brigade of Portuguese infantry, under the command of Colonel Champelmond, directed by Colonel Mackinnon. Major-General Leith also moved to his left, to the support of Major-General Picton, and aided in the defeat of the enemy on this post, by the third battalion royals, the first battalion, and the second battalion of the thirty-eight regiment.

On the left, the enemy attacked, with three divisions of infantry of the sixth corps, that part of the Sierra occupied by the left division, commanded by Brigadier-General Crawford, and by the brigade of Portuguese infantry, commanded by Brigadier-General Pack.

One division of infantry only made any progress towards the top of the hill, and they were immediately charged with the bayonet, by Brigadier-General Crawford, with the forty-eighth, fifty-second, and ninety-fifth regiments, and the third Portuguese Caçadores, and driven down with immense loss.

Brigadier-General Cleman's brigade of Portuguese infantry, which was in reserve, was moved up to support the right of Brigadier-General Crawford's division, and a battalion of the nineteenth Portuguese



guese regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Mechean, made a gallant and successful charge upon a body of another division of the enemy, which was endeavouring to penetrate in that quarter.

The loss sustained by the enemy in his attack of the 27th has been enormous.

I understand that the General of Division, Merle, and General Maucum are wounded; and General Simon was taken prisoner by the fifty-second regiment, and three colonels, thirty-three officers, and 250 men.

The enemy left 2000 killed upon the field of battle, and I understand from the prisoners and deserters, that the loss in wounded is immense.

The enemy did not renew his attack, excepting by the fire of his light troops, on the 28th, but he moved a large body of infantry and cavalry from the left of his centre to the rear, from whence I saw his cavalry in march on the road which leads from Montagoa over the mountains towards Oporto.

Having thought it probable that he would endeavour to turn our left by that road, I had directed Colonel Trant, with his division of militia, to march to Sardao, with the intention that he should occupy those mountains, but unfortunately he was sent round by Oporto by the general officer commanding in the north, in consequence of a small detachment of the enemy being in possession of St. Pedro de Sul; and, notwithstanding the efforts which he made to arrive in time, he did not reach Sardao till the 28th at night, when the enemy was in possession of the ground.

Although, from the unfortunate

circumstance of the delay of Colonel Trant's arrival at Sardao, I am apprehensive that I shall not succeed in effecting the object which I had in view of passing the Mondego, and in occupying the Sierra de Busaco, I do not regret my having done so. This movement has afforded me a favourable opportunity of shewing the enemy the description of troops of which this army is composed; it has brought the Portuguese levies into action with the enemy for the first time, in an advantageous situation; and they have proved that the trouble which has been taken with them has not been thrown away; and that they are worthy of contending in the same ranks with British troops, in this interesting cause, which they afford the best hopes of saving.

*British army.*—Total loss.—One major, one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, five serjeants, ninety-seven rank and file, killed; three lieutenant-colonels, five majors, ten captains, sixteen lieutenants, one ensign, twenty-one serjeants, three drummers, 434 rank and file, wounded; one captain, one serjeant, twenty-nine rank and file, missing.

N. B. The officers and men returned missing are supposed to be prisoners of war.

*Portuguese army.*—Total, killed ninety, wounded 512, prisoners and missing twenty.

17. Two small Danish cutter privateers taken by Captain Studdart, of the Pallas.

25. The French lugger privateer L'Hirondelle, of four guns, taken by Captain Loring, of the Niobe.

The Edward, of fourteen guns, captured by the Sybille.

Also several small Danish privateers in the North Sea.

20. *Whitchall.*—



20. *Whitehall*.—The king has been pleased to nominate and appoint Lieutenant-General William Carr Beresford, to be one of the Knights Companions of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath.

The king has been pleased to constitute and appoint Burton Morrice, Esq. barrister at law, steward, and one of the judges of his majesty's Palace court of Westminster, in the room of Sames Stanley, Esq. deceased.

25. *Extraordinary*.—From Lieutenant-Colonel Keating, narrating the capture of the Island of Bourbon, dated July 21.

The force, consisting of 1800 European and 1850 native troops, arrived at Roderigues June 20.

On the 24th of June, Commodore Rowley, commanding the blockading squadron before the Isles of France and Buonaparte, anchored in his majesty's ship *Boadicea*, off Fort Duncan, in the island of Rodrigues.

The plan of attack was for striking the first blow at the enemy's capital, first, to prevent a protracted warfare in the interior of a country almost inaccessible to an invading army; and, secondly, to ensure the final reduction of the island in the shortest time possible, by securing the principal garrison and the governor, and commander-in-chief, whom I knew to be at St. Dennis.

The first brigade, composed of his majesty's 86th regiment, the first battalion of the 6th regiment of Madras native infantry, and a small detail of artillery and pioneers, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser, was ordered to land at Grand Chaloupe, and to proceed by the mountains direct against the west side of the enemy's

capital; whilst the second, third, and fourth brigades were to land at Riviere des Pluies, and to force the lines of defence extending from the Butor redoubt on the north or sea side, to the redoubt No. 11, on the south, and from thence to cross the rear of the town to the river St. Denis.

About two o'clock, *p. m.* on the 7th, the several ships having reached their stations, the weather being then moderate, and the enemy not appearing in strength, it was determined to debark the troops. Accordingly, Lieutenant-Col. Campbell, with 150 light troops of his brigade, and Captain Willoughby, of the royal navy, commanding a large party of seamen, and appointed to superintend the landing, immediately pushed off and landed their men about four o'clock. Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, of his majesty's 69th regiment, commanding the third brigade, with 150 men effected a landing nearly at the same time; but at this moment the wind increasing with much violence, raised the surf to an expected height, and several boats being stove on the beach, the landing of more troops that evening became impracticable. This important object was not, however, given up until an experiment, concerted with Commodore Rowley, was put in execution. A small transport, the *Udney*, was run upon the beach, in hopes that the troops might be enabled to land over her stern, or under her lee. This service was performed by Lieutenant Lloyd, second of the *Boadicea*, with the usual intrepidity which distinguishes our navy; but the violence of the weather and natural difficulties of the situation were such as to frustrate the intention proposed.

It



It now became necessary, if possible, to communicate with Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, the senior officer, with the detachment on shore, which in landing had the whole of their ammunition damaged, and had lost a considerable number of their arms. Lieutenant Foulstone, of his majesty's 69th regiment, in the most handsome manner volunteering to swim through the surf, his services were immediately accepted, and that officer, accordingly, conveyed my orders to the lieutenant-colonel to take possession of and occupy St. Marte for the night.

I proceeded with the commodore in the *Boadicea*, on the morning of the 8th, with the remainder of the third and fourth brigades, and effected a landing to leeward, at Grand Chaloupe, about eleven o'clock *a. m.*

With this force under my command, I instantly moved forward by the mountains; the other bodies of the troops were also advanced, and had passed the strong posts of the enemy. Two field pieces, and a howitzer were brought forward, and would have been in action in half an hour.

Affairs were thus situated, when I received a message from the left, that the enemy had sent out a trumpeter, with an officer, to demand a suspension of arms, and on honourable terms to surrender the island.

Thus, sir, in a few hours, has this rich, extensive, and valuable colony, been added to his gracious majesty's dominions, with a population of upwards of 100,000 souls; and with a loss on our part, comparatively trifling, the nature of the service considered.

On the 9th, agreeably to Lord

Minto's orders, Mr. Farquhar was sworn in governor of this colony and its dependencies, at which ceremony Commodore Rowley and myself attended.

Total loss; one subaltern, one serjeant, sixteen rank and file killed; one major, seven subalterns, two serjeants, two drummers, sixty-six rank and file, one seamen wounded.

His majesty's ship, *Sirius*, at anchor at St. Paul's 11th July, 1810.

Sir,—In putting your order in force to anchor at St. Paul's, I was fired at by the batteries, and on shewing a truce, they repeated it with many shells; however, during my stay in the bay, I clearly saw that a brig was getting ready to sail that night.

At eleven o'clock I dispatched Lieutenant Norman in the barge, to bring her out or cut her off; he found, by boarding the other vessels in the bay, that she sailed about nine o'clock; he pushed on, and after a hard row of nearly twelve hours came up with, and in a most gallant manner rowed through her fire, boarded, and took her. She is the *Edouard*, of Nantz, pierced for sixteen guns, has only four twelve-pounders, and thirty men on board, was charged with dispatches for the Isle of France. I am happy to say, we have only three men wounded and not dangerously. I am &c.

(signed) S. Pym.

To Commodore Rowley.

P. S. She is sixteen months old, 245 tons, coppered and copper-fastened, and, in my opinion, a very fit vessel for a packet.

30. Capture of *La Comtesse d'Hambough*, of fourteen guns, twelve-pounders, and six guns, eight-pounders,



pounders, from Dunkirk, by Captain M'Kerlie of the Calliope.

### NOVEMBER.

3. The Loup Garou French privateer of Nantz, of sixteen guns, taken by Captain La Penotiere of his majesty's sloop Orestes. Oct. 27.

6. The Neptune, Danish privateer, of five guns, taken by Captain Payne, of the Cretan.

The Norwegian Girl, Danish privateer of two guns, taken by Captain Clay, of the Nymph.

10. Account from Captain Hall, of the Rambler, at Gibraltar, of an attack made by the people of that ship in the night of the 28th, on a party of French dragoons, with cannon, which covered a French privateer: the dragoons being beaten with the loss of seven men, and horses, the British swam off to the privateer, and took her by boarding.

14. *Lord Chamberlain's Office.*—Last night, the body of her late Royal Highness, Princess Amelia, was privately interred in the Royal Chapel of St. George, in Windsor. (*See the Chronicle*, p. 288.)

16. Account from Cap. Grant of his majesty's ship Diana, of his having, in company with the Donegal, Revenge, and Niobe, driven on shore two French frigates on the coast of La Hogue. A boat was sent in which fired several of Congreve's rockets. They were both left on their beam ends.

19. Lieutenant-General Sir John Stuart, at Messina, September 22, reports, that, at day-light, on the morning of the 18th of September, the enemy's flotilla appeared to be preparing an attempt at landing be-

tween the Messina and the Faro. A debarkation was in fact effected under General Cavignac, near St. Stefano, about seven miles to the southward, of about 3500 men, Corsican and Neapolitan troops.

Major-Gen. Campbell repaired to the menaced quarter, where he found the German riflemen engaged with the enemy, and the 21st regiment, and part of the 2d Germans occupying the post of Mili, to prevent the advance of the French upon Messina, as well as the mountain passes above it. As day broke, he perceived the enemy already on the heights, and extending from thence to the beach; but shortly after they began to waver, and those nearest the boats to commence a precipitate embarkation, in consequence of a sudden and vigorous attack made upon their flank by the 2d battalion of light infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Fischer.

Major-General Campbell observing this movement of irresolution, pushed forward with the 21st regiment, and 3d Germans, along the beach, and thus succeeded in cutting off all the enemy's troops who had gained the heights, besides some whom the boats abandoned. He took about 900 prisoners, including a colonel, and two officers of the general staff, together with the colours of the Corsican legion.

20. *Extraordinary.*—Accounts from Lord Wellington of slight affairs of reconnoitering parties around his works in advance of Lisbon. Also of the capture of 350 French from the stragglers of their army—also of the difficulties of the enemy in procuring provisions—also of the capture of Coimbra, in the rear of the French army, with 1500 sick and wounded, and 3500 troops, by



by Colonel Trant; with other skirmishes. Colonel Trant writes from Coimbra, October 7, that intending to join General Miller and Colonel Wilson, he advanced to within three short leagues of Coimbra—was happy enough to surprise the French advanced guard of horse, and not meeting with any other troops of the enemy, I ordered the cavalry to advance at a gallop by the principal roads, and that crossing the bridge of the Mondego they should take post on the road to Lisbon, for the purpose of cutting off all communication with the army; which was executed with great spirit and bravery by Lieutenant Doutel with the loss of only one dragoon killed. I ordered that the divisions of infantry should march towards the principal places in the city; in doing which they met with a resistance that lasted one hour. Our only loss was two killed and twenty-five wounded. There are about eighty officers among the prisoners, as well as I can judge. Nothing can exceed the state of misery that prevails in this city. The enemy, not content with having plundered every part of it, and robbing every one they met, set fire to some houses, and have heaped up in the streets, in the greatest disorder, all the provisions that the army could not carry along with it; so that it could scarcely be expected that about 800 soldiers, natives of this city and its vicinity, surrounded by their wretched relatives and acquaintances, could be patient witnesses of a scene of devastation in which their property was destroyed in so iniquitous and scandalous a manner. However, I beg your excellency will believe that I did all in my power to protect the French that fell into our hands; and

after the two first movements of violence, I succeeded in securing them against insult.

24. Captain Hoste, of the *Amphion*, relates an action by the boats of that ship, the *Cerberus*, and the *Active*, in the Gulph of Trieste, June 1. It was necessary to row from several miles out at sea, because of the shallows which obstruct the port of Grao; and to pass that town, in order to get at twenty-five sail of vessels, which lay above it, and were protected by a party of French troops. The boats quitted the ships at about midnight, and landed before daybreak. The French fired heavily at them, and mistaking a movement to the left, for a retreat, charged with the bayonet: they were soon defeated, charged in turn, and surrendered; a second party of Frenchmen did the same. They were troops which had distinguished themselves at the battle of Wagram. Prisoners taken sixty; killed ten; vessels burnt eleven; brought out five; laden boats fifteen. The party was commanded by the second lieutenant, Slaughter. Loss, four killed, eight wounded.

27. Admiral Drury gives an account of the destruction of several Malay prows, and pirate vessels, in the Straits of Sunda, in the month of April: also of the capture of several Dutch vessels laden with artillery, &c. Also of the dismantling the fort of Pulo, by Captain Tucker, of the *Dover*.

The French privateer ketch *Glâneuse*, of fourteen guns, taken by Captain Hotham of the *Northumberland*.

## DECEMBER.

1. Danish cutter privateer the *Bornholm*



Bornholm, captured off Bornholm by Captain Acklom, of his majesty's ship *Ranger*. November 10.

Danish cutter privateer *Danneskiold*, captured off Anholt by Captain J. B. Perlet, of his majesty's gun-vessel *Wrangler*. November 14.

*Member returned to serve in Parliament.*—Borough of Agmondesham, William Tyrwhitt Drake, Esq. in the room of Thomas Drake Tyrwhitt Drake, Esq. deceased.

3. *Extraordinary*—from Lord Wellington, informing that Marshall Massena, after having been a month before the British lines, at Torres Vedras had suddenly broke up and retreated towards Santarem. The French threw several bridges over the river Zézere; and appeared to have designs on Abrantes, and the southern bank of the Tagus: his lordship had taken measures to render such attempts fruitless. His lordship praises Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher, and the officers of engineers, who had brought the enemy to a stand.

8. The French privateer *Le Roi de Naples*, taken by Captain Dowine of his majesty's sloop *Royalist*, off Dieppe. December 5.

11. *Member returned to Parliament.*—Borough of Milborne Port. The Honourable General Edward Paget, in the room of Lord Viscount Lewisham, now Earl of Dartmouth, called up to the House of Peers.

14. *Admiralty Office.*—"Intelligence has been received, that on the 23d of August, his majesty's ships *Nereide*, *Sirius*, *Magicienne*, and *Iphigenia*, stood into the harbour Sud-Est, in the Isle of France, with a view to attack an enemy's squadron, of two frigates, a corvette, and an armed Indiaman, lying at anchor there. In pushing for

their stations alongside the enemy, the *Sirius*, *Magicienne*, and *Nereide*, unhappily grounded, and it was found impossible to get them off, though the utmost skill and gallantry in endeavouring to save the ships, under circumstances of peculiar disadvantage, was displayed.

"After two days unremitting but unavailing exertion, under the fire of the heavy batteries, Captain Pym abandoned all hope of being able to get off the *Sirius* and *Magicienne*, and they were in consequence burnt by their own crews.

"The situation in which the *Nereide* grounded, enabled the enemy to turn the whole fire of their ships on her; but even in this unequal contest, Captain Willoughby continued to fight her to the last extremity, till every officer and man on board were either killed or wounded.

"All the enemy's ships were driven on shore, but one of the frigates was afterwards got off, and being joined by three others from Port Louis, they blockaded the *Iphigenia* at her anchorage under the Isle of Pas, on which island (it having been previously garrisoned by us) the crews of the *Sirius* and *Magicienne* were landed."

This gazette also announces the capture of a French privateer, *Le Renard*, of six guns and twenty-four men, by the *Quebec*, commanded by Captain Hawtayne; of the French privateer *Le Caroline*, of one gun and forty-two men, by Captain Bluett, of the *Saracen*; and of the *Mamelouck* privateer, of sixteen guns and forty-five men, by the *Rosario* sloop, Captain Harvey.

25. From Lord Wellington, December 8, giving an account of a panic-struck retreat of General Gardanne,



danne, with a body of troops from an advance to the southern bank of the Tagus into Spain.

They were followed by the ordenanza, who did them much mischief on the march, and took much baggage from them. The enemy destroyed many horses and mules which could not keep up with them; and this march, if it was ordered by superior authority, and is connected with any other arrangement, had every appearance, and was attended by all the consequences, of a precipitate and forced retreat.

Capture of the French privateer *Le Hero du Nord*, off the Texel, by Captain Douglas, of his majesty's ship *Bellona*. December 18.

#### PROMOTIONS in the year 1810.

*War-Office, Jan. 2.* Lieutenant-Colonel George Vigoreux, of the second royal veteran battalion, appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Scilly Islands, *vice* Major-General Hewgill, deceased.

*Foreign-Office, Jan. 9.* Charles Stuart, Esq. appointed to reside at the seat of the provisional government of Portugal as his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary.

*Whitehall, Jan. 9.* Rev. George Gordon, B. D. Dean of Exeter, promoted to the deanery of the cathedral church of Lincoln, and also to a residentiary's place in the said cathedral, both *vice* Kaye, deceased.

*War-Office, Jan. 20.* *Garrison.* General the Hon. Henry Edward Fox, to be Governor of Portsmouth, *vice* Pitt, deceased.

*Whitehall, Jan. 27.* Rev. John Parsons, D. D. appointed Dean of the cathedral church of Bristol, *vice*

the Rev. Dr. B. E. Sparke, promoted to the see of Chester.

*Treasury Chambers, Jan. 27.* The king has been pleased to appoint Thomas Alcock, Esq. to be treasurer of the ordnance, *vice* Joseph Hunt, Esq. resigned.

*Treasury Chambers, Feb. 2.* Alex. Osborne, Esq. to be a commissioner of the customs in Scotland, *vice* Alex. Cochrane, Esq. deceased.

*Whitehall, Feb. 10.* Rev. John Garnett, M. A. deanery of Exeter, *vice* Gordon, resigned.

*Treasury Chambers, Feb. 13.* Wm. Manley, Esq. a commissioner of excise, *vice* Maling, deceased.

*War-Office, Feb. 27.* His majesty has been pleased to approve of the following officers being appointed, and formed into a board for superintending and conducting the whole medical business of the army, *viz.*

John Wier, Esq. from half-pay as inspector of hospitals, to be director-general.—Charles Ker, M. D. an inspector of hospitals, to be principal inspector.—Theod. Gordon, M. D. from half-pay as inspector of hospitals, to be principal inspector.

*War-Office, March 10.* Rev. Archdeacon John Owen, chaplain-general of the forces, *vice* Gamble, resigned.

*Foreign-Office, March 10.* Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the court of the King of Persia.

*Foreign-Office, March 14.* James Morier, Esq, secretary of embassy to the King of Persia.

*War-Office, March 24.* Rev. Wm. Whitfield Dakins, LL. D. chaplain to the forces.

*March 3.* At a chapter of the most noble order of the Garter, Marquis Wellesley invested with the blue



blue ribband, vacant by the death of the Duke of Portland.

*Whitehall, April 7.* Peter de Haviland, Esq. bailiff of Guernsey, *vice* Robert Porrent le Marchant, Esq. resigned.—John Dumaresq, advocate-general of Jersey, *vice* Joshua Pipon, Esq. resigned.—Right Hon. Francis Napier, high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

*War-Office, April 7.* George Jenkins, clerk; and Sam. Briscall, clerk; chaplains to the forces.

*Downing-Street, April 16.* John Henry Newbolt, Esq. a judge of the supreme court of judicature at Madras.

*Admiralty-Office, April 21.* Sir Richard Bickerton, Bart. major-general of marine forces, *vice* Collingwood, deceased.

*Downing-Street, April 27.* Hildebrand Oakes, Esq. major-general, his majesty's commissioner for the affairs of Malta.

*Whitehall, April 28.* Right Hon. George Earl of Glasgow, lieutenant and sheriff principal of Renfrewshire.

*Whitehall, May 1.* Right Hon. Henry Baron Mulgrave, master-general of the ordnance.—Right Hon. Charles Yorke; Sir Richard Bickerton, Bart. Vice-Admiral of the Red; Robert Ward, Esq. James Buller, Esq. William Domett, Esq. Vice-Admiral of the Blue; Robert Moorsom, Esq. and Viscount Lowther, commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral.

*Downing-Street, May 2.* Robert Gordon, Esq. Lieutenant-Governor of Barbice.

*Downing-Street, May 4.* Vice-Admiral Sir John Duckworth, K. B. Governor and Commander-in-chief of Newfoundland.

*Foreign-Office, May 10.* John Phil. Morrier, Esq. secretary of legation to the United States of America.

*War-Office, June 2.* William Granger Cautley, clerk, late chaplain of brigade at Madeira, a chaplain of the forces.—Thomas Williams, clerk, late garrison chaplain at Landguard Fort, a chaplain to the forces.

*Queen's Palace, June 20.* Captain James Lucas Yeo, R. N. commander of the royal Portuguese military order of Saint Bento d'Avis, knighted.

*Whitehall, June 23.* Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, Right Hon. John Forster, chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland, Hon. William Brodrick, Hon. William Elliot, Snowden Barne, Esq. and Hon. Berkeley Paget, commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of the exchequer.—Right Hon. Charles Yorke, Sir Richard Bickerton, Bart. Vice-Admiral of the Red, Robert Ward and James Buller, Esqrs. William Domett, Esq. Vice-Admiral of the Blue, Sir Joseph Sydney Yorke, Knt. and Hon. Frederick Robinson, commissioners for executing the office of high admiral.

*Board of Green Cloth, June 27.* William Kenrick, Esq. master of his majesty's household.

*Whitehall, June 30.* Right Hon. Robert Dundas, Earl Camden, Earl of Liverpool, Right Hon. Richard Ryder, Marquis of Wellesley, Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, Lord Lovaine, Lord Teignmouth, Right Hon. Thomas Wallace, and Viscount Lowther, commissioners for affairs of India.

*Downing-Street, July 3.* Vice-Admiral the Hon. Sir Alexander Forrester Cochrane, K. B. governor



nor, and commander in chief of the Island of Guadaloupe, &c.

*Whitehall, July 14.* Captain R. Moorson, R. N. surveyor-general of the ordnance.

*War-Office, July 25.* His majesty has been pleased to appoint Major-Generals P. Sinclair, W. O. Huddleston, G. Fead, J. Sowerby, Sir T. Blomefield, Bart, G. Mann, D. M'Donald; J. Pratt, F. Champagné, J. Champagné, H. Calvert, G. Cockburne, E. Dunne, J. Drummond, W. Dowdeswell, A. Mackenzie, G. Moncrieffe, T. Meyrick, T. Graham, C. Cranford, G. H. Vansittart, Hon. C. Fitzroy, and F. Hugonin—to be lieutenant-generals in the army.

*Staff.*—To be aides-de-camp to the king, Colonel H. Davies, twenty-second light dragoons; Colonel D. Pack, seventy-first foot; Colonel Lord R. E. H. Somerset, fourth dragoons; Colonel G. Wilson, thirty-ninth foot; Colonel F. W. Buller, Coldstream guards; and Colonel R. Ross, twentieth foot.

*Foreign-Office, July 27.* J. Parke, Esq. Consul in the Island of Iceland.

*Admiralty-Office, July 31.* This day, in pursuance of the king's pleasure, the following flag-officers of his majesty's fleet were promoted, viz.

*Admirals of the White*—Skeffington Lutwidge, Esq. George Montagu, Esq. Right Hon. George Lord Keith, K. B. James Pigott, Esq. Right Hon. William Lord Radstock, Thomas Mackenzie, Esq. and Sir Roger Curtis, Bart.—to be *Admirals of the Red*.

*Admirals of the Blue*—William Young, Esq. Right Hon. James Lord Gambier, Philip Patton, Esq. Sir Charles Morice Pole, Bart. John

Leigh Douglas, Esq. William Swiney, Esq. Charles Edmund Nugent, Esq. Charles Powell Hamilton, Esq. Edmund Dod, Esq. Sir Charles Cotton, Bart. John Thomas, Esq. James Brine, Esq. Sir Erasmus Gower, Knt. John Holloway, Esq. and George Wilson, Esq.—to be *Admirals of the White*.

*Vice-Admirals of the Red*—Sir Charles Henry Knowles, Bart. Hon. Thomas Pakenham, Robert Deans, Esq. James Hawkins Whitshed, Esq. Arthur Kempe, Esq. Smith Child, Esq. Thomas Taylor, Esq. Sir John Thomas Duckworth, K. B. Sir Robert Calder, Bart. Hon. George Cranfield Berkeley, Thomas West, Esq. James Douglas, Esq. Peter Aplin, Esq. Henry Savage, Esq. Bartholomew Samuel Rowley, Esq. Sir Richard Bickerton, Bart. and George Bowen, Esq.—to be *Admirals of the Blue*.

*Vice-Admirals of the White*—R. Montagu, Esq. John Ferguson, Esq. Edward Edwards, Esq. and Sir John Borlase Warren, Bart. and K. B.—to be *Admirals of the Blue*.

*Vice-Admirals of the White*—Edward Tyrrel Smith, Esq. Sir Thomas Graves, K. B. Thomas Macnamara Russel, Esq. Sir Henry Trollope, Knt. Sir Henry Edwyn Stanhope, Bart. Robert M'Douall, Esq. Billy Douglas, Esq. John Wickey, Esq. John Fish, Esq. John Knight, Esq. Edward Thornborough, Esq. Sampson Edwards, Esq. George Campbell, Esq. Henry Frankland, Esq. Arthur Phillip, Esq. and Sir William George Fairfax, Knt.—to be *Vice-Admirals of the Red*.

*Vice-Admirals of the Blue*—Sir James Saumarez, Bart. and K. B. Thomas Drury, Esq. Albermarle Bertie, Esq. Right Hon. William Earl of Northesk, K. B. James Vashon,



Vashon, Esq. Thomas Wells, Esq. and Sir Edward Pellew, Bart.—to be *Vice-Admirals of the Red*.

*Vice-Admirals of the Blue*.—Sir Isaac Coffin, Bart. John Aylmer, Esq. Samuel Osborn, Esq. Richard Boger, Esq. John Child Purvis, Esq. Theophilus Jones, Esq. William Dommett, Esq. William Wolseley, Esq. John Manley, Esq. George Murray, Esq. John Sutton, Esq. Robert Murray, Esq. Hon. Sir Alexander Cochrane, K. B. and John Markham, Esq.—to be *Vice-Admirals of the White*.

*Rear-Admiral of the Red*—C. Stirling, Esq.—to be *Vice-Admiral of the White*.

*Rear-Admirals of the Red*—Henry d'Esterre Darby, Esq. Edward Bower, Esq. George Palmer, Esq. William O'Bryen Drury, Esq. William Essington, Esq. John M'Dougall, Esq. James Alms, Esq. Eliab Harvey, Esq. Sir Edmund Neagle, Knt. John Wells, Esq. Richard Grindall, Esq. and George Martin, Esq.—to be *Vice-Admirals of the Blue*.

*Rear-Admirals of the Red*—Sir Richard John Strachan, Bart. and K. B. Sir William Sidney Smith, Knt. Thomas Southeby, Esq. Nathan Brunton, Esq. William Hancock Kelly, Esq. John Schank, Esq. and Hon. Michael de Courcy—to be *Vice-Admirals of the Blue*.

*Rear-Admirals of the White*—William Bentinck, Esq. Paul Minchin, Esq. Philip d'Auvergne, Prince of Bouillon, and John Hunter, Esq.—to be *Vice-Admirals of the Blue*.

*Rear-Admirals of the White*—Fr. Pender, Esq. William Albany Otway, Esq. George Lumsdaine, Esq. Sir Samuel Hood, Bart. and K. B. Henry Nicholls, Esq. Herbert Sawyer, Esq. Davidge Gould, Esq. Sir

Richard Goodwin Keats, K. B. Robert Devereux Fancourt, Esq. Sir Edward Buller, Bart. Hon. Robert Stopford, Mark Robinson, Esq. Thomas Revell Shivers, Esq. Francis Pickmore, Esq. John Stevens Hall, Esq. and John Dilkes, Esq.—to be *Rear-Admirals of the Red*.

*Rear-Admirals of the Blue*.—William Lechmere, Esq. Thomas Foley, Esq. Charles Tyler, Esq. and Robert Carthew Reynolds, Esq.—to be *Rear-Admirals of the Red*.

*Rear-Admirals of the Blue*.—Robert Watson, Esq. Right Hon. Alan Hyde, Lord Gardner; Manley Dixon, Esq. George Losack, Esq. William Mitchell, Esq. George Hart, Esq. Thomas Bertie, Esq. Rowley Bulteel, Esq. William Lake, Esq. Isaac George Manley, Esq. John Osborn, Esq. Edmund Crawley, Esq. Charles Boyles, Esq. Sir Thomas Williams, Knt. Thomas Hamilton, Esq. Sir Thomas Boulden Thompson, Bart. and George Countess, Esq.—to be *Rear-Admirals of the White*.

And the undermentioned captains were also appointed flag-officers of his majesty's fleet, viz.—John Laugharne, Esq. William Hargood, Esq. George Gregory, Esq. John Ferrier, Esq. Richard Incledon Bury, Esq. Robert Moorsom, Esq. Sir Charles Hamilton, Bart. Hon. Henry Curzon; Lawrence William Halsted, Esq. Edward Oliver Osborn, Esq. Sir Harry Neale, Bart. Sir Joseph Sidney Yorke, Knight, Hon. Arthur Kaye Legge, Francis Fayerman, Esq. Right Hon. George, Earl of Galloway, Thomas Francis Fremantle, Esq. Sir Francis



Francis Laforey, Bart. Philip Charles Durham, Esq. and Israel Pellew, Esq.—to be *Rear-Admirals of the Blue*.

The king has been pleased to appoint Benjamin Hallowell, Esq. George Johnstone Hope, Esq. the Right Hon. Lord Amelius Beauclerk; and James Nicholl Morris, Esq. to be colonels in his majesty's royal marine forces, in the room of William Hargood, Esq. Robert Moorsom, Esq. Sir Charles Hamilton, Bart. and the Hon. Henry Curzon, appointed flag-officers of his majesty's fleet.

*Queen's Palace, Aug. 8.* Right Hon. Richard Lord Chetwynd, one of the clerks of the privy council, *vice* Sir Stephen Cotterell, who retires.

*Whitehall, Aug. 18.* Lieutenant-General W. Loftus, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, *vice* Vernon, deceased.

*War Office, Aug. 18.* Rev. E. Raynes, B. A. chaplain to the forces.

*Queen's Palace, Aug. 29.* Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair, Bart. sworn of his majesty's privy council.

*War Office, Sept. 7.* Rev. J. Hughes, a chaplain to the forces.

*Horse Guards, Sept. 9.* His majesty having been graciously pleased to command, that, in commemoration of the brilliant victories obtained by divisions of his army over the enemy in the battles of Roleia, Vimiera, also in the several instances where the cavalry had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves against the enemy in Spain, and in the battles of Corunna and Talavera de la Reyna, the under-mentioned officers of the army, present on those occasions, should enjoy the privilege of wearing a

medal; and his majesty having approved of the medal which has been struck, is pleased to command that it should be worn by the general officers, suspended by a ribbon of the colour of the sash, with a blue edge, round the neck; and by the commanding officers of corps (not being of rank inferior to lieutenant-colonel) and the chiefs of military departments, attached by a ribbon of the same colour to the button-hole of their uniform.

His majesty has also been pleased to command, that the medals which would have been conferred upon the officers who have fallen at, or died since, the above-named actions, shall, as a token of respect for their memories, be deposited with their respective families.

*Lieutenant-Generals.*—Sir John Moore, K. B. Sir David Baird, Sir John Hope, K. B. Mackenzie Fraser, Lord Paget, and Viscount Wellington, K. B.

*Major-Generals.*—Sir John Sherbrook, K. B. William Payue, Lord William Bentinck, Hon. Edward Paget, Sir Brent Spencer, K. B. Sir Stapleton Cotton, Bart. Rowland Hill, Coote Manningham, William Carr Beresford, Ronald Craufurd Fergusson, Henry Warde, James Leith, John Randall M'Kenzie, Christopher Tilson.

*Brigadier-Generals.*—John Slade, Moore Disney, William Palmer Acland, Miles Nightingall, Alexander Campbell, Henry Frederick Campbell, Richard Stewart, Hon. Charles Stewart, Ernest Baron Langworth, Alan Cameron, Bernard Foord Bowes, Henry Fane, Robert Anstruther, George Anson, James Catlin Craufurd, and Edward Howarth (artillery.)



## JURISPRUDENCE.

*I. Abstract of the Public Laws enacted by the British Legislature.—  
Passed in the Fiftieth Year of the Reign of George the Third.*

Chap. 1.—FOR continuing certain duties on malt, sugar, tobacco, and snuff, in Great Britain; and on pensions, offices, and personal estates, in England; for the service of 1810.

2. For raising 10,500,000*l.* by exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain for 1810.

3. Ditto 1,500,000*l.* ditto.

4. To indemnify such persons in the United Kingdom as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments, and for extending the times limited for those purposes respectively, until the 25th of March, 1811; and to permit such persons in Great Britain, as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the execution of indentures of clerks to attornies and solicitors, to make and file the same on or before the first day of Hilary Term, 1811.

5. To prohibit the distillation of spirits from corn or grain in Great Britain, for a limited time; and to continue, until four months after such prohibition, an act of last session of parliament, to suspend the importation of British or Irish-made spirits into Great Britain and Ireland.

6. To enable the Prince of Wales to grant leases of certain lands and premises called Prince's Meadows, in the parish of Lambeth, in Surry, for the purpose of building thereon.

7 For punishing mutiny and desertion, and for better payment of the army and their quarters.

8. For settling and securing a certain annuity on Viscount Wellington, and the two next persons to whom the title shall descend, in consideration of his eminent services.

9. To continue, until the 25th of March, 1811, so much of an Act of the 47th of his present majesty, as allows a bounty on British plantation raw sugar exported.

10. For making perpetual certain of the provisions of an act, 5 George I. for preventing clandestine running of uncustomed goods, and for frauds relating to the customs.

11. To continue, until the 25th of March, 1815, several laws relating to the encouragement of the Greenland whale-fisheries.

12. To continue, until the 25th of March, 1812, an act, 46 of his present majesty, for permitting the importation of masts, yards, bowsprits, and timber for naval purposes, from the British colonies in North America, duty free.

13. To continue an act, 44th of his present majesty, for permitting the exportation of salt from the port of Nassau, in the island of New Providence, the port of Exuma, and the port of Crooked Island, in the Bahama Islands, in American ships coming in ballast; and  
amend



amend and continue an act, 48th of his present majesty, for permitting sugar and coffee to be exported from his majesty's colonies or plantations to any port in Europe to the southward of Cape Finisterre, and corn to be imported from such port, and from the coast of Africa, into the said colonies and plantations, until the 25th of March, 1813.

14. For the regulation of his majesty's royal marine forces while on shore.

15. To grant his majesty duties upon spirits made or distilled in Ireland from corn; to allow drawbacks on exportation thereof; to make further regulations for encouragement of licensed distillers; and for amending laws relating to distillery in Ireland.

16. For further continuing, until the 25th of March, 1811, an act, 41st of his present majesty, for prohibiting exportation from, and permitting the importation into, Ireland, duty free, of corn and other provisions.

17. To continue, until the 25th of March, 1811, an act for regulating drawbacks and bounties on exportation of sugar from Ireland.

18. For further continuing, until the 25th of March, 1811, bounties and drawbacks on exportation of sugar from Great Britain; and for suspending countervailing duties and bounties on sugar when the duties imposed by an act, 46th of his present majesty, shall be suspended.

19. For further continuing, until the 25th of March, 1811, an act, 39th of his present majesty, for prohibiting exportation from, and permitting importation to, Great Britain, of corn, and for allowing importation

of other articles of provision, without payment of duty.

20. For removing doubts as to the power of appointing superintendants of quarantine, and their assistants.

21. For amending, and continuing so-amended, until the 25th of March, 1812, an act, 45th of his present majesty, for consolidating and extending several laws in force, allowing the importation and exportation of certain goods and merchandize into and from certain ports in the West Indies.

22. For authorizing the lords commissioners of the treasury to purchase certain quays within the port of London.

23. For granting annuities to discharge certain exchequer bills.

24. To amend an act, passed last session, for completing the militia of Great Britain, and to make further provision for completing the said militia.

25. To amend several acts, relating to the local militia of Great Britain.

26. For granting a duty on foreign plain linen taken out of warehouses, and exported to foreign parts.

27. To continue, until the 25th of March, 1832, certain acts made in the parliament of Ireland, for better regulation of the silk manufacture.

28. For increasing rates of subsistence to be paid inn-keepers and others, on quartering soldiers.

29. To amend an act of last session, for amending the Irish road acts.

30. To regulate the fees payable to coroners in Ireland, upon holding inquisitions.



31. For augmenting the salaries of the lords of session, lords commissioners of justiciary, and barons of exchequer in Scotland, and judges in Ireland.

32. To repeal certain parts of several acts of the parliament of Ireland, so far as relates to limiting the number of persons to be carried by stage-coaches or other carriages; for enacting other limitations in lieu thereof; and for other purposes relating thereto.

33. For enabling tenants *en tail* and for life, and also ecclesiastical persons, to grant land for the purpose of endowing schools in Ireland.

34. For allowing exportation of British and Irish-made malt, from one part of the United Kingdom to the other.

35. For altering the mode of collecting the duty on insurances against loss by fire, upon property in his majesty's islands and possessions in the West Indies, and elsewhere beyond the seas; and for exempting certain bonds and receipts from stamp duty, for giving relief in certain cases of stamps spoiled or misused, and for explaining part of an act, 48th of his majesty, for granting stamp duties in Great Britain.

36. For granting annuities to discharge an additional number of exchequer bills.

37. For enabling his majesty to settle an annuity on the Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel.

38. To extend the provisions of an act, 48th of his present majesty, intituled, "an act to permit certain goods imported into Ireland to be warehoused or secured, without the duties due on the importation

thereof being first paid," and to amend the same.

39. For repaying in certain cases the duty paid on the export of foreign plain linen.

40. For discontinuing the bounty on exportation of oil of vitriol, and allowing a drawback of a proportion of the duties paid on the importation of foreign brimstone, used in making oil of vitriol.

41. For placing the duties of hawkers and pedlars under the management of the commissioners of hackney-coaches.

42. For consolidating the duties of customs for the Isle of Man, and placing the same under the management of the commissioners of customs in England.

43. For maintaining and keeping in repair, roads made, and bridges built, in Scotland, under authority of the parliamentary commissioners for highland roads and bridges.

44. To provide for a durable allowance of superannuation to officers of excise in Scotland, under certain restrictions.

45. For raising 12,000,000*l.* by way of annuities.

46. For encouraging the consumption of malt liquor in Ireland.

47. To extend and amend the provisions of an act, 37th of his present majesty, for relief and maintenance of insolvent debtors detained in prison in Ireland.

48. To repeal three acts, 28th, 30th, and 46th, of his present majesty, for limiting the number of persons to be carried on the outside of stage-coaches or other carriages, and to enact other regulations for carrying the objects of the said act into effect.

49. To



49. To amend the laws for the relief of the poor, so far as relate to the examining and allowing the accounts of church-wardens and overseers by justices of the peace.

50. To explain and amend an act made last session, relating to relief and employment of the poor, so far as relates to the more effectual carrying the same into execution; and to extend the provisions thereof to parishes which shall not have adopted the provisions of an act, 22d of his present majesty.

51. To repeal so much of an act, 7 James I. as relates to the punishment of women delivered of bastard children; and to make other provisions in lieu thereof.

52. To amend so much of an act, 8th and 9th William III. as requires poor persons receiving alms to wear badges.

53. For preventing frauds relating to exportation of British and Irish made malt, from one part of the united kingdom to the other.

54. To revive and continue, until the 25th of March, 1811, an act, 39th of his present majesty, for more effectual encouragement of the British fisheries.

55. To prohibit importation of Italian silk crapes and tiffanies, and to increase shares of seizures payable to officers in respect of foreign wrought silks and manufactured leather gloves.

56. To explain and amend an act passed last session, for continuing and making perpetual several duties of 1s. 6d. in the pound, repealed by an act of last session, on offices and employments of profit, and on annuities, pensions, and stipends.

57. To revive and continue, until the 25th of March, 1815, an act,

23d of his present majesty, for more effectual encouragement of the manufacture of flax and cotton in Great Britain.

58. To amend several acts for redemption and sale of land-tax.

59. For more effectually preventing embezzlement of money or securities for money belonging to the public, by any collector, receiver, or other person entrusted with the receipt, care, or management thereof.

60. For permitting exportation to Newfoundland of foreign salt, duty free, from the import warehouses at Bristol; and for repealing so much of an act of last session, as allows salt, the produce of any part of Europe south of Cape Finisterre, to be shipped in any port of Europe direct to certain ports in North America.

61. For making sugar and coffee, of Guadaloupe, St. Eustatia, St. Martin, and Saba, liable to the same duty on importation as sugar and coffee not of the British plantations.

62. For more effectual prevention of smuggling in the Isle of Man.

63. To enable his majesty to authorize the exportation of the machinery necessary for erecting a mint in the Brazils.

64. To permit the removal of goods, wares, and merchandize, from the port in Great Britain where first warehoused, to any other warehousing port for exportation.

65. For uniting the offices of surveyor-general of the land revenues of the crown, and surveyor-general of his majesty's woods, forests, parks, and chases.

66. To authorize the judge advocate



vocate general to send and receive letters and packets free from duty of postage.

67. For better preservation of heath fowl, commonly called black game, in Somerset and Devon.

68. For raising 1,400,000*l.* by way of annuities, for the service of Ireland.

69. For raising 6,000,000*l.* by exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1810.

70. To enable the commissioners of his majesty's treasury to issue exchequer bills on the credit of such aids or supplies as have been or shall be granted by parliament for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1810.

71. For appropriating part of the surplus of the stamp duties, granted 48*th* of his present majesty, for defraying the charges of the loan made and stock created in the present session.

72. For improving and completing the harbour on the north side of the hill of Howth, near Dublin, and rendering it a fit situation for his majesty's packets.

73. To alter, explain, and amend, the laws now in force respecting bakers residing out of the city of London, or the liberties thereof, or beyond ten miles of the Royal Exchange.

74. To grant his majesty additional duties upon letters and packets sent by the post within Ireland.

75. To grant his majesty an additional duty on dwelling houses in Ireland, in respect of the windows or lights therein.

75. To repeal certain duties under the care of the commissioners for managing the stamp duties in Ireland, and to grant new and additional duties, and to amend the

laws relating to stamp duties in Ireland.

77. For imposing additional duties of custom on certain species of wood imported into Great Britain.

78. To repeal an act, 47*th* of his present majesty, for suppressing insurrection, and preventing disturbances of the public peace in Ireland.

79. For regulating the continuances of licenses for distilling spirits from sugar in the Lowlands of Scotland.

80. For reviving and further continuing, until the 25*th* of March, 1811, several laws for allowing the importation of certain fish from Newfoundland, and the coast of Labrador, and of certain fish from parts of the coast of his majesty's North American colonies, and for granting bounties thereon.

81. To continue, until the 1*st* of August, 1811, certain acts for appointing commissioners to enquire into the fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments, received in several public offices in Ireland, to examine into any abuses which may exist in the same, and in the mode of receiving, collecting, issuing, and accounting for, public money in Ireland.

82. To amend the laws relative to the sale of flax seed and hemp seed in Ireland.

83. To repeal several acts respecting the woollen manufacture, and for indemnifying persons liable to penalty for having acted contrary thereto.

84. For augmenting parochial stipends in certain cases in Scotland.

85. To regulate the taking of securities in all offices, in respect of which security ought to be given; and for avoiding the grant of all such



such offices, in the event of such security not being given within a time to be limited after the grant of such office.

86. To amend two acts, 39 and 43 of his present majesty, for regulating the manner in which the East India Company shall hire and take up ships.

87. To amend two acts, relating to the raising men for the service of the East India Company; and quartering and billeting such men; and to trials by regimental courts-martial.

88. To make provisions, for a limited time, respecting certain grants of offices.

89. For defraying, until the 25th of March, 1811, the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia of Ireland, and for making allowances in certain cases to subaltern officers of the said militia during peace.

90. For defraying the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia and local militia in Great Britain, for the year 1810.

91. To revive and continue, until the 25th of March, 1811, and amend so much of an act, 39th and 40th of his present majesty, as grants allowances to adjutants and serjeant-majors of the militia of England, disembodied under an act of the same session.

92. For making allowances in certain cases to subaltern officers of the militia in Great Britain, while disembodied.

93. For the improving and completing the harbour of Holyhead.

94. For granting to his majesty a sum of money to be raised by lotteries.

95. To enable the corporation, for preserving and improving the port of Dublin, to erect, repair,

and maintain, light-houses round the coast of Ireland, and to raise a fund for defraying the charge thereof.

96. To amend an act passed this session, intituled, "An act for increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers and others, on quartering soldiers."

97. To continue, until the 6th of July, 1811, and to amend several acts for granting certain rates and duties, and for allowing certain drawbacks and bounties, on goods, wares, and merchandize, imported into and exported from Ireland; and to grant his majesty, until the 5th of July, 1811, certain new and additional duties on the importation, and to allow drawbacks on the exportation, of certain goods, wares, and merchandize, into and from Ireland.

98. For raising 216,000*l.* by treasury bills, for the service of Ireland for the year 1810.

99. To amend several acts relating to the making of malt, and the granting of permits and certificates, and the regulations of braziers, and of persons employing more than one still in Ireland.

100. For respiting certain fines imposed on stills in Ireland.

101. For confirming an agreement for the purchase of the prisage and butlerage of wines in Ireland, entered into by the commissioners of his majesty's treasury in Ireland, and the Earl of Ormond and Ossory and his trustees, in pursuance of an act, 46th of his present majesty's reign.

102. For the more effectually preventing the administering and taking of unlawful oaths in Ireland; and for protection of magistrates and witnesses in criminal cases.

103. For



103. For repealing several laws relating to prisons in Ireland, and for re-enacting such of the provisions thereof as have been found useful, with amendments.

104. For altering the amount of certain duties of assessed taxes granted by an act, 48th of his present majesty, and for granting his majesty certain other duties of assessed taxes on the articles therein mentioned.

105. To regulate the manner of making surcharges of the duties of assessed taxes, and of the tax upon the profits arising from property, professions, trades, and offices, and for amending the acts relating to the said duties.

106. For regulating the manner of assessing lands in certain cases to the duties arising from the profits of property, professions, trades, and offices, and for giving relief from the said duties on occasion of losses in other cases therein mentioned.

107. To regulate the examination and payment of assignments for clothing of his majesty's forces.

108. To amend and enlarge the powers of an act, 2d of his present majesty, for encouragement of the fisheries of this kingdom, and protection of the persons employed therein.

109. To continue for two years, and from thence until the end of the then next session of parliament, and amend an act, 47th of his present majesty, for preventing improper persons from having arms in Ireland.

110. To allow, until the 1st of August, 1811, the bringing of coals, culm, and cinders, to London and Westminster by inland navigation.

111. To limit the amount of

pensions to be granted out of the civil list of Scotland.

112. For abridging the form of extracting decrees of the court of session in Scotland, and for regulation of certain parts of the proceedings of that court.

113. For enabling his majesty to raise 3,000,000*l.* for the service of Great Britain.

114. For granting his majesty a sum of money, to be raised by exchequer bills, and to be advanced and applied in the manner and upon the terms therein-mentioned, for relief of the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

115. For granting his majesty certain sums of money out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain, and for applying certain monies therein-mentioned, for the service of the year 1810; and for further appropriating the supplies granted in this session of parliament.

116. To extend and amend the term and provisions of an act, 39th and 40th of his present majesty, for the better preservation of timber in the New Forest, county of Southampton, and for ascertaining the boundaries of the said forest, and of the lands of the crown within the same.

117. To direct that accounts of increase and diminution of public salaries, pensions, and allowances, shall be annually laid before parliament, and to regulate and controul the granting and paying of such salaries, pensions, and allowances.

118. For regulating the offices of registrar of admiralty and prize courts.

119. For further amending and enlarging the powers of an act, 46th of his present majesty, for consolidating



ating and rendering more effectual the several acts for the purchase of buildings, and further improvement of the streets and places near to Westminster Hall and the two houses of parliament.

## II. *Brief Reports of some important Law Cases, determined in the year 1810.*

Feb. 12. — *Court of King's Bench.*—*The King v. Frances Latham.*—*Mr. Bolland* opened the case. This was an indictment for perjury, in an affidavit sworn by the defendant, charging — *Barrett, Esq.* with the violation of her person.

*Mr. Serjeant Best*, who, from apparent ill-health, addressed the court sitting, stated the case on the part of the prosecution. He said that the crime imputed to the defendant was corrupt and determined perjury, in a prosecution commenced against *Mr. Barrett*, to ensure a verdict, whose result must have been ruin to him—a death most certain and most ignominious. Before he concluded he should show, not only that *Mr. Barrett* was innocent, but that the defendant was not deceived—that there was no mistake in the charge—that nothing could be imputed to possible misapprehension—but that the crime which he then was to prosecute was wilful and inexcusable. The prosecutor in this trial is a respectable trader in London; the defendant is the daughter of a most valuable and meritorious man. The jury were probably acquainted with the general features of the case:—*Miss Latham* having gone down to *Worthing*, for the benefit of her

own, or her brother's health, was, according to report, insulted and brutally violated by a stranger, who then resided near the town. A circumstance occurred in connection with those facts, for which no explanation had been given. In a few weeks after the alledged crime, a letter was sent to *Mr. Barrett*, detailing the transaction, and charging him as the perpetrator. He was then on the Kentish coast with his family. On returning to London, he was sent for by *Dr. Latham*; the defendant was in the room. On being asked if he knew her, he answered, "No;" but that he had heard of the affair by letter. On this *Dr. Latham* retorted on him, "that it was evident he knew all," and immediately gave him into the custody of an officer, who was then in the house. He was then taken before a magistrate in *Marlborough-street*.

The counsel here read from his brief the narrative of the imputed injury:—In the evening of the 10th of July, *Miss Latham*, walking in *Worthing*, as she passed along a lane leading to the road, was accosted by a stranger, who said he had long wished to see her; after some similar language, he suffered her to leave him, and she returned home very much terrified. On the day after, as she was standing at her toilette, she saw him pass before the house, without being observed by him, and remarked his appearance distinctly. On the 13th, between seven and eight in the morning, returning to her apartments after bathing, she was disturbed by some persons pressing against the door. She conceived it to be the son of a *Mrs. King*, who lodged in the house. She was so much overcome



come by terror, on seeing the stranger who had insulted her, that she swooned, and fell off the sofa on which she lay; on recovering, she found his silk handkerchief tied over her mouth, and that she had suffered the injury of which she afterwards gave a most particular detail. The ravisher then took off the handkerchief, and importuned her to fly with him, offering her the command of money and servants: and telling her he had taken off the handkerchief in hope of a complying answer. She screamed, and threatened him with her brother's return. He seized her again, bound her own handkerchief on her mouth, and escaped. In attempting to stand up, she fell and fainted; but on her recovery, still lying on the floor, and bound, she tore off the bandage by rubbing her head against the window-seat, and called for assistance. It was by this feeble tissue of improbabilities that the guilt of the defendant was to be covered from the eyes of a jury. A stranger walks through an inhabited house, a house full of servants and lodgers—walks, as by intuition, directly to Miss Latham's apartment; and there commits a crime which exposes him to instant seizure and instant ruin. She swooned on seeing him, but no violence was used in her swoon. The jury had heard the accurate observations which she made in the course of the assault. Who could conceive a woman so circumstanced to be capable of such observation—to be collected, calm, particular—to remember incidents which might escape the mind most at ease? She could recollect the change of the stranger's handkerchief for her own, the proposition of going off with

him, her reply, and his rejoinder. She could remember the hurry of the ravisher, on being threatened with her brother's return from the shore, the improbable spirit of decorum which worked upon his politeness, to come back and raise the two chairs that he had overturned in his retreat. She could then devise a lucky expedient for freeing herself from her bonds, calmly call for Martha Lawrence, the servant, to complete the operation, and set her free. He, in his office, as counsel for the prosecutor, had no wish to load her with an unqualified charge; he concluded that she had been made the tool of other and more artful persons. The case was accompanied by circumstances, which, if they were correctly stated, must make its truth undeniable. Were they stated to the magistrate? If so, they were still forthcoming in his notes. The transaction occupied the 10th, 11th, and 12th of July. Witnesses were now waiting to prove, that his client was not in Worthing on any of those days. The house in which the outrage was committed, was, like those hastily built at watering-places, small, with but few apartments, and thin partitions, through which a scream, nay even a word, must be audible. Miss Latham screamed loudly! — “Gentlemen (said the learned serjeant) it has pleased Providence to make the scream of distress the most heart-rending, most piercing, most penetrating, of all other sounds that can be formed by the human voice.” If Miss Latham was violated on the 12th, why did she not communicate her misfortune to some friend—not of course to a male acquaintance, for there might be



be a restraint of natural modesty ; but there was a female in the house, Mrs. King, with whom she was on terms of perfect intimacy. Why had not she been trusted ? why not brought to give her testimony before the magistrate ? The house in which Dr. Latham placed his daughter must have been respectable. Was not the mistress of that house fit to be intrusted with the circumstance ? Had she been intrusted ? Had she been brought before the magistrate ? She should be at length brought, for she should be seen in court that day. Was Martha Lawrence, the servant, acquainted with it ? Where was the indelicacy of mentioning it to her ? Had she been prohibited from telling it ? or could any prohibition prevent her telling it, if it had been told to her ? The jury were now to prepare themselves for all the plausibility which genius and eloquence could throw round a falling cause. But he could bring twenty witnesses to prove his case. On the 4th of July Mr. Barrett came to London with his family, and remained in London till the 14th. It could be shown with whom he had done business during the time ; when he slept in town ; public officers could be called to prove his being present there. The signature of bonds, executed within those peculiar days, could be adduced to prove the point beyond all doubt. The proof had already succeeded. His client's life had been saved, he was now to vindicate his honour. On the 14th, in the morning, he arrived at Worthing. If violence had been committed on the 12th, was it possible that he should stay there ? Advertisements had been published describing the ravisher,

and offering a reward for his apprehension. Did he fly ? This was posted up on every house ; he could not raise his eyes without meeting it, yet he remained in Worthing till the 18th or 19th unmolested. He went to all public places ; he exhibited no fear, he practised no concealment. The act was said to have been committed between the hours of eight and nine in the morning, in Miss Latham's room ; that room was immediately over the shop. The mistress of the house would come forward to prove the total falsity of the statement : she had been in the shop from seven that morning ; she heard no shrieks, no fall of chairs, no fall of a body, and Miss Latham was of a form that must make her fall audible. If this misfortune occurred to her in the morning, in what situation must she have been afterwards ? Would she not have been unfit to converse with any but her most intimate friends ? She would continue affected, agitated, overpowered by the mingled feelings of such an injury. This was human nature. Her countenance must have betrayed, though her tongue were silent ; she must have shrunk from the eye ; she must have saddened and pined under the sensibilities of young and timid outraged innocence. Were those symptoms discoverable in her ? She came down stairs in her usual spirits, with her dress unruffled, and arranged with its usual care, to altercation with the landlady about some three-pence or four-pence of a laundress's bill. The learned counsel concluded by declaring, that his object was to vindicate his client, not to ruin Miss Latham. His client might have



have been justified in pushing the law to its utmost extent. It was not owing to this woman but to the providence of God, that instead of coming to that court to assert his innocence, he was not now sinking under the punishment of his imputed crime, languishing in Hors-ham gaol, loaded with irons, and preparing only to exchange a bitter captivity, for a death of pain and infamy.

*The Attorney General*, on the part of the defendant, said, he had no objection to proceeding with the case; his evidence were ready, and they could satisfy the jury. But he had read the evidence given on the examination, with great attention, and felt that no suspicion of the crime could remain on Mr. Barrett.

*Mr. Alley*.—"I declared before, that if the alibi were allowed, no further proceedings should be taken."

*Mr. Serjeant Best*.—"My lord, Mr. Barrett is only anxious to declare, on oath, his own innocence; after that he puts himself in my hands, and I am in your lordship's."

*Lord Ellenborough*.—"I cannot change the course of proceedings; the cause must be tried like every other cause."

*The Attorney General*.—"My lord, you see into what dreadful evidence we must plunge by proceeding; I can show sufficient grounds to exculpate my client. But it cannot be for the general good to proceed. I should have interrupted my learned friend but for the moderation of his commencement. But even now I have no hesitation to withdraw all charge against his client, and spare the morality of

the public, and the feelings of a father."

*Lord Ellenborough*.—"Gentlemen of the jury, there has been no evidence adduced in this cause; you will therefore find a verdict for the defendant."

*Feb. 12. Manyard v. Gilbert*.—This was a trial on an issue from the Court of Chancery to try the validity of a marriage.

*Mr. Park* stated the case. The defendant already named was a nominal one, and named only as connected with the deed on which the cause was originally moved in chancery. The real defendant was Mr. Daniels, lately a stockbroker, and now residing at Hampstead. The plaintiff was also a stockbroker. —Some months before the 8th of April, 1809, the plaintiff, going to the defendant's house on business of his father's, a wholesale ironmonger in Castle Street, saw the defendant's daughter. His connexion with the Exchange enabled him to serve Mr. Daniels on some occasions in his business. This produced an intimacy, in the course of which the plaintiff paid his addresses to Miss Daniels, and was desired to wait till she was a few months older. One evening, at supper, Mr. Daniels suddenly announced to his daughter his consent that she should be married to the object of her declared regard. She was a delicate girl, and the intelligence produced such an immediate nervous agitation that medical aid was necessary. She recovered soon after, and from her strong attachment, and her habitual irritability of frame, her friends advised that the marriage should not be delayed. If it were possible that a verdict should go against him this day, he could not



not conceive a man more hardly treated than his client: his addresses sanctioned, his marriage solemnized by consent of both families, and this without any hope of emolument, excepting the distant one of a very moderate fortune, from the precarious and capricious bounty, or rather from the inveterate and unaccountable enmity, of his father-in-law. On the 27th of March Mr. Daniels, his daughter, and a Mrs. Newman, her aunt, came to town from Hampstead, to buy clothes and trinkets for the wedding. On her return, Miss Daniels went on a visit to the plaintiff's father, who lives at Camden Town. She remained there from the 1st to the 7th of March, without any appearance of the insanity which was now alledged as the cause of breaking off a marriage contracted in the face of the church, according to the forms of law. On the 3d of April a dinner was given at Mr. Daniels's house, to which the whole of the Munyard family was invited. Mr. Daniels was laid up in bed with the gout; but the females of the party were admitted to his apartment, and he expressed himself in terms of the warmest affection for his intended son-in-law; said that nothing should now delay the match, and that he might have taken a horse and rode from one end of London to the other before he could have met a man in every way so eligible. He afterwards went with his daughter to Doctors Commons, to execute the necessary papers for the marriage; in short, went every where with her but to the altar. If he saw her insane before that, why not forbid the marriage? if at the altar, why not stop her there? He attests the marriage, he signs

the register, and yet now comes forward to invalidate the ceremony to which he had given his full sanction. I can believe nothing low or insulting of the church; there was a clergyman officiating—would he not have refused to go through the rite if he had seen insanity in either of the parties? The exhortation of the form of marriage was among the most solemn in the whole rubric. The clergyman read it so that it was heard by the parties; it was heard by the aunt, who was now to be brought forward full of testimony to the insanity of her niece, and acknowledging, with a base and bold defiance of the feelings of a relative, and the faith of a virtuous woman, that she allowed her niece to go a sacrifice to the altar, to swear to the performance of duties of which she could not know the nature; to avow obedience to a husband, while her brain was distorted with madness! to contract a marriage which that aunt knew must be a nullity; and to load an unhappy and doting husband with the shame, the burden, the misery of a lunatic wife, and propagate a race of unfortunates, cursed with the dreadful visitation of that malady which had made their mother an object of mingled compassion and horror. No; this was not credible; it was not in human nature to believe so weak a fiction; it was not in human artifice to believe that fiction strong; the jury would decide upon the simple question, whether at the time of solemnizing the marriage, the 8th of April, Miss Sarah Ann Daniels was or was not possessed of a sound and perfect mind.

On the part of the defendant, the Attorney-General stated, that his object



object was to release an unfortunate woman from hands which could now only ill-treat her, and restore her to the protection and fondness of a father, who had consented to this disadvantageous match merely as a forlorn hope, to recover the lost mind of his daughter, and now was only anxious to have the power of protecting and cherishing her.

After the case had closed on both sides, Lord Ellenborough recapitulated the evidence. The issue which the Lord Chancellor had directed to be tried was, whether Sarah Ann Daniels was of competent mind on the 8th of April. It was recognized by the wisest principles of law, that the acts of a lunatic, done in the lucid intervals of his disorder, were valid. Particularity of conduct could not defeat those rights, so sacred in the eye of the law. There was the late case of a noble lord, who distinguished himself by the most eccentric oddities, sitting during the day in a woman's old red cloak in a window, having a particular dish every night for supper, and other deviations from the usual manner of society. But those would not invalidate the precious rights secured by the laws. Miss Daniels, doubtless, must have retained the vestiges of her disorder. Madness left its deep impression on the countenance: there was the wandering of the eyes, the paleness, the wild and melancholy look, even when the mind had shaken off the weight of its last and direst calamity. There could be no feeling for the defendant; his case was as weighty and as dark as ever came before the court. He had but an election of crimes. He had entered into a foul and infa-

mous conspiracy with the aunt, to do an act which drew down the heaviest vengeance of the insulted laws, to violate the order which commands that marriage should not be contracted where this dreadful disease of the mind stood to prohibit its celebration; or he was guilty of the still more foul and infamous crime of conspiring with that woman to break down a lawful marriage, to tear a wife from her husband, to make her marriage an illegitimate rite, and her children bastards before the world. He defied the genius of man to find out any other than the miserable option of one of those great offences against feeling, against society, against law, and against religion.

The jury, after a short consultation, found a verdict for the plaintiff.

*Court of King's Bench.—*Millis v. Flower.—*Mr. Parke*, who addressed the court, stated this to be an action for a breach of promise of marriage.

He said, the plaintiff in this case, a woman about forty years of age, is the daughter of a respectable ribbon manufacturer residing at Coventry; the defendant is also a ribbon manufacturer at Coventry, and a wholesale dealer in Gutter-lane, Cheapside. The present action was brought to recover a compensation in damages. The circumstances which appeared in evidence were shortly these:—In the summer of 1804, the defendant, who is a methodist, being in bad health, went for change of air to the house of a friend at Coventry; whilst there he had the misfortune to fall from his horse, by which accident his shoulder was contused.



contused. Miss Millis, hearing of the accident, sent him a bottle of lotion to bathe the bruised limb with, and, induced by kindness of disposition, afterwards visited him, to see it properly applied: this kindness made a very strong impression on the mind of the defendant, who having recently lost his wife, and being not more than ten years older than the plaintiff, felt persuaded that she would prove a proper person to fill up the vacancy in his heart: he declared his affection in due form, and, it appeared, did not meet with a repulse; for on the defendant's return to London, which took place soon after, a correspondence commenced betwixt them, which continued till June 1805.

He would now proceed to read some of the letters: the first was dated the 9th of September, 1804, and was to the following effect:—

“My dear Mary,—I received your letter of the 29th of August; the contents cheered my heart very much. You may think me too old for these professions. I could not help kissing your dear letter over and over again before destroying it: you are very cruel to bid me destroy them. The world is full of vanities, but you are the only thing in it I wish to realize.

[“Here,” said the learned counsel, “comes an instance of abominable misuse of Scripture language ---of an impudent practice of conceiving that all his trifling and foolish movements are objects of immediate interest to a particular Providence.”]

“I have been much ruffled in spirit this morning, by fighting with an impudent maid-servant; I sent her off, however; but by the kind-

ness of Providence, the trial has been made up to me in the sweetness of my girl's; I have been recompensed too by getting a maid from Oxford (rather a singular place of selection, said Mr. Park); she is likely to be a good one; but, my dear, I am tired of leading a single life; keep me near your heart.”

[“And here,” said the learned counsel, “is one instance of what we have all heard so much about---the ingenuity of love. Mr. Flower would not condescend to use the common mode of writing the word *heart*---he takes the trouble of drawing an aukward emblem, a cheese-cake-heart, upon his paper, and sends this effigy of his passion to his only beloved.”]

“I don't mind what the world says; I am accountable only to Providence. I don't know how I shall go to Coventry, for I cannot return and leave you behind; yet I would not wish to marry till March, as by that time my wife will have been *a year* dead.”

He came to Coventry, quarrelled with the plaintiff on some frivolous pretence, returned to London, and finally married another. This was in 1805. “I am not inclined,” said Mr. Park, “to approve of this delay; but much might be alledged for it; the uncertainty whether the defendant might not be prevailed on to do Miss Millis justice; the shame and pain which a respectable female felt in becoming so much an object for the public eye as an appeal to public justice generally makes her; and last, though an inferior consideration, her wish to have him (Mr. Park) as her counsel. She might have found a much better; but such was her fancy, for he could



could call it nothing more. Some casual obstructions had hitherto prevented his being on the spot when the trial was to come on; and she had delayed it until he could, as on this day, discharge a duty which he felt one of the most painful and most important that ever was imposed upon him. He felt that there could be no hope of throwing aspersions on her character: for if the attempt were made, it could only enhance the damages.

A book-keeper of the defendant's was then sworn to give evidence to the hand-writing of the letters.

Examined by *Mr. Marriott*.

Q. Do you know that hand?—

A. I can't say that—I believe I do.

Q. Do you swear you don't know?

—A. I am not sure that I don't.

*By Lord Ellenborough*.—Q. If you received that letter in your hand, would you act upon it as if it were the defendant's writing?—

A. I believe not.

Q. Answer me promptly, sir! a witness who hesitates as you have done only implicates his own character!—A. My lord, I hope my character is well known in London; but Mr. Flower used to write different hands; he was often unwell; he used to write short-hand; he was shy of letting me see him write.

Q. What, sir! in his ordinary business did he use short-hand? You must see the improbability, the gross improbability of your testimony where you attempt a fact, and its prevarication where you hazard a conjecture: Pray, sir, in what capacity were you connected with Mr. Flower?—A. I was his book-keeper.

Q. His book-keeper, and not have the faintest recollection of his

hand? Go down from that box, sir, you have told us enough. Go along; you may read your history in the eyes of the gentlemen around you."

Another witness was then called, who proved the hand-writing.

The letters were then read. The first was that which we have already given; the second was dated October, and was in substance as follows:—

"My dear Mary,—This appears a long silence; but as I was going out of town, I was afraid your letters might fall into other hands, than my own; I am truly weary of living alone. Oh! for the dear comforts of a woman's society! I long to see you at the head of my table---to see you my wife; that is the only hope that can make life desirable."

The next was November, 1804.

"My dear,—Oh, how I long to see you! You say you have been too open with me. Don't be afraid of being too open; I shall soon go to the country; then I expect to find you ready to obey. I must have you all passive obedience and non-resistance. We have preaching every day and night in town here, but I still find that I want a taste for divine things. Keep your hand in, my love; your first letter was very legible, but your last I could not make out. God bless you! Yours, "B. F."

Some of the succeeding letters were occupied with censures of the talkative spirit of the country people. The last was dated April, 1805:—

"Dear Mary,---I regret to hear that you are unwell; but if ever I should see you *in the flesh*, I will make it up to you: I know you feel



feel reluctance at parting with your father and mother; but you will be used to that. I have, since I saw you, been offered two large sums of money in marriage; but if I fail of you, I shall remain as I am: I would not have the queen! The moment I got your letter, I was consulting with the doctor about Maria's health---for, as Dr. Watts says---

"The dear delights we doat on now,  
And fondly call our own,  
Are but short favours borrow'd now,  
To be repaid anon."

Every part of your letter gave me great joy; don't think of any unkindness in my answering you now. I am in great trouble. Yours,

"B. F."

This was followed by a note from Stoney Stratford, mentioning that the journey disagreed with his daughter, and that he would be in Coventry next day to dinner.

The Rev. Mr. Brooksbank, dissenting minister at Haberdasher's Hall, was called to prove that the defendant was now a married man, and that he had a child since his last marriage. On his cross-examination by Mr. Garrow, he stated that the defendant was remarkably sickly, and had had a paralytic stroke.

The defence set up was, that there was a concerted plan on the part of the plaintiff, to draw from the defendant, who was in a very infirm state, a promise of marriage, which neither the lady's age nor his own constitution would permit him to fulfil; and that he had since married a grave matronly woman, more suited to his age and infirmities. From the defendant's own evidence, however, it appeared that the lady whom he had married

was several years younger than the plaintiff; and that since his marriage, notwithstanding his alledged infirm state of health, his family had been increased by the birth of a fine boy.

After a reply by Mr. Park,

Lord Ellenborough addressed the jury in a charge of great eloquence and impressiveness. He peculiarly animadverted upon the language of some of the letters, which he termed a disgusting mixture of lasciviousness and fanaticism, tending to degrade Christianity, by mingling its high and sacred names with the meanness and abomination of the lowest earthly impurity. After giving an able view of the innocence of the plaintiff's objects, and the manifest injury which had been done to her, he left the reparation to the jury.

The jury, after a few moments consultation, found a verdict for the plaintiff---*Damages five hundred pounds.*

March 1.---*Court of King's Bench.*---*The Earl of Uxbridge, Messrs. Hughes, Williams, and Grenfell, v. Teed.*---This was an action brought by the plaintiffs, proprietors of very extensive copper concerns, against the defendant, an inspector of the duties on income and property in the city of London, for a wilful and vexatious surcharge made by him, in respect of the plaintiff's returns and profits for the year, ending the 5th of April last. It was stated, that the defendant, without any information or ground of surcharge, except the circumstance of plaintiffs' having the year before made a much larger return of profits, surcharged them the sum of 28,357l. several months after their return of profits



profits had been, upon examination, allowed by the additional commissioners, and the amount of the ten per cent. duty thereon paid into the bank; the inspector at the time he made such a surcharge having been also aware that Mr. Grenfells, one of the plaintiffs, had appeared before and fully satisfied, the commissioners, previously to their passing the assessment upon which this surcharge was afterwards made: Upon hearing however, before the commissioners of appeal, the surcharge was disallowed; and plaintiffs, considering it a question of great public import to ascertain by the decision of a court of law, whether the inspectors were justified in making surcharges, as seems too much the practice, without any ground of information for doing so (taking the chance of putting a proportion of the surcharge into their own pockets, in case of its being in any degree allowed) brought this action. It, however, appearing, that one of the additional commissioners (Mr. James Dixon, who is since dead,) had in the present instance advised the defendant to make the surcharge, the court was of opinion that it removed from him all imputation of his having made the surcharge vexatiously; and the plaintiffs were of course nonsuited. It was, notwithstanding, distinctly understood that a surcharge made without any ground besides an inspector's own presumption is unwarrantable, and would be deemed vexatious. It also appeared, and was stated in court, that the circumstance of the inspector's having acted under the advice of Mr. Dixon was wholly unknown to the plaintiffs.

From this decision, it should

seem that the subject is not protected by the existing law, against a false surcharge, provided the inspector acts under the advice, or at the suggestion of any one of the commissioners; notwithstanding the assessment having been made by the commissioners before whom an investigation respecting the same had previously taken place.

*Court of King's Bench.—The King, v. Wm. Cobbett, for a libel.*

—On Friday, June 15, this important case was tried before Lord Ellenborough, at Westminster Hall. The pannel being called over, the following persons were sworn of the jury: Thomas Rhodes, Hampstead Road; John Davis, Southampton Place, ditto; James Ellis, Tottenham-Court-Road; John Richards, Bayswater; Thomas Marsham, Baker Street; Robert Heathcote, High Street, Mary-le-bone; John Maude, York Place, ditto; George Bagster, Church Terrace, Pancras; Thomas Taylor, Red Lion Square; David Dean, 110, St. John's Street; William Palmer, Upper Street, Islington. Joseph West (talesman) was about to be sworn, but

Mr. Cobbett objected to him, and he was withdrawn without assigning any reason, on the consent of the Attorney-General.

Henry Faver, a talesman, was then sworn, and made up the twelve.

The Attorney-General then opened the case on behalf of the crown. In 1808, Lord Castlereagh brought in his bill by which the local militia might be called out for twenty-eight days, though they had only been called out twenty days. When the Cambridgeshire militia was called out, some disaffected persons in the



the isle of Ely caused them to mutiny, and it was found necessary to call in the military in the neighbourhood, and five of the ringleaders were sentenced to receive 500 lashes, part only of which they received. The German legion, who were thus called in, is composed of a body of brave men, who, when Hanover was overrun, quitted their country, and, entering into his majesty's service, have conducted themselves with bravery, and it was no disparagement to the British army to say, that the German legion even shared the glory with them. At the battle of Talavera the German legion took three standards. No troops had ever conducted themselves in a more quiet, orderly, and sober manner, and he could not find that any complaint had been made against them. Mr. Wardle, in a motion in the House of Commons, had proposed to disband the German legion, against which Mr. Huskisson offered sufficient reasons. A paragraph soon after appeared in the *Courier*, which he would read—

“The mutiny amongst the local militia, which broke out at Ely, was *fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday, by the arrival of four squadrons of the German legion cavalry from Bury, under the command of General Auckland. Five of the ringleaders were tried by a court-martial, *and sentenced to receive 500 lashes each*, part of which punishment *they received on Wednesday*, and a part was remitted. A *stoppage for their knapsacks* was the ground of complaint that excited this *mutinous* spirit, which occasioned the men to surround their officers, and demand what *they deemed* their arrears. The first di-

vision of the German legion halted yesterday at Newmarket, on their return to Bury.” — *Courier Newspaper, Saturday, June 24, 1809.*

With this paragraph, as a text to a sermon, had Mr. Cobbet headed his paper.

The Attorney-General then read the alledged libel.

#### “LOCAL MILITIA AND GERMAN LEGION.

“See the motto, English reader! See the motto, and then do pray recollect all that has been said about the way in which Buonaparte raises soldiers.—Well done, Lord Castlereagh! This is just what it was thought your plan would produce. Well said, Mr. Huskisson! It really was not without reason that you dwelt with so much earnestness upon the great utility of the foreign troops, whom Mr. Wardle appeared to think of no utility at all. Poor gentleman! he little imagined how a great genius might find useful employment for such troops. He little imagined, that they might be made the means of compelling Englishmen to submit to that sort of *discipline*, which is so conducive to the producing in them a disposition to defend the country, at the risk of their lives. Let Mr. Wardle look at my motto, and then say, whether the German soldiers are of *no use*—*Five hundred lashes each!*—Aye, that is right! Flog them; flog them; flog them! They deserve it, and a great deal more. They deserve a flogging at every meal time. ‘Lash them daily, lash them duly.’ What! shall the rascals dare to *mutiny*, and that too when the German legion is so near at hand! Lash them, lash them, lash them! They deserve it. O,



yes; they merit a double-tailed cat. Base dogs! What, mutiny for the sake of *the price of a knapsack*! Lash them! flog them! Base rascals! Mutiny for the price of a goat's skin!—And then, upon the appearance of the *German soldiers*, they take a flogging as quietly as so many trunks of trees!—I do not know what sort of a place Ely is; but I really should like to know how the inhabitants looked one another in the face, while this scene was exhibiting in their town. I should like to have been able to see their faces, and to hear their observations to each other at the time. This occurrence at home will, one would hope, teach *the loyal* a little caution in speaking of the means which Napoleon employs (or rather, which they say he employs) in order to get together and to discipline his conscripts. There is scarcely any one of these loyal persons, who has not, at various times, cited the *hand-cuffings*, and other means of force, said to be used in drawing out the young men of France; there is scarcely one of the loyal, who has not cited these means as a proof, a complete proof, that the people of France *hate Napoleon and his government*, assist *with reluctance in his wars*, and would *fain see another revolution*. I hope, I say, that the loyal will, hereafter, be more cautious in drawing such conclusions, now that they see that our 'gallant defenders' not only require physical restraints, in certain cases, but even a little blood drawn from their backs, and that, too, with the aid and assistance of *German troops*. Yes; I hope the loyal will be a little more upon their guard in drawing conclusions against Napoleon's popularity.—At any rate,

every time they do, in future, burst out in execrations against the French for suffering themselves to be 'chained together and forced, at the point of the bayonet, to do military duty,' I shall just re-publish the passage which I have taken for the motto to the present sheet. I have *heard* of some other, pretty little things of the same sort; but I rather choose to take my instance (and a very complete one it is) from a public print notoriously under the sway of the ministry."

The jury would observe with how much reproach Mr. Cobbett mentioned the word "loyal." He would not suffer it to be believed that Napoleon would use such means to raise an army. He not only rendered it a vehicle of attack on this country, but as a defence of the Emperor of France; he would not permit the country to believe the tyranny of Buonaparte. So that the author meant to represent that the treatment of ministers was as tyrannical as the chaining together the conscripts of France. The object of the libel was to give to all men a distaste to the German legion, into which some must enter, and to persuade people, that the tyranny of the measure of the local militia was greater than that of Buonaparte. For these reasons he felt himself called upon to bring the publication before a jury. Whatever the author had to alledge, he would be patiently heard. He had attentively considered the paper in question, and could give it no character, but that which he had described it to be.

Mr. Cobbett defended himself, and the jury returned a verdict of *guilty*.

On the 9th of July following,  
the



the Attorney-General prayed judgment against Mr. Cobbett, T. C. Hansard (the printer) and John Budd and Richard Bagshaw (the publishers) which was as follows: "That you, William Cobbett, do pay a *fine to the king* of 1000l.; that you be *imprisoned* in his majesty's gaol of Newgate for the space of *two years*; that, at the expiration of that time, you enter into a recognizance to keep the peace for *seven years*, *yourself in the sum of 3000l.*, and *two sureties in the sum of 1000l.* each. And, further, that you be imprisoned till that recognizance be entered into, and that fine paid."

The judge then pronounced the sentence of the court on T. C. Hansard, the printer. He observed, that the case of the other three defendants differed from that of the defendant Cobbett, inasmuch as they had no share in the profits of the libel; but, as Hansard *had seen* the copy before it was printed, *he* ought not to have suffered it to have been printed. He was, therefore, sentenced to *three months* imprisonment in the King's Bench prison, and at the expiration of that term to enter into a recognizance to keep the peace: himself in 400l. and two sureties in 200l. each; and to be further imprisoned until such security be given. Messrs. Budd and Bagshaw, the publishers, were each sentenced to *two months* confinement in the same prison.

Nov. 26. *Court of King's Bench.*—*The King, v. John Gale Jones, for a libel.*—Mr. Jones was brought up to receive sentence; when Mr. Justice Grose, after a few prefatory observations, said, that "the libel had already been commented on too ably from the bench and the bar to

require any thing further to be said of its nature. It was flagrant and atrocious: it went to charge a public character with having abused his authority to the oppression of an individual. The manner in which Mr. Jones attempted to extenuate the offence was an aggravation. He had talked of his being an advocate for the liberty of the press; but the truest friend to that liberty was the most resolute opposer of its licentiousness. The law was, however, strong and ready to protect the individual, otherwise every good man's character would be at the mercy of those who had none; miscreants who, for base lucre or for other motives equally degrading, set themselves to the work of calumny. It was one thing to judge of a man's character, and another to drag him before the public and calumniate him. The mode of disseminating the calumny in question made it peculiarly malignant. The court would now order and adjudge Mr. John Gale Jones to be imprisoned in the house of correction in Cold-Bath Fields for twelve months; and to find securities to keep the peace for three years, himself in 500l. and two sureties in 250l. each.

*The King v. Peter Finnerty.*—Mr. Carwood stated that he was instructed to apply to the court in this case, the defendant having had notice to appear to receive the judgement of the court to-day. He observed that he had an affidavit, which he had handed to the Attorney-General, stating that Mr. Finnerty was confined to his bed by illness, labouring under a fever, and that it would be attended with hazard to his life to appear here. The learned counsel, therefore,  
Z 4  
humbly



humbly applied to their lordships that the recognizance might be respited till the next term.

The affidavit of John Stanton, of the Strand, surgeon, was read; stating that he had attended Mr. Finnerty yesterday and this morning, when he laboured under a very severe fever, and that if he left his chamber his life would be endangered.

*Mr. Attorney-General.*—"My lord, I leave this entirely to the discretion of the court."

*Lord Ellenborough.*—"Then we must respite the recognizance; it is sworn that he cannot be brought up now without peril to his life."

*Mr. Curwood.*—"Your lordships respite the recognizance till next term?"

*Lord Ellenborough.*—"If the Attorney-General wished it, we would give you only a rule to show cause why it should not be respited: if not take your rule. Mr. Attorney-General, would you wish that they should take only a rule to show cause?"

*Mr. Attorney-General.*—"No, my lord, I think not; in short I would not interpose any difficulty."

*Lord Ellenborough.*—"Then let the recognizance be respited."

### 3. *Liberty of the Subject.—Papers, &c. relative to the affair of Sir Francis Burdett.*

SIR F. BURDETT'S LETTER TO HIS CONSTITUENTS.

"No freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or be disseized of his freehold, or liberties, or free customs, or be outlawed, or exiled, or any otherwise destroyed; nor will we pass upon him, nor condemn him, but by *lawful judgment of his peers*, or by the *law of the land*. We will sell to no man, we will not deny or

defer to any man, either justice or right."—*Magna Charta*, chap. xxxix.

"Gentlemen,—The House of Commons having passed a vote which amounts to a declaration, that an order of theirs is to be of more weight than *Magna Charta* and the laws of the land, I think it my duty to lay my sentiment thereon before my constituents, whose characters as freemen, and even whose personal safety, depend in so great a degree upon the decision of this question—a question of no less importance than this: Whether our liberty be still to be secured by the laws of our forefathers, or be to lie at the absolute mercy of a part of our fellow-subjects collected together by means which it is not necessary for me to describe.

"In order to give this subject all the attention to which it is entitled, and to avoid the danger to be apprehended from partial views and personal feeling, it will be advisable to argue the question on its own merits, putting the individual (however we may deplore his present sufferings) out of view; though, at the same time, every man ought to consider the case his own; because, should the principle upon which the gentlemen of the House of Commons have thought proper to act in this instance be once admitted, it is impossible for any one to conjecture how soon he himself may be summoned from his dwelling, and be hurried, without trial, and without oath made against him, from the bosom of his family into the clutches of a jailor. It is therefore now the time to resist the doctrine, upon which Mr. Jones has been sent to Newgate; or it is high time to cease all pretensions



tensions to those liberties which were acquired by our forefathers, after so many struggles and so many sacrifices.

“ Either the House of Commons is authorized to dispense with the laws of the land, or it is not. If the constitution be of so delicate a texture, so weak a frame, so fragile a substance, that it is to be only spoken of in terms of admiration, and to be viewed merely as a piece of curious but unprofitable workmanship; if Magna Charta and all the wholesome laws of England be a dead letter; in that case, the affirmative of the proposition may be admitted: but if the constitution lives, and is applicable to its ends; namely, the happiness of the community, the perfect security of the life, liberty, and property of each member, and all the members of the society; then the affirmative of the proposition can never be admitted; then must we be freemen; for we need no better security, no more powerful protection for our rights and liberties, than the laws and constitution.

“ We seek for, and we need seek for, nothing new; we ask for no more than what our forefathers insisted upon as their own; we ask for no more than what they bequeathed unto us; we ask for no more than what they, in the testament which some of them had sealed, and which the rest of them were ready to seal, with their blood, expressly declared to be the birth-right of the people of England: namely, the laws of England. To these laws we have a right to look, with confidence, for security; to these laws, the individual now imprisoned has, through me, applied for redress in vain. Those who

have imprisoned him have refused to listen to my voice, weakly expressing the strong principles of the law, the undeniable claims of this Englishman's birthright.

“ Your voice may come with more force; may command greater respect; and I am not without hope that it may prove irresistible, if it proclaim to this House of Commons, in the same tone as the tongues of our ancestors proclaimed to the kings of old, *nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*; or, in our own more clear and not less forcible language, *the laws of England shall not be changed*.

“ The principle, fellow-citizens, for which we are now contending, is the same principle for which the people of England have contended from the earliest ages, and their glorious success in which contests is down upon record in the great charter of our rights and liberties, and in divers other subsequent statutes, of scarcely less importance. It was this same great principle which was again attacked by Charles the First, in the measure of ship-money, when again the people of England and an uncorrupted House of Commons renewed the contest; a contest which ended in the imprisonment, the trial, the condemnation, and the execution, of that ill-advised king. The self-same principle it was, that was so daringly violated by his son James the Second; for which violation he was compelled to flee from the just indignation of the people, who not only stripped him of his crown, but who prevented that crown from descending to his family. In all these contests, the courage, perseverance, and fortitude of our ancestors, conspicuous as they were, were not more



more so than their wisdom; for, talk as long as we will about rights, liberties, franchises, privileges, and immunities, of what avail are any or all of these together, if our persons can, at the sole will and command of any man, or set of men, be seized on, thrown into prison, and there kept during the pleasure of that man, or set of men? If every one of you be liable, at any time, to be sent to jail without trial, and without oath made against you, and there to be detained as long as it pleases the parties sending you there (perhaps to the end of your life) without any court to appeal to, without any means of redress; if this be the case, shall we still boast of the laws and of the liberties of England? Volumes have been written by foreigners, as well as by our own countrymen, in praise of that part of our law which, in so admirable a manner, provides for our personal safety against any attacks of men in power. This has, indeed, been in all ages the pride of our country; and it is the maintenance of this principle which enabled us to escape that bondage, in which all the states and kingdoms in Europe were enthralled by abandoning and yielding it up; and we may be assured, that if we now abandon it, the bright day of England's glory will set in the night of her disgrace.

“ But I would fain believe that such is not to be our fate. Our forefathers made stern grim-visaged prerogative hide his head: they broke in pieces his sharp and massy sword. And shall we, their sons, be afraid to enter the lists with undefined privilege, assuming the powers of prerogative?

“ I shall be told, perhaps, that

there is not much danger of this power being very frequently exercised. The same apology may be made for the exercise of any power whatever. I do not suppose that the gentlemen of the House of Commons will send any of you to jail when you do not displease them. Mr. Yorke did not move for the sending of Mr. Jones to jail, until Mr. Jones displeased him; but it is not a very great compliment to pay to any constitution, to say, that it does not permit a man to be imprisoned unless he has done something to displease persons in power. It would be difficult, I should suppose, to find any man upon earth, however despotic his disposition, who would not be contented with the power of sending to prison, during his pleasure, every one who should dare to do any thing to displease him. Besides, when I am told that there is little danger that the gentlemen in the House of Commons will often exercise this power, I cannot help observing, that, though the examples may be few, their effect will naturally be great and general. At this moment, it is true, we see but one man actually in jail, for having displeased those gentlemen; but the fate of this one man (as the effect of all punishments) will deter others from expressing their opinions of the conduct of those who have had the power to punish him. And, moreover, it is in the nature of all power, and especially of assumed and undefined power, to increase as it advances in age: and, as Magna Charta and the law of the land have not been sufficient to protect Mr. Jones; as we have seen him sent to jail for having described the conduct of one of the members



as an outrage upon public feeling, what security have we, unless this power of imprisonment be given up, that we shall not see other men sent to jail for stating their opinion respecting rotten boroughs, respecting placemen and pensioners sitting in the house; or, in short, for making any declaration, giving any opinion, stating any fact, betraying any feeling, whether by writing, by word of mouth, or by gesture, which may displease any of the gentlemen assembled in St. Stephen's Chapel?

"Then, again, as to the kind of punishment; why should they stop at sending persons to jail? If they can send whom they please to jail; if they can keep the person so sent in jail as long as they please; if they can set their prisoners free at the end of the first hour, or keep them confined for seven years; if, in short, their absolute will is to have the force of law, what security can you have that they will stop at imprisonment? If they have the absolute power of imprisoning and releasing, why may they not send their prisoners to York jail, as well as to a jail in London? Why not confine men in solitary cells, or load them with chains and bolts? They have not gone these lengths yet; but what is there to restrain them, if they are to be the sole judges of the extent of their own powers, and if they are to exercise those powers without any controul, and without leaving the parties whom they chuse to punish, any mode of appeal, any means of redress?

"That a power such as this should exist in any country it is lamentable to be obliged to believe; but that it should be suffered to exist, and that its existence should be openly

and even boastfully avowed in a country whose chief glory has been its free constitution of government, is something too monstrous to be believed, if the proof were not before our eyes. Had the least doubt hung upon my mind of the illegality of the proceedings in the present case, it would have been altogether removed by the answers given to the references made by me to the great luminaries of our law, and to the laws themselves. The arguments, by which I endeavoured to convince the gentlemen of the House of Commons that their acts, in the case of Mr. Jones, were illegal, I shall now lay before you, in a more full and connected way than it could possibly be done by the parliamentary reporters: and, in doing this, I shall do all that now remains in my power towards the correction of this, as I deem it, most enormous abuse of power, and most dangerous of all encroachments upon the rights and liberties of Englishmen.

"I remain, gentlemen,

"Your most obedient,

"Humble servant,

"FRANCIS BURDETT.

"*Piccadilly, March 23, 1810.*"

April 6. *Narrative of Sir F. Burdett's commitment to the Tower.*—At half past seven o'clock in the morning, as soon as the division in the House of Commons was known, Mr. Jones Burdett, accompanied by Mr. O'Connor, who had remained all night at the House of Commons, set off in a post-chaise to Wimbledon, and informed Sir Francis Burdett of the result. Sir Francis immediately mounted his horse, and rode to town; the other two returned in the chaise. Sir Francis found a letter on his table from



from Mr. Colman, the serjeant-at-arms, acquainting him that he had received a warrant, signed by the Right Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons, to arrest and convey him to the Tower, and he begged to know when he might wait on him; that it was his wish to show him the utmost respect, and therefore, if he preferred to take his horse and ride to the Tower, he would meet him there. To this letter Sir Francis Burdett wrote an answer to the following effect:—

“ Sir, On my return from Wimbledon I found your polite letter, and shall be happy to receive you here at twelve o’clock to-morrow.—I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

“ FRANCIS BURDETT.”

“ F. J. Colman, Esq.

“ *Piccadilly, April 6, 1810.*”

Before this letter could be delivered, Mr. Colman came himself to Sir Francis’s house, and told him he had a warrant to arrest him. Sir Francis said he had received his letter; and had written an answer, in which he told him, that he would be ready to receive him the next day at twelve o’clock; upon which Mr. Colman politely bowed and withdrew. About seven o’clock in the evening his friend, Mr. O’Connor, went to the Tower to see that preparation should be made to receive him, as Sir Francis entertained no doubt but that the next day the serjeant-at-arms would come with a force to compel him to surrender. Mr. O’Connor saw Colonel Smith, who told him that every preparation had been made for his reception; that the house next to his own had been well aired: and that, from a sense

of duty as well as from respect, he might depend every attention should be paid to Sir Francis. About eight o’clock, the same evening, Mr. Colman and a messenger came back to Sir Francis’s house, and the serjeant told him he had received a severe reprimand from the speaker for not executing the warrant in the morning, and remaining with Sir Francis; and he hoped that he would now submit to be his prisoner.

Sir Francis answered, that he was sure the speaker would not, upon consideration, think him to blame; for that it would not have been in his power to remain with him; as, without any personal offence to him, he (Sir Francis) would not have permitted him to remain. The serjeant-at-arms said, “ I shall be obliged, Sir, to resort to force, as it is my duty to execute the warrant.”

Sir Francis answered, “ If you bring an overwhelming force, I must submit; but I dare not, from my allegiance to the king, and my respect for his laws, yield a voluntary submission to such a warrant—it is illegal.”

The serjeant again urged him to permit him to remain with him. Sir Francis said, “ You must leave my house; but I have written a letter to the speaker, which, if you please, you may take with you, and deliver it—it contains my resolution as to your warrant.”

The serjeant begged leave to decline taking charge of any such letter; he said he had already incurred blame by not executing the warrant, and he should be considered as more criminal if he carried any letter in contradiction to it; and he withdrew.

Sir



Sir Francis then sent this letter by his own son, Robert Burdett, a youth of fourteen, and his brother, Mr. Jones Burdett, to the speaker, and it was accordingly delivered at ten o'clock at night.

On Saturday morning Sir Francis breakfasted at the house of his friend, Mr. O'Connor, in Maddox-Street, Hanover Square. After breakfast they walked to Half-Moon Street, where Sir Francis mounted his horse, and took a ride in the park, accompanied only by his groom. On Mr. O'Connor's return to Sir Francis's house, in Piccadilly, he found one of the messengers of the House of Commons waiting for Sir Francis. He said he had the warrant for his arrest in his pocket, and he wished to see him, as he had orders to remain with him. On Sir Francis's return, he found in his room a number of his friends waiting for him, and he was told of the messenger in waiting. He desired him to be shown up.

"Well, my good friend (said Sir Francis) what is your business?"

*Mess.*—"Sir, I am desired to show you the order of the House of Commons upon which the warrant is issued—to serve that warrant upon you, and to remain with you."

He delivered the warrant to Sir Francis, which he read, and put it into his pocket. It is as follows—

"*Veneris, 6<sup>o</sup> die Aprilis, 1810.*

"Whereas the House of Commons has this day adjudged that Sir Francis Burdett, Baronet, who has admitted that a letter, signed 'Francis Burdett,' and a further part of a paper, entitled, 'Argument,' in Cobbett's Weekly Register, of March 24, 1810, was print-

ed by his authority (which letter and argument the said house has resolved to be a libellous and scandalous paper, reflecting on the just rights and privileges of the said house) has been thereby guilty of a breach of the privileges of the said house:

"And whereas the House of Commons hath thereupon ordered, that the said Sir Francis Burdett be, for his said offence, committed to his majesty's Tower of London:

"These are therefore to require you to take into custody the body of the said Sir Francis Burdett, and then forthwith to deliver him over into the custody of the lieutenant of his majesty's Tower of London.

"And all mayors, bailiffs, sheriffs, under-sheriffs, constables, and headboroughs, and every other person or persons, are hereby required to be aiding and assisting to you in the execution hereof; for which this shall be your sufficient warrant. Given under my hand, the 6th day of April, 1810.

"CHAS. ABBOT, Speaker."

"To the serjeant-at-arms attending the House of Commons, or his deputy?"

*Sir Francis*—"My friend, this is not a sufficient warrant. You may return and inform the speaker that I will not obey it."

*Mess.*—"Sir, it is my orders to remain with you, and I must obey, unless I am forced to withdraw."

*Sir Francis*—"You must instantly withdraw."

He was accordingly shown down stairs by Mr. O'Connor. The person wished force to be used. Mr. O'Connor said, "There is the door open for you; you must go; but it is not my practice to be so uncivil as to lay violent hands on any one, and



and I hope you will not make it necessary now." The messenger bowed, and retired.

Between twelve and one o'clock a troop of life-guards arrived, and were drawn up before the house of Sir Francis, and their horses were made to prance about on the foot pavement as well as the street, for the purpose of dispersing the people. There was much hissing. In about a quarter of an hour Mr. Read, the magistrate, arrived. He mounted a dragoon horse, and read the riot act, and warned all people peaceably to depart. The guards were then planted across Piccadilly, from Dover Street, on the one side, to Bolton Row on the other, so as to block up the thoroughfare. Mr. Jones Burdett was not suffered to pass through the line to his dinner until he procured a constable. During all this time Sir Francis was at home with his family. His colleague, Lord Cochrane, Mr. O'Connor, and Mr. Jones Burdett, dined with him.

In consequence of this demonstration of military force, he wrote the following requisition to the sheriffs of Middlesex, which was delivered into the hands of Mr. Sheriff Wood, in the street:—

"Gentlemen,—In furtherance of an attempt to deprive me of my liberty, under the authority of an instrument which I know to be illegal, viz. a warrant by the speaker of the House of Commons, my house is at this moment beset by a military force.

"As I am determined never to yield a voluntarily obedience to an act contrary to the laws, I am resolved to resist the execution of such a warrant by all the legal means in my power; and as you are the

consitutional officers appointed to protect the inhabitants of your bailiwick from violence and oppression, from whatever quarter they may come, I make this requisition to you, gentlemen, to furnish me with your aid, with which the laws have provided you, either by calling out the *posse comitatus*, or such other as the case and circumstances may require.

"It is for you to consider, how far you are liable, should I, by any unlawful force, acting under an unlawful authority, be taken from my house. I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your very obedient servant,

(Signed) "FRANCIS BURDETT.

"*Piccadilly, April 7, 1810.*

"Matthew Wood, Esq. and John Atkins, Esq. sheriffs of Middlesex."

On Monday morning he breakfasted in his drawing-room on the first floor, with Lady Burdett, the Countess of Guildford, and Lady Maria, Lady Jane, Lady Georgina North, Mrs. Coutts, his son, Robert Burdett, his brother, and Mr. O'Connor. Mr. Coutts had just retired. Breakfast was finished, and Sir Francis was employed in hearing his son (who had just come from Eton school) read and translate *Magna Charta*, when Mr. O'Connor observed a man's face at one of the windows: he had mounted by a ladder, had already thrown up the sash, and was in the act of entering; in the attempt to do which he broke some panes of glass. Mr. O'Connor ran up to him. Sir Francis Burdett called out not to hurt the man, as it would have been easy at that moment for Mr. O'Connor, by the mere shifting of the ladder, to have precipitated the person



person into the area, a height of at least twenty feet: but he contented himself with putting one hand to his breast, and with the other shutting the window. Sir Francis, his son, and brother, shut down all the other windows—while they saw a body of troops drawn up in front of the house. During this moment, so alarming to the delicacy of the sex, and to the affection of a wife and mother, seeing her husband and only son exposed to the possible discharge of artillery and musketry, both she and all the ladies maintained the most perfect constancy of mind; and both in this moment, and in the scene which ensued, displayed a courage that did honour to their understandings and their hearts.

Mr. O'Connor ran down stairs to see if all was safe below. He met about twenty men with constables' staves in their hands. They had descended the area, and had burst open a window, sashes, frame and all, by which they entered through a small servant's room. He asked them what they wanted? They answered—Sir Francis Burdett; Was he at home? He replied, that Sir Francis was at home; What did they want with him? They rushed up to the drawing-room, where Sir Francis and his family, with the ladies, still were. At this time there were constables only; the serjeant-at-arms did not show himself, nor was there any magistrate; but the serjeant-at-arms (Mr. Colman) followed the posse of constables up stairs, and said—

*Serjeant*—"Sir Francis, you are my prisoner."

*Sir Francis*—"By what authority do you act, Mr. Serjeant? By what power, Sir, have you broken

into my house, in violation of the laws of the land?"

*Serjeant*—"Sir Francis, I am authorized by the warrant of Mr. Speaker of the House of Commons."

*Sir Francis*—"I contest the authority of such a warrant. Exhibit to me the legal warrant upon which you have dared to violate my house. Where is the sheriff? Where is the magistrate?" (At this time there was no magistrate, but he soon afterwards appeared.)

*Serjeant*—"Sir Francis, my authority is in my hand—I will read it to you: it is the warrant of the Right Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons." (And here Mr. Colman attempted to read the warrant; but which he did with great trepidation.)

*Sir Francis*—"I repeat to you, that it is no sufficient warrant. No—not to arrest my person in the open street—much less to break open my house, in violation of all law. If you have a warrant from his majesty, or from a proper officer of the king, I will pay instant obedience to it; but I will not yield to an illegal order."

*Serjeant*—"Sir Francis, I demand you to yield in the name of the Commons House of Parliament, and I trust you will not compel me to use force. I entreat you to believe that I wish to show you every respect."

*Sir Francis*—"I tell you distinctly, that I will not voluntarily submit to an unlawful order; and I demand in the king's name, and in the name of the laws, that you forthwith retire from my house."

*Serjeant*—"Then, Sir, I must call in assistance, and force you to yield."

Upon which the constables laid hold



hold of Sir Francis. Mr. Jones Burdett and Mr. O'Connor immediately stepped up, and each took him under an arm. The constables closed in on all three, and drew them down stairs.

*Sir Francis* then said,—“ I protest in the king’s name against this violation of my person and of my house. It is superior force only that hurries me out of it, and you do it at your peril.”

The ladies were still present, and betrayed no symptoms of alarm; no doubt from the confidence which they had in *Sir Francis’s* temper, and in their persuasion that no outrage beyond the actual arrest would be committed.

In descending the stairs, *Sir Francis* hoped that his brother and his friend might be allowed to accompany him; which Mr. Colman promised.

A coach was drawn up at the door. It was instantly surrounded by cavalry. The baronet stepped in first, followed by the serjeant and a constable. Mr. Jones Burdett and Mr. O'Connor also got in; but the latter was taken out, and the cavalcade instantly set off at a rapid pace.

The procession moved from *Sir Francis Burdett’s* house in the following order:—Two squadrons of the fifteenth light dragoons, two troops of life guards, with Mr. Read the magistrate at their head; the coach with *Sir Francis*; two more troops of life guards; a troop of the fifteenth light dragoons; two battalions of foot guards, marching in open order; and a party of the fifteenth light dragoons forming the rear. In this order they proceeded to Albemarle Street, where they halted, and then turned up that

street, with the exception of two battalions of foot guards, who marched forward through Piccadilly, the Haymarket, and Strand, to the Tower.

The escort proceeded along Albemarle Street, Bond Street, Conduit Street, across Hanover Square, into Oxford Street, along John Street, Great Portland Street, Portland Road, the New Road, Marylebone, by Pentonville, across Islington, along the City-road to Moorfields, from thence by Sun Street into Aldgate High Street, and along the Minories to the Tower.

The procession went on at its outset at a quick rate; and the capture having been made at an earlier hour than the croud had been in the habit of assembling, the event was not immediately or generally known. The baronet had passed up Albemarle Street before a cry was set up, “ They have taken him—they have dragged him out of his house!” The cry spread immediately far and wide; and an immense crowd soon attended the cavalcade, which increased to such an extent that, by the time *Sir Francis* reached the Tower, the crowd had blocked up the Minories and all the streets in its vicinity, and it became impossible for cart or carriage to pass. Additional preparations had been made in the contemplation of a disturbance near the Tower. Troops were stationed near it, and a fresh regiment came up by water from Tilbury-fort the same morning. They were quartered in the New Mint, Tower-hill.

The foot-guards who had marched along the Strand and through the city, arrived upon Tower-hill five minutes before twelve. They came down Mark Lane, headed by the



the City-marshal and a civil officer. They drew up three deep in the line from the Tower gates, which were shut, covering the entrance.

Ten minutes past twelve, an officer of the fifteenth light dragoons rode smartly out from Jewry Street, by the further side of the Trinity house, making signals for the mob to clear the way. A quarter past twelve, arrived about twenty of the horse guards, who rode up towards the Tower gates. At the distance of 100 yards, came about 300 of the 15th light dragoons, then about 200 of the horse guards, having in the middle of them the coach containing Sir Francis Burdett.

The windows of the coach were all down; Sir Francis sat on the right, behind; he sat forward, and was well seen.

After the horse guards, came about 200 more of the fifteenth. As the procession entered by the further side of the Trinity House, it came on Tower-hill, in a serpentine form, and the military spectacle was very grand. In this state things remained for half an hour, the carriage covered by about 200 horse guards, the line of foot guards stretching from it up Tower hill, the fifteenth lining the sides of Tower-hill, to keep off the mob, which began to disperse.

The two squadrons of the fifteenth light dragoons opened right and left, and cleared the ground in all directions, forming a circle, two deep, around the entrance, through which the remainder of the force, with the prisoner, proceeded without any material interruption; though there was much hooting and huzzaing—"Burdett for ever!" Many of the mob were forced into

the Tower ditch, but without mischief, as there was but little water. On the arrival of the carriage at the gate, Sir Francis alighted, and was received with the usual formalities, firing of cannon, &c. The gate was immediately shut.

Sir Francis was admitted about one o'clock.

*An important question having arisen concerning the legality of Sir F. Burdett's arrest, we give the following opinion of the Attorney General, on the queries proposed to him, relative thereto.*

*"Query.*—The Serjeant-at-arms attending the House of Commons having in the execution of this warrant being resisted, and turned out of Sir Francis Burdett's private dwelling-house, by force,

*"Your opinion is desired, whether in the execution of this warrant he will be justified in breaking open the outer or any inner door of the private dwelling-house of Sir Francis Burdett, or of any other person in which there is reasonable cause to suspect he is concealed, for the purpose of apprehending him. And whether he may take to his assistance a sufficient civil or military force for that purpose, such force acting under the direction of a civil magistrate. And whether such proceedings will be justifiable during the night as well as in the day-time."*

*Opinion.*—"No instance is stated to me, and I presume that none is to be found, in which the outer door of a house has been broken open under the Speaker's warrant for the purpose of apprehending the person against whom such warrant issued being therein. I must,



therefore, form my opinion altogether upon cases which have arisen upon the execution of writs or warrants issuing from other courts, and which seem to fall within the same principle.

“ I find it laid down in Semayne’s case, 5 Co. 91, that where the King is a party, the sheriff may break open the defendant’s house, either to arrest him or to do other execution of the king’s process; if otherwise, he cannot enter. So if the defendant be in the house of another man, the sheriff may do the same; but he cannot break into the house of the defendant in the execution of any process at the suit of an individual. This distinction proceeds, as I apprehend, upon the greater importance of enforcing the process of the crown for the public benefit, than that of individuals for the support of their private rights. Reasoning from hence, I should think that the speaker’s warrant, which had issued to apprehend a man under sentence of commitment for a breach of the privileges of the House of Commons, might be executed in the same manner with criminal process in the name of the king, inasmuch as those privileges were given to the House of Commons for the benefit of the public only; and the public are interested in the due support of them. If the act had been done, and I had been asked whether it could be defended, I should say that it could; but where it is previously known that the execution of the warrant will be resisted by force, and if death should ensue in such conflict, the officer who executes the warrant would stand justified, or not, as the break-

ing of the house may be held lawful or unlawful; I feel myself obliged to bring this under his notice, leaving him to judge for himself whether he will venture to act upon my opinion, which has no direct authority in point to support it, but rests upon reasoning from other cases, which appear to me to fall within the same principle.— Should the officer resolve to break into the house if it be found necessary, he must be careful, first to signify the cause of his coming, and make request to open the doors, and not use any force until it appears that those within will not comply; and he should be assured that the party whom he seeks to apprehend is within the house. For the purpose of executing the warrant, he may take with him a sufficient force of such description as the nature of the case renders necessary. If he has reason to apprehend a degree of resistance which can only be expelled by a military force, he may take such force with him; but in this case it will be prudent to take with him also a civil magistrate.

“ I do not think it adviseable to execute the warrant in the night. The officer should understand, that when Sir Francis Burdett has once been arrested, if he afterwards effects his escape or is rescued, his own house, or the house of any other person into which he retreats, may be broken for the purpose of retaking him. V. GIBBS.”

“ *Lincoln’s Inn, April 8.*”

*Letter from the Electors of Westminster to Sir Francis Burdett.*

“ Sir,—We nominated you to be our representative, without your knowledge,



knowledge, and we elected you without your interference. We were confident you would perform the duties of a representative in parliament with ability and fidelity. In every respect, you have not only fulfilled but exceeded our expectation. We derive the utmost satisfaction from having pointed out to the nation the way to be fairly represented. Had it been possible that our example could have been followed, and a proper representation thereby produced, the scenes we have lately witnessed would not have disgraced our country.

“ We understood the nobleness of your mind, and were confident that you would not descend to barter your trust for a place under government, nor be the partisan or leader of those who support or reject measures, just as they happen to be proposed on this or on that side of the house.

“ We feel the indignity that has been offered to you; but we are not surprised to find, when every excuse is made for public delinquents, that the utmost rigour is exercised against him who pleads for the ancient and constitutional rights of the people.

“ You nobly stepped forward in defence of a fellow-subject unjustly imprisoned; and you questioned, with great ability and knowledge of the laws, the warrant issued upon that occasion. The House of Commons have answered your argument by breaking into your house with a military force, seizing your person, and conveying you by a large body of troops to the Tower.

“ Your distinction between privilege and power remains unaltered—the privileges of the House of Commons are for the protection,

not for the destruction, of the people.

“ We have resolved to remonstrate with the House of Commons on the outrages committed under their order, and to call upon them to restore you to your seat in parliament, which the present state of the country renders more than ever necessary for the furtherance of your and our object—a reform of the representation in that house.

“ While so many members are collected together by means ‘ which it is not necessary for us to describe,’ we cannot but entertain the greatest apprehensions for the remainder of our liberties; and the employment of a military force against one of their own body, is but a sad presage of what may be expected by those who, like you, have the courage to stand forward in defence of the rights of the people.

“ When we reflect on your generous exertions to destroy the horrors of secret and solitary confinement—to mitigate the severity of punishment in the army—to prevent the cashiering of its officers, without cause assigned—to restore, for the comfort of the worn-out soldier, the public property conveyed by a job to an individual—to prevent the extension of the barrack system, the obvious effect of which is to separate the soldier from the citizen—to prevent the introduction of foreign troops—to bring to light an atrocious act of tyranny, by which a British sailor was left to perish on a barren rock—and, above all, your unremitted exertions to obtain a full, fair, and free representation of the people in parliament—when we reflect on the firmness, the unshaken constancy which you have invariably shown



‘in evil report and good report,’ we are eager to express the sentiments of gratitude and attachment to you with which we are impressed, and we are convinced that those sentiments are not only felt by the inhabitants of this city, but by every person throughout the land, who is not interested in the continuance of public abuses.”

(Signed) &c.

The above letter was signed by twenty-five inhabitant householders, electors of Westminster, in the name of the meeting held in Palace-Yard on the 17th inst.; and was presented to Sir Francis Burdett by the high bailiff.

*The following is the Baronet's Reply to the Letter in question.*

*“Tower, April 20, 1810.*

“Sir Francis Burdett presents his respectful compliments to the high bailiff of Westminster, and transmits to him his answer to the letter of the electors of that city, which he did him the honour to present to him this morning.

“Arthur Morris, Esq. high bailiff for the city and liberties of Westminster.”

“Gentlemen, — If any thing could increase or confirm the constant resolution of my life, never to betray the confidence you have placed in me, it is the kindness and affection which your letter of the 17th inst. testifies to me, and the wisdom and propriety of your conduct at the late meeting.

“A scrupulous adherence to the common law of this land, and the wise provisions of the ancient statutes declaratory of that law, which together form what I understand by the constitution, raised our country to an unexampled height of happiness and prosperity;

and in an exact proportion to the invasion and neglect of them has the country declined.

“In defence of these laws and this constitution, I smile at any privation to which, personally, I may be subjected, thinking, as I do, that life cannot so well and so happily, because it cannot be so honourably and usefully, expended, as in defence of this our best inheritance, and in the maintenance of the good old cause for which Hampden died in the field, and Sidney and Russell on the scaffold.

“Laws, to be entitled to respect and willing obedience, must be pure—must come from a pure source—that is, from common consent; and through an uncorrupt channel—that is, a House of Commons freely elected by the people. Moreover, they who pay the reckoning ought to examine and controul the account; and the only controul the people can have, is by a fair representation in parliament. The necessity of obtaining this check by constitutional reform, is now acknowledged by all, except those who, contrary to law, have possessed themselves of a property, in the House of Commons, by whom this land, this England—

‘—————this dear, dear land,  
Dear for her reputation through the world,  
Is now leas'd out  
Like to a tenement, or pelting farm;  
England, bound in with the triumphant sea,  
Whose rocky shore beats back the envious surge  
Of watery Neptune, is now bound in with shame,  
With inky blots and rotten parchment bonds.’

“From this foul and traitorous traffic our borough-monger sovereigns



reigns derive an immense revenue, cruelly wrung from the hard hand of honest labour. I do however now entertain an ardent hope, that this degraded and degrading system, to which all our difficulties, grievances and dangers are owing, will at length give way to the moderate but determined perseverance of a whole united people.

“Magna Charta and the old law of the land will then resume their empire—freedom will revive—the caterpillars of the state, coiling themselves up in their own naturally narrow sphere, will fall off, and perish—property and political power, which the law never separates, will be re-united—the king replaced in the happy and dignified station allotted him by the constitution—the people relieved from the bitterest of all curses, the curse of Canaan—that of being the servants of servants; and restored to their just and indisputable rights.

“To effect these great, important, and necessary purposes, no exertions of mine shall ever be wanting;—without their attainment, no efforts of mine can avail. The people of England must speak out; they must do more; they must act; and if, following the example of the electors of Westminster, they do act, in a firm and regular manner, upon a concerted plan, ever keeping the law and constitution in view, they must finally succeed in recovering that to which they are legally entitled—the appointment of their own guardians and trustees for the protection of their own liberty and property. They must either do this, or they must inevitably fall a sacrifice to one or other of the most contemptible factions that ever disgraced this or any other country.

“The question is now at issue; it must now be ultimately determined, whether we are henceforth to be slaves or be free. Hold to the laws—this great country may recover—forsake them, and it will certainly perish.

“I am, gentlemen,  
Your most obedient humble servant,  
FRANCIS BURDETT.”  
“To the electors of Westminster.”

May 4. *Further Proceedings on Sir. F. Burdett's Affair.*—*Meeting of the Livery of London.*—In pursuance of a requisition, signed by a number of liverymen, a common hall was held, on this day, to consider the conduct of the House of Commons in the recent imprisonment of Mr. Gale Jones and Sir Francis Burdett. When the requisition had been read, the lord mayor came forward, and recommended an impartial hearing to every person. Mr. Favell then proposed the following resolutions:

I. “Resolved, That the livery of London, impressed with the deepest sentiments of alarm, regret, and indignation, at the late extraordinary and unconstitutional proceedings of the House of Commons, which, by the arrest and imprisonment of two of their fellow-subjects, have, as they conceive, superseded the laws of the land, and set up in their stead, under the claim of privilege, an undefined, capricious, and arbitrary power—feel themselves irresistibly called upon to express, at a crisis so new, so arduous, and so fatal to their rights and liberties, their unqualified reprobation of measures equally subversive of the first principles of the constitution, derogatory to the real interests and dignity of the House of Commons,



Commons, and injurious to the honour, glory, and happiness of the sovereign, and the people of these realms.

H. "Resolved, That it appears to us, that the Commons House of Parliament, in committing to prison Mr. John Gale Jones, and in breaking open the house of, and also in committing to prison, one of their members, Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. for alledged libels upon themselves (offences which, if established, were provided against by the laws of the country) have been at once accusers, legislators, judges, jurors, and executioners in their own cause, sheltering themselves under the pretence of privilege, and exercising a partial and summary jurisdiction, without redress or appeal.

III. "Resolved, That the whole system of British jurisprudence has been thus shaken to its foundation, and a discretionary power assumed over the liberties of the people, as declared and established by the great charter, repeated and confirmed by the petition of right, and the bill of rights, and recognised, enforced, and illustrated, by a multiplicity of statutes.

IV. "Resolved, That it has been idly and vainly enacted and re-enacted, 'That no freeman may be taken or imprisoned, or be disseised of his freehold or liberties, or be out-lawed, or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or of the law of the land,' if the House of Commons, which is itself but a single branch of the legislature, do, to use the language of the bill of rights against the detestable tyranny of James II. 'by assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws, and

the executing of laws without the consent of parliament, set itself above parliament, making itself greater than the whole, of which it is but a part, dispensing with the laws which give to all a remedy against commitments by the king himself, and thus erecting itself into a new and monstrous executive, the more dangerous to the lives, liberties and fortunes of the subject, inasmuch as it claims for its rule of action its own discretion, will, or caprice.

V. "Resolved, That the true privilege of parliament, meaning nothing more than a protective right, was really designed as an immunity and safeguard, to be wielded as a safeguard against the encroachments, usurpations, and tyranny of the crown; not to be converted into an active power of violating the rights of others—into an instrument of arrogance, and a sword of destruction against the people.

VI. "Resolved, That the cordial thanks of this meeting be given to that illustrious patriot Sir Francis Burdett, for his upright and independent conduct in parliament; for his truly constitutional and irresistible argument, disproving the power of the House of Commons to imprison the people of England; and for his legal and manly resistance to the speaker's warrant, whereby he has given a practical illustration of its inefficiency, and demonstrated that, as there is no legal power without the legal means of execution, it could not be carried into effect without the aid of a standing army, a violation of the ancient laws and rights of Englishmen, and which in this instance was so lamentably exemplified in the  
breaking



breaking open of his castle, and so fatally preceded and followed by the murder of peaceable and un-offending citizens.

VII. "Resolved, That this resolution be communicated to Sir Francis Burdett by the sheriffs, and a deputation of the livery, who are desired at the same time to assure him, that, however grateful his release from arbitrary confinement would prove to the citizens of London, his liberation would be no jubilee to the British people, unless obtained by the triumph of those grand principles which in his person have been so shamefully and flagrantly violated.

VIII. "Resolved, That this meeting would become accomplices in the ruin of their constitution and country, were they to decline stating, what appears to them to be the fact, that the House of Commons, which has repeatedly rejected just and necessary inquiry, screened public delinquents and peculators from punishment, encouraged the scandalous traffic of seats in their own house, a traffic, 'at the mention of which their ancestors would have startled with indignation,'—sanctioned the most profligate waste of the public money, and approved and justified an expedition the most numerous, formidable, and expensive that ever left the shores of England, but the most degraded, disgraced, and ruinous that ever returned; alike destructive of the genuine energies of the empire, and holding out to the contempt and ridicule of the enemy the folly and imbecility of corrupt and wicked ministers.

IX. "Resolved, That under all these evils and calamities, these accumulated and accumulating griev-

ances, it appears to this meeting, that the only means left to save the constitution and the country from impending ruin, is a reform in the representation of the people in the Commons House of Parliament, which, to be efficient, must be speedy and radical.

X. "Resolved, That the people of the united kingdom are hereby entreated to co-operate by petition, remonstrance, and all constitutional means, in the attainment of this salutary and indispensable object.

XI. "Resolved, That a petition, founded on these resolutions, be presented to the honourable the House of Commons.

XII. "Resolved, That the petition now read be fairly transcribed, and signed by two aldermen and twelve liverymen, and presented to the honourable the House of Commons, by H. C. Combe, Esq. Sir W. Curtis, Sir C. Price, and Sir J. Shaw, Bart.; and they are hereby instructed, as representatives of this city, to support the same.

*"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in parliament assembled, the humble address, remonstrance, and petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the City of London, in Common Hall assembled, this 4th of May, 1810.*

"We, the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London, in common hall assembled, beg leave, with feelings of the most anxious concern, to present this our humble address, petition, and remonstrance; and we earnestly entreat your honourable house to give to it a favourable reception; for how can we hope for redress and



relief, if the bare statement of the wrongs and grievances of which we complain be rejected? We also beg your honourable house to believe, that, in the language we may have occasion, and are indeed compelled, to employ, no offence is intended to your honourable house.

“The circumstance which most deeply afflicts us, and which most strongly impels us at this time to approach your honourable house, is, what appears to us to have been, on your part, a violation of the personal security of the people of the land. We humbly conceive, that without law, and against law, you have imprisoned two of your fellow-subjects; and that, without a trial, without a hearing, you have condemned them. Law requires legal process and trial by jury of our equals: justice demands that no person shall be prosecutor, juror, judge, and executioner, in his own cause. We beg leave to express our conviction that this eternal principle of immutable justice cannot be annulled by any House of Commons—by any king—by any parliament—by any legislature upon earth. But it appears to us that your honourable house has, in the instances of Mr. John Gale Jones and Sir Francis Burdett, assumed, accumulated, and exercised all these offices.

“We feel it a duty which we owe to you, to ourselves, to our posterity, to state, that, in our conception, this jurisdiction is unfounded; and we humbly but firmly declare our opinion against the existence of this power in any hands;—a jurisdiction unknown—a power above the law, and which could be enforced only by military violence—a violence made manifest by the

breaking open of an Englishman's castle, and by the preceding and subsequent murder of peaceable and unoffending citizens.

“Permit us humbly to observe, that the construction of your honourable house prevents our surprise at this conduct of your honourable house. We will not enter into the details, so often and so ably stated to your honourable house, by which it appears, that upwards of three hundred members of your honourable house, in England and Wales only, are not elected by the people, in any honest sense of the word people, but are sent to your honourable house by the absolute nomination or powerful influence of about one hundred and fifty peers and others, as averred in a petition to your honourable house in the year 1793, and which remains on your journals uncontroverted. This is the great constitutional disease of our country. This is the true root of all the evils, corruptions and oppressions, under which we labour. If it be not eradicated, the nation must perish.

“In support of this our sincere conviction, we need only refer to the never-to-be-forgotten vote of your honourable house, refusing to examine evidence on a charge against Lord Castlereagh and Mr. S. Perceval then two of the king's ministers, for trafficking in seats in your honourable house.

“We remember well, that when it was gravely averred, and proof offered, in a petition which stands on your journals, and the complaints whereof are now unredressed for more than twenty years, ‘That seats for legislation in the House of Commons were as notoriously rented



ed and bought as the standings for cattle at a fair,' the then honourable house treated the assertion with affected indignation, and the minister threatened to punish the petitioner for presenting a 'scandalous and libellous petition.' But we have lived to see a House of Commons avow the traffic, and screen those accused of this breach of law and right, because it has been equally committed by all parties, and was a practice 'as notorious as the sun at noon-day.' At this vote, and at these practices, we feel as 'our ancestors would have felt,' and cannot repress the expression of 'our indignation' and disgust.

"Under these circumstances, may we not be permitted to ask, where is your justice, where your dignity? Mr. John Gale Jones is confined within the walls of Newgate, for an alledged offence against yourselves, which, if committed against any other subjects of these realms, or even against the king himself, must have been judged by the established rules and laws of the land! Lord Castlereagh continued to be a principal minister of the crown, and is now a free member of your honourable house! Sir Francis Burdett, dragged by a military force from the bosom of his family, is committed to the Tower, for exercising the right of constitutional discussion, common, and indeed undeniable, to you, to us, to all. Mr. Spencer Perceval continues a member of your honourable house, taking a lead in your deliberations, the first minister of the crown, and the chief adviser of the royal councils!

"Under the agonizing feelings excited by the late imprisonment of our fellow-subjects can it be ne-

cessary for us to recapitulate the many instances, as they appear to us, of refusals to institute just and necessary inquiry, to pursue to condign punishment public delinquents and speculators, to economize the means and resources of the state, to administer to the people relief and redress for the various disgraces which the national honour has sustained, for the lavish profusion of British blood and treasure, extravagantly wasted in ill-contrived and fruitless campaigns, and more particularly in the humiliating and ignominious expedition to the coast of Holland, in which the greatest armament that ever left our shores was exposed to the scorn, contempt, and ridicule of the enemy; the flower of our youth wastefully and wantonly left ingloriously to perish in the pestilential marshes of Walcheren, without succour, without necessity, without object, without hope?

"These and similar proceedings of your honourable house require no comment; but we cannot by our silence become accomplices in the ruin of our country, and dare not conceal from you the wholesome though unpleasant truth, that they appear to us to have materially shaken what remained of the confidence of the subjects of these realms in the wisdom of your honourable house.

"We therefore humbly, but firmly, entreat you to reconsider your conduct, to retrace your steps, and to expunge from your journals all your orders, declarations, and resolutions, respecting Mr. Gale Jones and Sir Francis Burdett; and that as Sir Francis Burdett has not been expelled from your honourable house, he be no longer prevented



vented from exercising therein all the duties of a member of the same.

“ Above all, we earnestly pray your honourable house, in conjunction with Sir Francis Burdett, and in conformity to the notice he has given, to devise and adopt such measures as will effect an immediate and radical reform in the Commons House of Parliament, and ensure to the people a full, fair, and

substantial representation, without which they must inevitably cease to exist as a great, a free, a glorious, and independent nation.”

The petition was adopted unanimously, with the exception of the votes of Mr. Deputy Kemble, Mr. Samuel Dixon, and another.

[*For the Westminster and Middlesex petition, see Chronicle, supra, p. 258.*]

## OBITUARY for 1810.

### JANUARY.

In his 68th year, at his house in John Street, Bedford Row, Nathaniel Newnham, Esq. Alderman of London, and Colonel of the West London Militia. In 1774, he was chosen Alderman of Vintry Ward; in 1776 he served the office of sheriff; in 1780, he was returned one of the members for the city; in 1783, he was chosen lord mayor; in 1784, he was again returned for the city of London; and in the next Parliament he sat for Ludgershal, in Wiltshire. He afterwards withdrew entirely from parliamentary business, and divided his attention between his regiment and the extensive concerns of his banking-house. He was likewise president of St. Thomas's Hospital, and at the time of his death was serving, for the second time, as master to the Mercer's Company.

Tiberius Cavallo, Esq. F. R. S. This gentleman was the son of an eminent physician of Naples, where he was born in the year 1749. He was originally intended for a mer-

cantile profession; and he came to England with that view, in the year 1771. In 1779 he was admitted a member of the Neapolitan Academy of Sciences, as well as of the Royal Society of London. The publications of Mr. Cavallo have been as follows:—A complete Treatise of Electricity in Theory and Practice, with original Experiments; one volume, octavo, 1777 (enlarged to three volumes in 1795.) An Essay on the Theory and Practice of Medical Electricity; one volume, octavo, 1780. A Treatise on the Nature and Properties of Air, and other Permanently Elastic Fluids (with an Introduction to Chemistry); one volume, quarto, 1781. The History and Practice of Aërostation; one volume, octavo, 1785. Mineralogical Tables; folio (accompanied with an octavo explanatory pamphlet) 1785. A Treatise on Magnetism, in Theory and Practice, with Original Experiments; one volume, octavo, 1787. Description and Use of the Telescopic Mother-of-Pearl Micrometer, invented by T. C. a pamphlet, octavo,



tavo, 1798. An Essay on the Medicinal Properties of Factitious Airs, with an Appendix on the Nature of Blood; one volume, octavo, 1798. The Treatises of Mr. Cavallo on popular and interesting branches of physics, may be justly esteemed the best elementary works in our language. But Mr. Cavallo's merit is not the merit of a merely judicious compiler; he generally improves the stock of valuable facts by his own occasional experiments. He also communicated several papers to the Royal Society, in whose transactions they have been published.

## FEBRUARY.

In the London Road, St. George's Fields, Andrew Robinson Bowes, Esq. whose marriage to the Countess of Strathmore, thirty-three years ago (when Captain Stoney) occasioned much bustle in the fashionable world. Pursuant to the will of her ladyship's father, he then took the name of Bowes (as Lord Strathmore, her first husband, had also done) and for a few years the splendour of his establishments, both in Grosvenor Square and at the mansion of Gibside, in the county of Durham, eclipsed those of all his competitors. Domestic broils, however, between him and his noble consort, arose so high that the law was appealed to; he carried her off, placed her in confinement, and therein was guilty of contempt of court. Her ladyship made all advantage of this intemperate conduct; he was required to give security for keeping the peace in so large a sum, that he never would ask any friend to be bail for him, and has ever since, for the long space of twenty-five years,

been a prisoner in the King's Bench prison. Lady Strathmore had afterwards interest to get a court of delegates appointed, which high court pronounced a sentence of divorce between her and Mr. Bowes. During Mr. Bowes's confinement, his demeanor obtained the confidence of the different marshals of the prison, who rendered it as light as possible. By application to the Court of King's Bench, the demand of heavy bail was with-drawn; but during his long imprisonment his affairs were become too far deranged ever to be settled; he therefore remained a prisoner for debt, but in that situation obtained the privilege of residing any where within the rules.

John Hoppner, Esq. R. A. in Charles Street, St. James's Square, one of the most eminent portrait-painters since the time of Reynolds. He might indeed have merited the praise of being the first, if he had not so closely imitated the style of that great master, as it related to the spirit and elegance of his touch, forcible effect of light and shade, picturesque back-grounds, graceful simplicity of attitude, and especially the richness and harmony of colouring, in which he certainly excelled all his cotemporaries. In some of his best coloured works, such as the *Nymph*, in the possession of Sir J. Leicester, the vivacity, truth, and delicacy of the various fleshy tints, have scarcely been surpassed by any master. But if he could boast of displaying much of the merit, he possessed the faults of his prototype, especially that of incorrect drawing of the human figure.

Dr. Kelly, at Copford, in Essex, a native of the Isle of Mann, upon which



which he reflected no ordinary degree of honour, by his abilities, his acquirements, and his truly exemplary conduct, as a divine and a scholar. He prosecuted his classical duties under the late Rev. Philip Moore, of Douglas; whose indefatigable coadjutor he afterwards became, in the important work of revising, correcting, transcribing, and preparing for the press, the manuscript translation of the Holy Scriptures into the Manks language; the impression of which, comprising all the books of the Old and New Testaments, with two of the Apocryphal books, he also superintended at Whitehaven, in the capacity of corrector; to which, on the recommendation of the last-mentioned gentlemen, he was appointed by the society for promoting christian knowledge. Dr. Kelly also superintended an edition of the Book of Common Prayer, and Bishop Wilson's Treatise on the Sacrament, all in the Manks language; and, in the course of his labours in this vineyard, he had transcribed all the Books of the Old Testament three several times, before he had attained his twenty-second year! On the completion of this charitable work, begun by the venerable Bishop Wilson, and promoted by the active zeal of his successor, Bishop Hildesley, Mr. Kelly was ordained, upon a title from the episcopal congregation at Air, where he resided, respected by all who knew him, until the Duke of Gordon engaged him to be tutor to his son, the Marquis of Huntley, whose studies he superintended at Eton and Cambridge; and afterwards he accompanied that young nobleman on the tour of the Continent. Soon after his return, Mr. Kelly gradu-

ated at Cambridge; and again visited the Continent, with two other of his pupils. In the course of a few months after his return, he was presented with the rectory of Arunleigh, in Essex; and afterwards, to that of Copford, in the same county: the former of which he resigned some years since. From the time that he entered into the ministry, it might truly be said, that he made the vocation of holiness honourable. He has left behind him a monument of his erudition in the Celtic, in a Grammar of the ancient Gaelic, or language of the Isle of Mann, which was expected to be followed by a much larger work, a Manks Dictionary, which was unfortunately consumed in the fire at Messrs. Nichols's.

At Greatness, near Sevenoaks, aged eighty-six, Peter Nouaille, Esq. the oldest member of his majesty's court of lieutenancy in the city of London. This gentleman's grandfather was descended from an ancient family in France, and came over to this country from Nismes, in Languedoc, at the revocation of the edict of Nantes, having sacrificed a considerable property in that country, in common with many others, who, upon that occasion, voluntarily left France for the sake of their religious principles. Mr. N.'s father resided at Hackney, and was a merchant of considerable eminence, in the Levant and Italian trade. At the age of twenty-one, Mr. N. having previously been taken into partnership with his father, set out upon a tour through Europe, with a view to establish correspondences, and to acquire general knowledge; at the end of two years, having travelled through France, Italy, and Sicily, he was obliged to return



return home without visiting Germany, on account of the continental war, in which England was at that time engaged. Whilst abroad he gained a perfect knowledge of the French and Italian languages, which he spoke and wrote with the fluency and correctness of a native, acquired a great taste for the fine arts, and brought home with him a valuable collection of pictures and prints, &c, which he continued to augment for many years after his return to this country, in the year 1761, he married Elizabeth, the only daughter and heiress of Peter Delamare, Esq. of Greatness, whose ancestors were likewise refugees from France, in 1686. He first introduced the manufacture of crapes into England, which, before his time, were imported from Bologna, by his own ingenuity he discovered the process of their manufacture, and soon rivalled them in his manner of preparing them. In the year 1778, partly through the imprudent speculations of a near relation, in whom he placed implicit confidence, and partly by heavy losses, occasioned by the failure of a house with which he transacted business, he became a bankrupt. The unkindness and oppression which he experienced from some of his relatives upon this occasion considerably aggravated, and certainly tended to confirm this misfortune, which might have been averted, had proper time been given him to settle his affairs. He was, however, amply compensated by the countenance and friendly offers of assistance which he received from many of the most eminent merchants in the city, among the foremost of whom was his ever valued friend Peter Gaussen, Esq. then Governor of

the Bank. After the sale of his effects and collections, he prosecuted his business with unceasing energy. In 1800, having realised an independent fortune, which was then considerably increased by the death of a near relation, he withdrew from business, giving up the manufactory and property connected with it to his son, and retired to Sevenoaks, where he resided till the death of his wife, which took place in 1805. He then returned to pass the remainder of his days with his son at Greatness. About this time his memory began to fail him; it was the only symptom he exhibited of old age, and was probably occasioned by his intense application to studies of an abstruse nature, at an earlier period of life. In the year 1792, when the mania of the French revolution had nearly obtained a footing in this country, and it became necessary for every one to testify their attachment to the constitution, his name appeared almost the first upon the list of those public-spirited men, who at that critical juncture established the association at the Crown and Anchor. He attained to an advanced age without suffering from any of the infirmities which usually accompany that period of life, being able to read the smallest print without the assistance of glasses. He possessed a highly-cultivated understanding, and a considerable portion of general knowledge, refined by an exquisite taste; the upright independence of his character and his high sense of honour, were manifested in every occurrence of his life. He had a strong sense of religion and piety, and a sensibility and tenderness of feeling that rendered him ever alive to the misfortunes



tunes of others. To the poor he was a kind friend and benefactor, and no one was more deservedly esteemed in the neighbourhood where he resided: the respect which attended him through life was equalled only by the sorrow which accompanied him to the grave.

Dr. Adam, rector of the high school in Edinburgh. He was born in 1741, near Rafford, in the county of Moray, of respectable parents, farmers. He attended the grammar-school there, and, by his own efforts, with little aid from the abilities of his teacher, attained a proficiency, in 1758, to fit him for attending the University of Edinburgh. To this he was encouraged by Mr. Watson, then minister of Canongate, and a relation of his mother. In 1761, he was elected, on a comparative trial, master of Watson's Hospital. On the illness of Mr. Matheson, rector of the High School, he was applied to for assistance; and, after teaching for some time, was, in June 1768, appointed rector, and ever since has personally discharged the duties of the office. He was twice married very respectably. He is survived by a widow, a son, and two daughters. Dr. Adam was no common character. Strongly impressed with the importance of his public duties, the ambition of fulfilling them in the most superior manner became his ruling passion. The whole powers of his mind were dedicated, with unremitting exertion, to this favourite pursuit, and the labours of a most laborious life devoted to its attainment. After the most animated activity, during the hours of teaching, to render his pupils good scholars, and inspire them with the knowledge and admiration of Greek

and Roman excellence, the remainder of his time was rigidly devoted to the preparation of works of great labour, which appeared to him wanting for facilitating the attainments of the youth, and exciting a relish for the study of letters. And though very susceptible of pleasure from the society of friends, and though the fatigue of great exertions required from him, as from other men, some interval of repose, the former was ever considered by him as an indulgence, which it became him to sacrifice; and the latter as a want, which was to be abridged as much as nature would permit: in short, he had imbibed the principles and fervour of the ancients, whom he studied, and a stoic as to all personal indulgence, he was an enthusiast as to importance of his undertakings, and a zealot for their accomplishment. Thus he was enabled to produce works of first-rate utility and merit. His Latin Grammar, though for a time encountered by prejudice, is, beyond all question, the work best adapted to those for whom it was destined. His Antiquities, comprehended within moderate dimensions, state, in good arrangement, and with excellent judgment, nearly every thing of value in the voluminous, tedious, and expensive Commentaries on the Latin Classics, and afford every requisite aid for studying the text with intelligence and satisfaction. His Biography, Summary of History, and Geography, are superiorly calculated to furnish youth with a general knowledge of great characters, and great events, and of the scene of action on which man is placed; and the progress he had made in the preparation of a Latin Dictionary, which he had destined



destined to form the consummation of his labours, and the depository of the knowledge of Latin, which the indefatigable study of fifty years had conferred, suggests an additional and abundant source of regret that the intelligent public must experience from the loss of this valuable man.

At Seville, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, L. Geronimo De Ustariz Tovar, Marquis of Ustariz, Member of the Supreme Council of War, Assistant of Seville, and Intendant in Commission of Andalusia. He was employed in various public situations for fifty years with the approbation of his country. When Intendant of Estremadura, he introduced a variety of reforms and improvements, the effects of which were soon manifest in the increasing prosperity of that province; and he had the satisfaction of seeing many of his agricultural, financial, and judicial regulations, adopted by the royal cabinet, and extended to the whole of Spain. From Estremadura he was promoted to the Assistantship of Seville; but unfortunately for his country, he was removed, to make way for a cousin of the infamous Godoy. In reward for his public labours, he was nominally honoured with a seat in the council of war, but was actually banished to Teruel; though the disgrace of this proceeding was attempted to be disguised, by appointing him a commissioner of mines in that quarter. Here he remained many years; neglected by the court, but honoured with the attachment, esteem, and confidence of the Arragonese. To his popular conduct, and the general admiration of his civic virtues,

is chiefly to be ascribed the patriotic stand made by the Arragonese in the present contest. This venerable, but proscribed, reformer, the instant the proceedings at Bayonne were known at Teruel, sallied from his retirement, and, with all the ardour of youth, traversed the province in every direction, to rouse the inhabitants to resistance. He recognized, and treated with the utmost respect, the new authority of General Palafox, and accepted a seat in the junta of government. After ten months of indefatigable service in Arragon, he received a royal order from the Supreme Junta to resume the Assistantship of Seville, and his functions as Member of the Supreme Council of War. His death, though naturally to have been expected from his advanced years and increasing infirmities, was no doubt accelerated by the incessant labours to which he devoted himself since the commencement of the contest with France. Before, and after his arrival at Seville, every interval which he could snatch from his official duties was employed in digesting a plan of a new constitution for Spain. His papers are said to furnish, upon this subject, an inestimable treasure of historical and political knowledge, applied to the exigencies of his fellow-citizens with all the discrimination of a statesman and philosopher.

Captain C. W. Boyes, commander of his majesty's ship Statira. When in his sixteenth year, he lost a leg in the battle of the memorable first of June; and after a constant prosecution of the most honourable services, he was cut off in the prime of life, after a short illness, in the prospect of the first distinctions



distinctions of that profession which was his pride, and the full attainment of every other happiness.

At Antigua, in the twenty-third year of his age, Major George Gordon, of the eighth West India regiment, nephew of Colonel Gordon, military secretary to the Earl of Harrington. His career was short, but brilliant. He served in the expedition to Zealand, was aide-de-camp to General Anstruther, in the memorable battle of Vimiera; and commanded, with great credit to himself, the sixth regiment, during the campaign in Spain, which corps was the last of the British army that embarked at Corunna. A higher eulogium cannot be pronounced upon Major Gordon, than to say, that he was patronised by those great and good men, the late Sir John Moore and General Anstruther, who honoured him with their friendship. Though snatched away at such an early age, he lived long enough to gain the affectionate esteem, as his immature death has occasioned the deepest regret, to all who knew him.

### MARCH.

In his sixty-seventh year, Townley Ward, Esq. solicitor, of Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, and Monkey Island, Berks, one of the oldest and most eminent practitioners in the profession. He was the son of the Rev. Henry Ward, by Janet his wife, one of the three daughters and co-heiresses of Henry Townley, late of Dutton Hall, in the county of Lancaster, Esq. Mr. Ward commenced business in Henrietta Street, in the year

1766, and his eminent abilities, aided by a persevering disposition and strong mind, acquired him that distinction in his profession, which he maintained to his last moments. In politics, he was a staunch whig, and took a very active part in Mr. Fox's first election for Westminster, and his zeal was unabated when in conjunction with Edmund Burke, Esq. and other distinguished characters, he warmly espoused the cause of his friend, Lord John Townsend, in his opposition to Lord Hood. Mr. Ward was married, in 1772, to Miss Eleonora Hucks, a lady distinguished for personal charms and accomplishments, who died in 1800, and by whom he had no children. Mr. Ward not having left any issue, or any consanguineous relation, he has devised the Willows, and all his real and personal property to Patrick Crawford Bruce, Esq. of Taplow Lodge, with whom he has, for many years, been on the most intimate terms of friendship. He has also bequeathed upwards of 20,000*l.* to his friends, confidential clerks, and old servants.

Aged twenty-six, the Hon. William Frederick Eden, eldest son of Lord Auckland, M. P. for Woodstock, Deputy Teller of the Exchequer, and Lieutenant-Colonel of the St. John's and St. Margaret's volunteers. This gentleman had been missing ever since the evening of January 19th, and his body was found in the Thames on February 25th. During this interval, every possible enquiry was made, and rewards offered for the discovery of him, by his anxious parents. On the last mentioned day, a bargeman perceived the body floating in the river



river, opposite to the Horseferry, Milbank, and conveyed it to the Brown Bear public house. From the description of the person and dress, previously given in public advertisements, he was soon recognized. The melancholy fate of Mr. Eden is the more difficult to be accounted for, as in evidence before the coroner's inquest, it appeared that there was no symptom of mental derangement in any part of his conduct; but that to the very hour of his leaving home, he was engaged in transacting business with that precision and punctuality for which he was remarkable.

At Edgeworth's town, in the centre of Ireland, the widow Burnet, aged 116 and upwards. She had been wife to an honest laborious mason, and she was a woman of uncommon shrewdness and activity. The winter before last she was seen mounted on a ladder, mending the thatch of her cottage. Though she was thus careful of her worldly goods, she was uncommonly good-natured and charitable. Her mind was never fretted by malevolent passions. She was always ready to give or lend what little money she possessed, and she was careful to do these services to her distressed neighbours when no witness was present; so that accident alone discovered some of her good deeds and bad debts. In her habits of diet she was very temperate; she lived chiefly on potatoes and milk, and stirabout; never drank spirits or beer, but sometimes drank a glass of sweet wine, of which she was fond. She was (like most other long-lived people) an early riser, and took regular but not violent exercise. For the last twenty years of her life she seldom failed

to walk from the cottage where she lived to Edgeworth's town, a distance of about an English mile, over a rough stony road. She preserved all her organs of sense to the last; could hear what was said in a low voice, could distinguish the changes of countenance of those to whom she spoke, as she plainly proved by changing her topics of conversation when she found they did not please her auditors; her sense of smell had not failed; the summer before her death she took pleasure, as she said, in the smell of a rose, and shewed that she perceived the odour, by asking where it came from, before she saw the flower. Her intellectual faculties were, at this advanced age, acute and vigorous; she narrated with uncommon clearness and vivacity; and it was remarkable of her memory, that it was not only retentive of things that had passed ninety years ago, but of recent facts and conversations. She had the habit, common to very old people, of continually talking of her approaching death, and yet making preparations for life. She was as eager about the lease or rent of her farm, as if she felt sure of continuing many years to enjoy what she possessed. She was very religious, but her religion was not of a melancholy cast. The following epitaph is inscribed over her tomb. "Here lies, in hopes of a blessed resurrection, the body of Elizabeth Burnet, of Lignageeragh; born 1693; married 1733; died September 14, 1809, aged 116.

At Surat, in India, in the prime of life, Captain Henry Young, of his majesty's seventeenth light dragoons, second son of the late Bishop of Clonfert. This gallant offi-



cer distinguished himself at the siege of Seringapatam, Assaye, and Vellore, receiving, while serving with the nineteenth light dragoons at the latter place, at the head of his regiment, for most meritorious conduct, the thanks of Colonel Gillespie. In 1800 he returned to this country with his regiment, after an absence of eleven years; preferring however an active situation, he exchanged into the seventeenth light dragoons, then on their way to India, whither he proceeded to join them, and on the day of his reaching quarters was seized with a fever, which, after seventeen days, terminated an existence honourable to his memory. The whole garrison of Surat attended his funeral.

At Arnheim, in Holland, Matthys Bademaker, at the great age of 110 years. He worked at his trade, as a shoemaker, until the age of ninety. He was only once married, and had no more than two children, both females. Both of these however, having married, the old man died grandfather to twelve persons, and great-grandfather to twenty, the eldest of whom was twenty-one years of age at the time of his decease. He retained his faculties and health until within three weeks of his death. When King Louis visited Arnheim last year, he settled a pension of 400 guilders on him.

On his passage to Madeira, the Rev. Lewis Roberts, the younger son of an opulent merchant settled at Lisbon. He was born in that city about 1772, and was brought up in the persuasion of the church of Rome, of which both his parents were communicants. At the proper age he became a member of a college of celebrity, where he

was soon distinguished by the uncommon vigour of his mind, the fertility of his genius, and the aptitude with which he acquired all kinds of erudition. His passion for knowledge was unbounded; and he applied himself with unwearied zeal in the study of the classics, of ethics, of divinity, and all the higher branches of science. Having stored his mind with these important attainments, he did not disdain the lighter pursuits of literature. History, poetry, and the belles lettres, opened a wide field to his imagination; and such was the facility with which he acquired the modern languages, that before he attained his twentieth year, he spoke and wrote with equal propriety and elegance the English, French, Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian. Thus qualified to fill any situation with credit, he was induced, by the advice of a tutor who had early been intrusted with the care of his education, to become a catholic clergyman, contrary to the inclinations of his family, who had hoped that his abilities might be displayed in a more active scene of life. His exertions in the pulpit challenged the applause of all who heard him; and while the public did justice to his oratorical abilities, his private friends were not less delighted with the charms of his conversation, which was at once amusing from its variety, instructive from the information it afforded, and interesting from the simplicity with which it was expressed. Having established a high reputation as a preacher and a man of letters at Lisbon, he removed with his father's family to England, and settled in London. But though he henceforward resided principally in the British metropolis, he took opportunities



portunities of visiting Paris, Berlin, and other continental capitals; in the polished circles of which he was always an admired and a welcome guest. Fond of the pleasures of refined society, for which he was particularly calculated by the urbanity of his manners, the sweetness of his temper, and the brilliancy of a ready but never offensive wit, he still devoted the greater part of every day to the discharge of his professional duties, or the cultivation of letters. He was for some time an officiating minister at the Spanish chapel in Manchester Square; but the continued attacks of a pulmonary complaint, to which he was early subject, soon compelled him to relinquish his situation as a regular preacher; but, as often as an interval of health occurred, he willingly lent his aid in the catholic pulpits of this town. Whenever he did so, the place of worship was crowded, and christians of all denominations, listened with pleasure and edification to his discourses. In literary composition his abilities were not less conspicuous, but his modesty was extreme; and while most of his works were sent into the world anonymously, even their success did not persuade him to claim the praise to which he was justly entitled. He affixed, however his name to an admired Defence of the Principles of the Church of Rome, which he conceived had been misrepresented in a pamphlet supposed to be written by an Irish prelate of high reputation, under the assumed title of "Melancthon." Ill health marred his fairest prospects; and the growing symptoms of decay, which neither the aid of medicine, nor the habits of extreme temperance were able

to arrest, induced him to try the effects of a warmer climate, and through the friendly recommendation of the Chevalier de Susa, the Portuguese ambassador, he obtained permission to embark on board the frigate which conveyed Mr. Villars, his majesty's envoy, to Portugal. That gentleman soon discovered the uncommon qualities which distinguished his companion, and on their arrival at Lisbon, he offered him, in the handsomest manner, the situation of his private secretary. He cheerfully accepted the appointment, and devoted himself with unceasing assiduity to the discharge of its duties. His weakened constitution sunk under the pressure of business; and the excessive heat of summer in Portugal compelled him, though most reluctantly, to take his leave of Mr. Villars and of Lisbon. He returned in August last to England, a greater invalid than ever; and as winter approached, he determined to go to Madeira, with little hope of recovery, but anxious to save his family and his friends the pain of witnessing his dissolution. He embarked towards the end of October, on board the Larkins; and, after interesting his fellow passengers by the admirable patience which he displayed under the increasing attacks of pain and sickness, and by the social spirits which amidst all his sufferings never abandoned him, he expired on the thirteenth of November, three days before the ship reached the Island of Madeira.

At Vizagapatam, in the East Indies, Benjamin Roebuck, Esq. (son of the late Dr. Roebuck, of Kinmel) of the honourable company's civil service. A more faithful and zealous servant the company did



not possess ; his active, well-informed, and enterprising mind, amply stored with ancient and modern literature, was ever exerted for their and the public good. The mint of Madras, and the public docks at Coringa, are monuments not less of his ingenuity than of his indefatigable and unceasing labours. Public and private charity ever met a most liberal support from his hands. In mechanics, chemistry, and mineralogy, he had few superiors ; in other polite and useful attainments his comprehensive mind had acquired very considerable knowledge ; Political economy had ever been with him a most favoured study, and few men were better acquainted with that interesting subject. Hospitable, without ostentation, his table was ever the resort of the best-informed and most worthy members of society, and few ever left it without gaining some useful knowledge from his conversation ; his address was polite, agreeable, and engaging.

Caleb Whitefoord, Esq. of Argyll Street. He was born at Edinburgh in the year 1734, and was the only son of Colonel Charles Whitefoord, third son of Sir Adam Whitefoord, Bart. in the shire of Ayr, in North Britain. He was placed, at an early age, under the tuition of Mr. Mundell, then a distinguished teacher in the capital of Scotland, at whose seminary he soon eclipsed all his school-fellows, by his rapid progress in the Latin tongue, and other branches of education, which he completed at the university of Edinburgh, the *alma mater* of so many eminent literary characters. This uncommon proficiency in classical knowledge, induced his father to breed

him up for the church ; but to the clerical profession he entertained such strong objections, that the colonel was obliged to relinquish his intentions, and to send him to London, where he was placed in the counting-house of his friend, Mr. Archibald Stewart, an eminent wine merchant in York Buildings, where young Caleb remained about four years, and then went over to France, and staid there near two years more, until he became of age.

While he remained in Mr. Stewart's counting-house, his father had died at Galway, in Ireland, colonel of the 5th regiment of foot, bequeathing the principal part of his fortune to him and his daughter, Mrs. Smith. With this patrimony, on the expiration of his minority, he commenced business in Craven Street, in the Strand, in partnership with Mr. Thomas Brown, a gentleman universally esteemed for his amiable qualities and convivial disposition. Mr. W. early in life, evinced a lively wit, combined with a certain peculiarity of humour, which rendered his company and conversation desirable to the most celebrated *beaux esprits* of his time. Nor was it only in conversation that his talents were conspicuous. His essays were equally admired for novelty of idea, correctness of style, and sprightliness of satire ; and to those we are in some measure indebted for the emancipation of our diurnal prints from that dulness which, till then, universally pervaded them. Mr. Whitefoord having conceived a great friendship for Mr. Henry Woodfall, sent his productions to the Public Advertiser, which soon became the political arena where all the combatants engaged



gaged, and all the squibs of party were thrown. He turned and moulded the various topics of the day into all sorts of shapes; horse-races, play-bills, auctions, exhibitions, and female administrations, became the whimsical vehicles of his humour. The mirth excited by these, as well as his cross readings, ship news extraordinary, errors of the press, &c. produced many imitators; but they have seldom equalled, and never excelled, the original. The author was extremely careless of literary reputation. He amused himself in the moments of conception and composition; but afterwards paid no manner of attention to those children of his brain: he left them exposed and deserted *sur le pavé*, till Almon and Debrett took them up, and gave them an asylum in the Foundling Hospital for Wit, where at least a score may be found. The shafts of his ridicule were so happily directed against the petitions, remonstrances, and grievances, of Wilkes, and other *pseudo* patriots of the day, as to attract the notice, and to obtain the approbation, of administration. Mr. W. had given a humorous history of petitions, from the first petition of the peruke-makers to the king, praying him to wear a wig for the benefit of their trade; he then took up the subject of more modern grievances and apprehensions, answered all these grievances, and advertised for a new grievance! His success on this occasion was so great, that he was requested by a person high in office to write a pamphlet on the subject of the misunderstanding which subsisted betwixt this country and Spain, relative to the Falkland Islands. That task, however, he

declined; but recommended Doctor Samuel Johnson as the ablest and properest person who could be selected for this purpose. Mr. W. was accordingly authorized to negotiate this matter with the doctor, which he at length happily concluded in concert with the late Mr. Strahan, the king's printer, one of Johnson's most intimate and most useful friends. The doctor soon after produced his celebrated publication, entitled the False Alarm; by which he gained both money and reputation. At this period he had conceived a high opinion of Mr. Whitefoord's taste and political influence, and often expressed his approbation of his essays and squibs, pronouncing them superior even to those of Dean Swift. But Mr. W.'s pen was not limited to prose compositions; his verses on various subjects, and on different occasions, possess equal spirit and point. It has been asserted that the fine arts have such an affinity to each other, that to have a relish for one is to be susceptible of all. Whether this be generally true or not, we shall not here dispute, but content ourselves with observing that this combination is remarkably exemplified in Mr. W. who in his youth was at once a respectable proficient both in music and drawing: but other avocations did not permit him to cultivate these to the extent which his genius was capable of attaining. Although prevented from reaching practical excellence, he did not fail however to improve in taste; and his judgment as a connoisseur has frequently been appealed to in doubtful cases, when even artists have been divided in their opinions. His collection of prints and pictures, chiefly of the



Italian school, do honour to the possessor, both from their number and merit; but his admiration has not, like that of some *virtuosi*, been confined to the ancient masters, for many living artists have experienced the benefit of his patronage and advice. Such acquirements naturally pointed him out to the Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, as a proper person to preside in the committee of fine arts. He was accordingly elected chairman, and executed the office for several years with equal advantage to the institution, and credit to himself, until he was chosen a vice-president, an honour generally conferred on persons of elevated rank alone. Nor was this the only distinction he obtained. The Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh, the Society of Antiquaries, the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, and the Arcadian Society of Rome, all admitted him a member of their respective bodies. Few men have passed their time more agreeably than Mr. W. for he lived in habits of intimacy with some of the wisest and best men of the age. In the list of his friends may be enumerated many dignitaries of the church, more than one statesman, and some of the most eminent geniuses which our nation has produced. Adam Smith used to say, that the junto of wits and authors hated one another heartily, but that they all had a regard for Mr. W. who, by his conciliatory manners, kept them together. When any quarrel or disagreement occurred, he was accustomed to invite the parties to call on him in Craven Street, to give them a very good dinner, and drink a glass to reconciliation. Garrick and Foote had long been at vari-

ance, but Mr. W. contrived to bring them to one of those conciliatory dinners; and Mr. Garrick (who had much good-nature, and more generosity than the world gave him credit for) actually lent Foote five hundred pounds to repair his theatre in the Haymarket. Mr. W.'s intimacy with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Oswald, rendered him peculiarly eligible for the purpose of assisting in treating for the restoration of peace with America. He was accordingly appointed secretary to the latter, who, having bailed Mr. Laurens from his confinement in the Tower, and become his surety to the amount of fifty thousand pounds, was also judiciously selected as a man acceptable to the American commissioners, with whom, on the thirtieth of November, 1782, they concluded and signed preliminary articles, declaratory of the independence of the United States; this being understood by the belligerent powers as an indispensable basis, previously to their treating with England on the subject of a general pacification. The articles were approved by the people; and the nation hailed the return of tranquillity with general gratulation. All differences being thus happily settled with the United States of America, Mr. Oswald returned to London, but Mr. Whitefoord remained at Paris several months longer with Lord St. Helen's (then Mr. Fitzherbert) who was the minister charged to negotiate treaties of peace with France, Spain, and Holland; and it is a curious circumstance, that three of the treaties above alluded to are in the hand writing of Mr. Whitefoord. These services were such as entitled him to some recompence from government;



ment; but Lord Shelburne having resigned before Mr. W.'s return from the continent, without making any provision for him, he was obliged to prefer his claim to the coalition administration, by which it was rejected; nor was it till seven years after, that a small pension was granted to him by his majesty, on the recommendation of those in power. Mr. W. rather late in life married a lady of the name of Sidney, by whom he has left four children. The character of this gentleman is ably delineated by Dr. Goldsmith, in his well-known poem entitled *Retaliation*:

“Here Whitefoord reclines, and deny  
it who can,

Though he merrily liv'd, he is now “a  
grave man.”

Rare compound of oddity, frolic, and fun,  
Who relish'd a joke, and rejoic'd in a  
pun;

Whose temper was generous, open, sin-  
cere,

A stranger to flatt'ry, a stranger to fear,  
Who scatter'd around wit and humour  
at will,

Whose daily *bon mots* half a column might  
fill;

A Scotchman, from pride and from pre-  
judice free,

A scholar, but surely no pedant, was he.  
What a pity, alas! that so lib'ral a mind  
Should so long be to newspaper essays  
confin'd;

Who perhaps to the summit of science  
could soar,

Yet content if the table he “set in a  
roar;”

Whose talents to fill any station were fit,  
Yet happy if Woodfall confess'd him a  
wit.

Ye newspaper wittings! ye pert scrib-  
bling folks,

Who copied his squibs, and re-echoed his  
jokes;

Ye tame imitators! ye servile herd, come,  
Still follow your master, and visit his  
tomb;

To deck it bring with you festoons of  
the vine,

And copious libations bestow on his  
shrine;

Then strew all around it, you can do no  
less,

Cross-readings, ship-news, and mistakes  
of the press.

Merry Whitefoord, farewell! for thy sake  
I admit,

That a Scot may have humour, I had al-  
most said wit:

This debt to thy mem'ry I cannot refuse,  
Thou best humour'd man, with the worst  
humour'd muse.”

At Clapham Common, the Hon-  
ourable Henry Cavendish, cousin  
of Lord George C. and of the Duke  
of Devonshire, and one of the most  
eminent chemists and natural philo-  
sophers of the age. He left funded  
property to the amount of one mil-  
lion two hundred thousand pounds;  
seven hundred thousand of which  
are bequeathed to Lord G. Caven-  
dish, two hundred thousand to the  
Earl of Besborough, and the re-  
mainder in legacies to other branches  
of the Devonshire family. This  
gentleman was the son of the late  
Lord Charles Cavendish, great uncle  
to the present Duke of Devonshire,  
and although not much heard of in  
the common paths of life, was well  
known and highly distinguished in  
the scientific world. He had studied  
and rendered himself familiarly con-  
versant with every part of Sir Isaac  
Newton's philosophy; the principles  
of which he applied, near forty  
years ago, to an investigation of  
the laws on which the phænomena  
of electricity depend. Pursuing the  
same science, on the occasion of  
Mr. Walsh's experiments with the  
torpedo, he gave a satisfactory ex-  
planation of the remarkable powers  
of electrical fishes; pointing out  
that distinction between common  
and animal electricity, which has  
since been amply confirmed by the  
brilliant discoveries in galvanism.  
Having turned his attention very  
B b 4 early



early to pneumatic chemistry, he ascertained, in 1766, the extreme levity of inflammable air, now called hydrogen gas. On this discovery many curious experiments, and particularly that of aërial navigation, have been founded. In the same paths of science, he made the important discovery of the composition of water by the union of two airs; and that laid the foundation of the modern system of chemistry, which rests principally on this fact, and that of the decomposition of water, announced soon afterwards by M. Lavoisier. So many and such great discoveries spread his fame throughout Europe, and he was universally considered as one of the first philosophers of the age. Among the labours of his latter days, is the nice and difficult experiment by which he determined the mean density of the earth; an element of consequence in delicate calculations of astronomy, as well as in geological inquiries. Even in the last year of his life, at the advanced age of seventy-seven, he proposed and described improvements in the manner of dividing large astronomical instruments; which, though not yet executed, promise very great advantages. These pursuits, together with reading of various kinds, by which he acquired a deep insight into almost every topic of general knowledge, formed the whole occupation of his life; and were in fact, his sole amusement. The love of truth was sufficient to fill his mind. From his attachment to such occupations, and the constant resource he found in them, together with a shyness and diffidence natural to his disposition, his habits had, from early life, been secluded. His manners were mild, his mind

firm, his nature benevolent and complacent. He was liberal without being profuse; and charitable, without ostentation. He possessed great affluence, which was to him rather matter of embarrassment than of gratification; but, however careless about its improvement, he was regular as to its management and direction. He was born October the tenth, 1731; and his remains were interred in the family vault in All Saints, Derby.—On Saturday, March the seventeenth, Mr. Professor Davy, in his lecture at the Royal Institution, introduced the following character of Mr. Cavendish.—“About 1766, Mr. Cavendish published his first papers on the subject of air. He examined, with more accurate instruments than Black, the elastic fluid from the alkalies; and he ascertained that the same substance was produced during the combustion of charcoal. He perfected the pneumatic apparatus; and soon discovered two new elastic fluids, inflammable air and muriatic acid air. Mr. Davy said, in the next lecture he should exhibit some experiments of our illustrious countryman, of later date, and of still higher importance; but he could not, on this occasion, pass by the circumstance of his recent loss without a digression, which might enable him to offer a feeble tribute of respect to the memory of so great a man. Of all the philosophers of the present age, Mr. Cavendish combined, in the highest degree, a depth and extent of mathematical knowledge with delicacy and precision in the methods of experimental research. It might be said of him, what can perhaps hardly be said of any other person, that whatever he has done has been perfect



perfect at the moment of its production. His processes were all of a finished nature; executed by the hand of a master, they required no correction; and though many of them were performed in the very infancy of chemical philosophy, yet their accuracy and their beauty have remained unimpaired amidst the progress of discovery; and their merits have been illustrated by discussion, and exalted by time. In general, the most common motives which induce men to study are, the love of distinction, of glory, and the desire of power; and we have no right to object to motives of this kind; but it ought to be mentioned in estimating the character of Mr. Cavendish, that his grand stimulus to exertion was evidently the love of truth and of knowledge; unambitious, unassuming, it was often with difficulty that he was persuaded to bring forward his important discoveries. He disliked notoriety; he was, as it were, fearful of the voice of fame. His labours are recorded with the greatest dignity and simplicity, and in the fewest possible words, without parade or apology; and it seemed as if in publication he was performing, not what was a duty to himself, but what was a duty to the public. His life was devoted to science; and his social hours were passed amongst a few of his friends, principally members of the Royal Society. He was reserved to strangers; but where he was familiar, his conversation was lively, and full of varied information. Upon all subjects of science he was luminous and profound; and in discussion wonderfully acute. Even to the very last week of his life, when he was nearly 79, he retained his activity of body, and all

his energy and sagacity of intellect. He was warmly interested in all new subjects of science; and several times in the course of last year witnessed or assisted in some experiments that were carried on in the Laboratory of the Royal Institution. Since the death of Newton (said Mr. Davy, if he might be permitted to give an opinion) England has sustained no scientific loss so great as that of Cavendish. But it is to be regretted less, since, like his great predecessor, he died full of years and of glory. His name will be an object of more veneration in future ages than in the present moment; though it was unknown in the busy scenes of life, or in the popular discussions of the day, it will remain illustrious in the annals of science, which are as unperishable as that nature to which they belong; it will be an immortal honour to his house, to his age, and to his country!"

#### APRIL.

Mr. Charles Holman, surgeon, of Milverton. While taking some refreshment at the house of one of his patients, a greyhound entered the room, to which the deceased offered a piece of bread; in taking it, the animal snapped at what was offered him so eagerly, that his teeth violently pressed the deceased's fingers, but did not penetrate them. Inflammation shortly after ensued, to which a mortification succeeded, and terminated in his death.

Lieutenant Darby, of his majesty's ship *Impetueux*. He put an end to his existence, by shooting himself in the head with a pistol, in



in his bed-room, at the New London Inn, where he had arrived on his way to join his ship at Plymouth. According to letters found in the pocket of the deceased, love, and a quarrel with his rival, whom he had refused to fight, added to the dread of being deemed guilty of cowardice, induced him to the rash act. The coroner's jury, pronounced a verdict of *felo de se*, and on the following day his body was interred according to the form of law in such cases. He bore a very fair character, and was held in the highest esteem by his brother officers, some of whom, immediately on hearing of the fatal disaster, went express from Plymouth to Exeter; but unfortunately the verdict had passed before their arrival, otherwise, we may reasonably suppose, their evidence would have occasioned a material alteration in the opinion of the jurors; for they testified in the most positive terms, that the deceased had for a long time past been much disordered in his mind.

### MAY.

In the seventy-sixth year of his age, William Havard, Esq. of South Lambeth, one of the partners in the city and county bank of Hereford, a gentleman whose industry, benevolence, integrity, and worth, entitle his memory to more than ordinary notice. Mr. Havard was born in St. Owen's Street, Hereford, where his parents kept a small shop; and their circumstances were so remote from affluence, that when, (like his countryman Whittington) he left his native place to pursue his fortunes in the metropolis, he had not sixpence in his pocket on

his arrival in London. From this period, such was the perseverance, ability, and success with which he applied himself to business, that he gradually rose, with encreasing honour and esteem, from clerk to partner, in the house of Mr. Jones, M. P. for Devizes, in Mansion-house Street. Thus becoming enrolled in the first class of British merchants, Mr. Havard was frequently consulted in the most difficult and important adjustments of mercantile accounts; and has now bequeathed to five daughters more than 10,000*l.* each, the fruits of his own exertions and personal industry. His house and the hospitalities of his table were not only open to his countrymen in general, but many of his younger friends, from Hereford, will gratefully acknowledge how materially they have been aided by his powerful interest, and valuable advice.

On board his flag-ship, the *Ville de Paris*, Admiral Lord Collingwood, commander in chief of the British fleet in the Mediterranean. Worn out with the toils and cares of a sea-faring life, his lordship expired just as he was about returning home for the recovery of his decaying health and constitution. Cuthbert Collingwood was born at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1750; his family is very ancient, and was particularly distinguished in arms, and celebrated by the poets during the wars of the borderers, in the sixteenth century. The traditionary songs and tales of those wars made a strong impression on the young mind of our hero, as he sought the field of glory at the very early age of eleven, although not for the same reason which induced Nelson at that age to adopt the like course, his



his father possessing a small but competent fortune. Cuthbert received the rudiments of his education from the Rev. H. Moises, M.A. After spending six or seven years under the tuition of this venerable master, who died about two years ago, he left his much-esteemed school-fellows, the present Sir W. Scott, Judge of the Admiralty Court, and his younger brother, Lord Chancellor Eldon, and entered the service in 1761. Like Nelson, he went under the protection and patronage of his maternal uncle, Captain Braithwaite, then commanding the Shannon frigate, who died Admiral of the Blue, in his eightieth year, in 1805. To this officer he owed his great professional knowledge and skill in all the various branches of nautical science, and with him he continued several years. In 1766, he was a midshipman in the Gibraltar, and from 1767 to 1772, master's mate in the Liverpool, whence he was taken into the Lenox, Captain (now Admiral) Roddam, whose disinterested friendship for him and his family was nobly rewarded by the future conduct of his protégé. Admiral Roddam also took his younger brother, Wilfred Collingwood, into his ship, and brought him to the rank of captain, when he died in the West Indies, about 1779 or 1780. Lord Collingwood has another brother in the customs, and two maiden sisters, who still live very retired at Newcastle. By Admiral Roddam Lord C. was introduced to Vice-Admiral Graves, and afterwards to Sir Peter Parker, and with the former he went in the Preston to America; yet it was not till after he had been fourteen years in the service, that he was appointed fourth lieutenant in

the Somerset. In 1776, he went to Jamaica in the Hornet sloop, where he became acquainted with Nelson, then second lieutenant of the Lowestoffe, Captain Locker. This friendship of congenial minds continued the remainder of their lives; Collingwood regularly succeeding his friend Nelson in every appointment and ship which he left in the course of his promotion. From the Lowestoffe, Nelson was taken into the Bristol, Admiral Sir Peter Parker, and Collingwood into the Lowestoffe; in 1778, Nelson was appointed to the Badger brig, and Collingwood to the Bristol; in 1779, Nelson was made post-captain in the Hinchinbrooke, and Collingwood in the Badger: in 1780, Nelson was appointed to the Janus frigate, and was again succeeded by his friend Collingwood. On this occasion, Nelson was snatched from the jaws of death by being recalled from the destructive Quixotic expedition to St. Juan on the Spanish Main, and Collingwood, whose constitution was less delicate, survived the effects of that dreadful climate, where, in four months, out of 200 men, who composed his ship's company, he buried 180! Of 1800 men, who were sent at different times on this expedition, only 300 ever returned. In August he quitted a station which had proved equally fatal to the other ships that were employed. In December of the same year, he was appointed to the command of the Pelican of twenty-four guns, but his continuance in that ship was not of long duration; for, on the first of August, 1781, she was wrecked upon the Morant Key, during the dreadful hurricane which proved so destructive to the West India islands



islands in general. The crew were however saved, as well as their commander. It was not long before an opportunity presented itself to resume his station in the service of his country. He was appointed next to the command of the *Sampson*, of sixty-four guns, in which ship he served till the peace of 1783, when she was paid off, and he was appointed to the *Mediator*, and sent to the West Indies, where he again met his friend Nelson, who at that time commanded the *Boreas* frigate upon the same station. The friendship which subsisted between these two young men, who were hereafter to make so conspicuous a figure upon the great theatre of naval glory, appears from the letters which were written during this period by the latter, to his friend Captain Locker. In one of these, dated on board the *Boreas*, September the twenty-fourth, 1784, he says, "Collingwood is at Grenaca, which is a great loss to me, for there is nobody I can make a confidant of." In another, dated November the twenty-third: "Collingwood desires me to say he will write you soon such a letter that you will think it a history of the West Indies. What an amiable good man he is!" Off Martinique, March the fifth, 1786, he writes: "This station has not been over pleasant; had it not been for Collingwood, it would have been the most disagreeable I ever saw." In this ship, and upon this station, he remained until the latter end of 1786, when, upon his return to England, the ship being paid off, he took the opportunity to visit his native county, and renew his acquaintance with his family and friends, from whom he had been

so long separated. In this retirement, after a service of five and twenty years, he continued to enjoy himself in Northumberland until the year 1790, when, on the expected rupture with Spain, he was again called into employ in the armament then fitting out, and appointed to the *Mermaid*, of thirty-two guns, under the command of Admiral Cornish, in the West Indies. The dispute being however adjusted without hostilities, and no prospect of immediate employment again at sea appearing, he once more returned to his native county, and in this interval of repose formed a connection with a lady of great personal merit, and of a family highly respectable, Sarah, the eldest daughter of John Erasmus Blackett, Esq. one of the aldermen of Newcastle. By this lady he has two daughters; Sarah, and Mary Patience, both living with their mother at Morpeth, the place of his lordship's residence, during the short intervals of repose which he had been suffered to enjoy. On the breaking out of the war with France, in 1793, Captain Collingwood was called to the command of the *Prince*, bearing the flag of Admiral Bowyer, with whom he served in that ship, and afterwards in the *Barfleur*, until the engagement of the first of June 1794. In this action he distinguished himself with great bravery, and the ship which he commanded is known to have had her full share in the glory of that day; though it was the source of some painful feelings at the moment, in the captain's own mind, that no notice was taken of his services upon this occasion, nor his name once mentioned in the official dispatches of Lord Howe to the Admiralty. Rear-Admiral Bowyer



yer lost his leg by the side of Captain Collingwood, yet no epithet of approbation was officially bestowed on the captain of the *Barfleur*! The battles of St. Vincent and Trafalgar have since proclaimed his merit! Captain Collingwood was appointed to the *Excellent*, after Lord Howe's victory, and went with Lord Hood to Toulon. From that station he joined Admiral Jervis, and following the manœuvres of his tried friend, Commodore Nelson, these two commanders, with the ill-fated *Trowbridge*, contributed to accomplish one of the most signal victories off Cape St. Vincent, ever recorded in the annals of naval war. The English consisted of fifteen ships, the Spanish of twenty-seven; the former had only 1232 guns, the latter 2308; and, notwithstanding this inferiority, four of the enemy's ships were captured, two by Nelson and two by Collingwood; the *San Josef* of one hundred and twelve guns, and *San Nicholas* of eighty, struck to Nelson; and the *Salvador del Mundo* of one hundred and twelve, and the *San Isidro* of 74 to Collingwood. The prodigies of valour displayed by Nelson and Collingwood, on this extraordinary occasion, are well depicted by the former at a perilous moment of the engagement. "The *Salvador del Mundo*, and the *San Isidro*," said his Lordship, "dropped a stern, and were fired into in a masterly style by the *Excellent*, Captain Collingwood, who compelled the *San Isidro* to hoist English colours; and I thought the large ship *Salvador* had struck; but Captain Collingwood, *disdaining the parade of taking possession of a vanquished enemy*, most gallantly pushed up with every sail set to save his old

friend and messmate, who was to appearance in a crippled state." It was not the fortune of Collingwood, although anxiously desired by both, to accompany his friend to fresh victories at the Nile, and he remained in the painful office of blockading the enemy's ports till 1799, when he was made Rear-Admiral of the White, and in 1801 Rear-Admiral of the Red. In May 1802 he returned to Spithead, and proceeded to his family and friends in Northumberland. But the period of domestic enjoyment was again very short; and in April 1804 he was made Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and resumed the blockade of Brest with Admiral Cornwallis. The very irksome life of an indolent blockade always apprehensive that the enemy may escape, and yet without the hope of his coming to action, can only be understood by those who have spent some time aboard ship in such service. In 1805, however, Admiral Collingwood was called upon to exercise his talents in the blockade of Cadiz, with only four ships, with which he had to deceive the enemy, and impress them with an idea that he had a powerful fleet. This delusion he effected with the happiest result, by means of well-conceived signals from two ships off the harbour to two others at a greater distance. The arrival of Nelson relieved him from the arduous task of watching a fleet of thirty-four ships of the line with only four, and prepared the way for the glorious, but melancholy, battle of Trafalgar, in which twenty-seven British were opposed to thirty-three French and Spanish ships. The particulars of this engagement are yet too deeply engraven on the minds of the public to require repetition



tion here. Lord Collingwood led the van in the attack, and Nelson exclaimed:—"Look at that noble fellow! Observe the style in which he carries his ship into action!" Collingwood, enjoying the honour of his situation, with equal spirit said to his captain, "What would Nelson give to be in our situation!" The loss of the Royal Sovereign, Admiral Collingwood, in this action, was five officers, twenty-nine seamen, and nineteen marines, killed; eight officers, seventy seamen, and ten marines, wounded: in all one hundred and forty-one. Of nineteen vessels that struck, only three Spanish and one French seventy-four were sent to Gibraltar; all the others being either burnt, sunk, or run on shore. The humanity and piety of Lord Collingwood after this battle, were not less conspicuous than they were in Nelson; and in his letter to the Admiralty, detailing the particulars of the action, he laments the fall of the commander-in-chief with great feeling.—"My heart (said he) is rent with the most poignant grief for the death of a friend, to whom, by many years intimacy, and a perfect knowledge of the virtues of his mind, which inspired ideas superior to the common race of men, I was bound by the strongest ties of affection; a grief to which even the glorious occasion on which he fell does not bring that consolation which perhaps it ought." The merit of this official dispatch struck his majesty, who observed, that "Collingwood's was an excellent letter." The last fact we shall notice, was the admiral's humanity after the action, to the unfortunate prisoners, in shattered vessels, and exposed to a tremendous storm. Lord Colling-

wood's proposal to the governor of Cadiz to receive them into hospitals, was most gratefully received; and the Spanish people, in a spontaneous burst of enthusiastic admiration of the English, although their enemies, sent every assistance to the English fleet, in wines, fruit, and refreshments, to comfort the wounded and sick. The well-merited eulogiums which have been pronounced on Lord Collingwood's professional talents are sufficiently known. By Lord Hood it was observed, that "he only wanted the opportunity to prove himself a *second Nelson*." After the battle of Trafalgar, he was raised to the rank of Admiral of the Red, created Baron Collingwood of Coldburn and Hethpole, in Northumberland, and a grant of 2000*l.* a year voted to him during his own life, 1000*l.* to his lady, and 500*l.* to each of his daughters. During the last five years, he has scarcely ever been on shore; and in one of his letters to a friend, he observes, "since 1793, I have been only one year at home. To my own children I am scarcely known; yet, while I have health and strength to serve my country, I consider that health and strength due to it; and if I serve it successfully as I ever have done faithfully, my children will not want friends." His natural diffidence and unassuming character induced a rather disadvantageous opinion of real merit; he despised ostentation, and evinced a kind of patriarchal simplicity in his whole conduct. To the charitable institutions of Newcastle he has been a most liberal benefactor, and has also subscribed to raise a monument to his master, the late Rev. Mr. Moises. His noble title is now extinct; but the records of his brave



brave achievements and his personal worth, will be handed down to future ages, while naval warfare shall continue to engage the attention of nations; and the names of Nelson and Collingwood be blazoned by posterity, as models of the most heroic and sublime patriotism. A relation of his lordship, the late E. Collingwood, Esq. left him his estate worth about 2000*l.* besides a handsome library. With this addition, it is presumed that his lordship possessed a very ample fortune. The body of the lamented admiral was brought to England in the *Nereus* frigate, and conveyed from Sheerness in the commissioner's yacht to Greenwich. Here it lay in state for some days in the Painted Chamber in the Hospital, and was then deposited in its final resting-place under the dome of St. Paul's, close by the coffin of Lord Nelson; so that it may with truth be said, that even in death these great heroic friends are undivided. Lord Collingwood was of middling stature, but extremely thin, and temperate in his general habits; ate always with an appetite, drank moderately after dinner, but never indulged afterwards in spirits or wine. It was his general rule, in tempestuous weather, and upon any hostile emergency that occurred, to sleep upon his sofa in a flannel gown, taking off only his epauletted coat. He would appear upon deck without his hat; and his grey hair floating to the wind, whilst torrents of rain poured down through the shrouds, and his eye, like the eagle's, on the watch. Bodily exposure, colds, rheumatism, ague, all, were nothing to him when his duty called; and to this contempt of personal comfort and

indulgence his country doubtless owes the privation of his services.

In Great Ormond Street, aged fifty-three, of a pulmonary consumption, Thomas Finch, Esq. F. R. S. only son of the Rev. Robert Pool Finch, D. D. He was principally educated at Merchant Taylors' school, and was afterwards fellow of St. John's college, Oxford, where his academical career was marked by the most correct conduct, and considerable literary distinction. The loss of this truly excellent man and accomplished scholar will be long and deeply felt by the select circle of friends, who well knew how to estimate his numerous good qualities. In his manners, and in his whole deportment, he never lost sight of that elegant and gentlemanly reserve, which might keep rudeness or impertinence at a distance, but which marked the true gentleman, and evinced a proper self-esteem, and laudable consciousness of that rank, which his birth and talents entitled him to hold in society. In the profession of the law he uniformly proved himself an upright and discreet adviser; a sound and able advocate. In the early part of his career at the bar, he attracted the peculiar notice and marked attention of Lord Thurlow, whose discernment would, there is little doubt, had he filled the office of chancellor, have elevated him to a station where his merit would have shone more conspicuously, and his talents have been more diffusely useful. The "*Precedents in Chancery*," which he edited with considerable care and ability, will not permit his name to be entirely forgotten in the profession. It is much to be regretted, that the weakness



weakness of his health, combined with his great aversion to all speculative enterprise, deprived his country at large of that learning, judgment, and eloquence, joined to great political knowledge, which would have done honour to her parliamentary representation. As a scholar, he was highly capable of relishing the beauties and sublimities of those works which are the great standards of classical composition: his grammatical acquaintance with the Greek and Latin languages was correct, and his taste perhaps almost too fastidiously refined. The Holy Scriptures formed a favourite branch of his studies, which his experience and skill in the Hebrew language rendered more delightful to him. With the principal modern languages he was well acquainted, and was particularly attached to the German. He conversed in French with great fluency and propriety. The unexampled care and attention which he personally bestowed upon the education of his son, proved that he was fully aware of the binding and serious duties imposed upon a parent.

After a lingering and painful illness, at St. Valen, near Bray, Joseph Cooper Walker, Esq. member of many literary and philosophical societies. The loss of this accomplished scholar will be long and deeply deplored by all true votaries of science and the fine arts; but, those only who have had the happiness to be included in the circle of his friends, can justly lament the qualities which dignified, and the numerous graces which adorned, his character. Few, perhaps, have united, in a higher degree, the accomplishments of the gentleman, with the attainments of the scholar.

His polished manners, his refined sentiments, his easy flow of wit, his classical taste, and his profound erudition, rendered his conversation as fascinating as it was instructive; the rare qualities of his heart procured for him the most devoted attachment of relatives and friends, the affectionate regard of all who knew him. A frame of peculiar delicacy incapacitated Mr. W. for the exercise of an active profession, and early withdrew his mind from the busy bustle of the world to the more congenial occupations of literary retirement. The intervals of exemption from pain and sickness, which are usually passed in languor or in pleasure, were by him devoted to the cultivation of those favourite departments of literature to which he was guided, not less by natural taste, than by early association. To seek for that best of blessings—health, which his own climate denied him, Mr. W. was induced to travel: the ardent mind of this young enthusiast in the cause of letters, who had drunk deep from the classic fountains of antiquity, and had imbibed the most profound admiration for the heroes and the sages of old, regretted not his constitutional debility, but seized the occasion which invited him to that sacred theatre, on which the greatest characters had figured, and the noblest works had been achieved. He visited Italy; he embraced with enthusiasm that nurse of arts and of arms; he trod with devotion her classic ground, consecrated by the ashes of heroes, and immortalised by the effusions of poets; he studied her language; he observed her customs and her manners; he admired the inimitable remains of ancient art, and mourned



ed over the monuments of modern degradation; he conversed with her learned men; he was enrolled in her academies; and became almost naturalized to the country. His *Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, and his *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*, may be ranked among the best productions of British Literature.

At his house in Stephen's Green, Dublin, John Law, D. D. Bishop of Elphin, and brother to Lord Ellenborough. This truly venerable prelate was a man of profound erudition, and his whole life was devoted to the practise of those moral and religious duties which he so forcibly inculcated in his excellent discourses from the pulpit. When he took possession of the see of Killala, and learnt that almost the whole of the population were Roman catholics, he observed, "that it was a hopeless task to make them protestants, it would answer every purpose to make them good catholics:" and with this view he got printed, at his own expense, and distributed gratis through the diocese, a new edition of the works of the Rev. John Gother, which breathe the piety, and, in plain and intelligible language, inculcate the morality, of the Bible. The same liberality of his life, is particularly observable in his will. He has left to the Rev. James White-law, vicar of St. Catherine's, Dublin, 500*l*. Of this gentleman his lordship knew nothing but his virtues and literary acquirements; but to such a man as Dr. Law, they were the best recommendation. He had previously bestowed upon him the living in the diocese of Elphin, held by the late Dr. Sandford; and in his last and tedious sickness, was often heard to ex-

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press his satisfaction, that he lived to have an opportunity of shewing him this mark of his friendship and esteem. To Dr. William Magee, senior fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, he has bequeathed a like sum of five hundred pounds. This gentleman had also no recommendation but his literary talents. To Dr. Brinkley, professor of astronomy in Trinity College, Dublin, he has bequeathed five thousand pounds, with all his books, valued at three thousand pounds. His lordship died worth forty-five thousand pounds, and his legacies, including one thousand pounds to his brother, Lord Ellenborough, amount in the whole, to sixteen thousand pounds. The remaining twenty-nine thousand pounds is bequeathed, one-half to his widow, Mrs. Law, and the other half distributively between his four brothers and sisters.

## JUNE.

On the fifth of June, at Malta, in the twenty-seventh year of his age, Mr. Theodore Galton, second son of Samuel Galton, Esq. of Dudson, near Birmingham. He was returning from a long voyage, undertaken from a classical taste, in search of knowledge, to the coasts of the Mediterranean, and particularly to Asia Minor and Greece. He had been daily and impatiently expected by his anxious friends; and was actually supposed to be on board the vessel that brought the account of his decease. This young man is deeply and most deservedly regretted. Few persons have been so strikingly distinguished for those attractive qualities and graces of

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the mind that excite regard—and for those disinterested and generous perfections that retain it. A school may be considered as the epitome of the world, where the future character is first unfolded and made known. A native dignity that scorned a meanness or a misrepresentation, or any plausible duplicity, soon distinguished him; a high sense of honour, and all the magnanimous virtues that stamp the mind with true nobility, excited in his equals at school a kind of idolatry towards him; even his preceptors felt the force of his character. His superiors learnt to respect and honour him, communicating to his parents exultingly, from time to time, extraordinary instances of his great and feeling mind, and of that sacred observance of truth in its unpervverted simplicity, which raised him in after-life above little designing men. Such was the basis of his future character, a character which never abandoned him, but which might be said to have grown with his bodily growth, and to have strengthened with his advancing years. The same influence of a superior nature that was felt by his early connexions and associates, was felt ever after in future life, by all who approached him. Those who obtained dominion over the youthful mind through fear, could never succeed in debasing his, but many undue advantages were obtained through the medium of his affections. It was a pre-eminent excellence, and it distinguished him from the cradle to the grave, that to a Roman spirit he united the most affectionate sensibilities; he might perhaps, in some instances, have merited that observation which is made by Fielding respecting All-

worthy: “that the best of heads, was misled by the best of hearts.” The phlegmatic and cold may consider this censure; such censure is *distinguished praise*. Mr. Theodore Galton was never known to have lost the affections of a friend. The regard he had once excited was a feeling deeply established in the heart, and the boy who had been attached to him, however early the period, became so imperceptibly more and more as life advanced. Nor was he remembered with indifference even by those who had not seen or heard of him during long periods of time: he was thought of with regret, for scarcely was his equal to be expected in future life. He never had a personal enemy; though upon one or two occasions of his life he had been ill used from motives of interest, by designing and sordid minds. He was, however, not capable of a malignant feeling; he was never known to have harboured a resentment; he was often known to have entirely forgotten that he had been injured; he was capable of being made angry, but his anger was not the retaliation of low passions; it was the indignation of a noble mind that spurned at a meanness, or at any injurious suspicion that cast a shade over the open daylight of his own conduct. His commanding figure, and the Grecian contour of his features, might have been considered by the sculptor as models for his art; the dark shade of his hair and eyes, and the manly red and white of his complexion, gave a brilliant effect and added a rich lustre to his face. These personal advantages were, however, forgotten, and as it were lost, in the captivating influence of his manners and countenance.



countenance. No human features were ever lighted up with more beaming splendours, with more intelligence, or with finer sensibilities, always awakened to the occasion. His mind was seen in its emanations, it shone forth externally, and its brightness seemed like a light to surround him. In every society he was a distinguished object, and his superiors in age, in class, and even in attainments, felt themselves flattered by his notice: this influence was never weakened by habit, it was felt by those who lived with him equally as by others. Almost every person who had accidentally met him as a stranger, left him with the feelings of a friend; this was exemplified in the following fact:—A gentleman who had never before seen Mr. Theodore Galton, spent one morning with him by chance, not long before he left England; when the same gentleman afterwards saw, in the public papers, an account of his death, he burst into tears. Those who possessed a congenial nobility of mind, felt the influence of his character particularly. Mr. Simmons, a merchant from Smyrna, and a stranger to Mr. Theodore Galton, embarked in the same Tunisian vessel from Malta. When Mr. Theodore Galton was given over by the physicians, and the fever declared highly infectious, Mr. Simmons, who was performing quarantine in the same apartment, was offered another for his own preservation, but Mr. Simmons refused to abandon him, and he continued to sleep where he was, and to attend him as he had throughout, with an assiduous care until the last, being fixed to the spot by his anxieties, although Mr. Theodore Galton's invaluable friend and tra-

velling companion, Dr. Sacheverel Darwin, was there, and watched him unremittingly night and day at the hazard of his own life. This short account flows from a heart warmed by the virtues of no common character; and also from a wish, inspired by a sense of justice, that such a character should not pass away unknown and unnoticed, merely because coincident events are wanting to bring it more publicly forth. But the public can never fully know or appreciate Mr. Theodore Galton as he appeared in private life, bringing joy and animation, and diffusing brightness round a circle of friends at home, where he was an ornament and a pride to his family. He rarely sought pleasures in public, or spent an evening from home, but passed his leisure hours in the attainment of knowledge, and in the delights of elegant literature. He had been led to a love of study, after his school education was over, by some events of his life, but principally by a mind which had acquired a discerning taste, and that was capable of the richest cultivation. It was necessary to have resided under the same roof in order to have seen how deeply his deportment had interested every class throughout a large family; for his heart and behaviour were governed by sympathies that were in accordance with the feelings of those who wanted protection or who wanted support. Every friend and every domestic felt his gentle kindness, a kindness rarely combined with the strong energies of such a character; but he possessed very opposite perfections, and such as are not often brought together in bright assemblage in one mind. Those who habitually



resided with Mr. Theodore Galton were well aware how great he was upon all small, as well as upon the most important occasions of life; they saw and felt the sublime in all his actions, in his minute actions, even in his errors, for he never committed a fault but it was instantly repaired with such a noble candour as established him more firmly in the affections of the person inadvertently offended. His heart was warmed towards every friend, it was a heart that exulted in their joys and that met their sorrows. To his parents he exhibited a very uncommon and sublime example of filial duty and of filial love. But he is seen no more! May he still be contemplated in his character, like a fine model for imitation. Should this inadequate sketch meet the eye of any of his juvenile friends, from whom time and events may long have divided him, the heart of that friend will acknowledge the likeness, and the influence be revived of such feelings as probably no other individual has since excited. He will dwell with a mournful satisfaction upon the past; and recalling the image of his bright associate, he will embalm his memory with tears.

In his seventy-ninth year, General Hugh Debbieg, of Margaret Street, Cavendish Square, after a long illness. He received a regular military education, as an engineer, at Woolwich; and in 1746, at the early age of fourteen years, he, for the first time, saw active service, in the expedition against l'Orient, under General St. Clair; he afterwards served in Brabant with the allied army, commanded by his Royal Highness William, Duke of Cumberland, by whom, and by Marshal

Barthiani, he was much distinguished; and was attached to the staff of his royal highness at the battle of Laffvelt; after which he served in Bergen-op-Zoom, during the whole of that memorable siege. After the suspension of hostilities, he was one of the engineers appointed to make a survey of the late seat of war. In 1750, he was employed in making a survey and military map of Scotland, and on many other occasions at home, till the year 1753, when he was sent to North America as second engineer in command, and at the siege of Louisbourg particularly distinguished himself. In the following year he served under the immortal Wolfe, at Quebec, with the same rank, and his talents procured him the friendship and entire confidence of that hero. On his return to Europe, he was employed in several confidential, but very important and hazardous missions, which he executed to the satisfaction of his majesty's government. Soon after the peace of 1783 he retired from public service, and occasionally employed himself in perfecting a system of fortification entirely novel, and peculiar to his extraordinary mind and attainments.

At his lodgings, in Pimlico, Mr. Sylvia, an Israelite, well known for his eccentric disposition. About forty-five years ago he used to attend the Royal Exchange, mounted upon a beautiful charger, with a servant, who held the horse during the time his master transacted business. The Lord Mayor, conceiving it a nuisance to introduce an animal of that description on the Exchange, one day ordered it to be taken away, and not brought there again, which order

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was complied with. He lent 500*l.* to Mr. Wilkes, upon his bond, which he afterwards increased, in consequence of non-payment, to 2000*l.* and the bond was burnt. Mr. Sylvia was the brother of the Jew who was murdered in Garden Row, Chelsea, by his nephew.—Through the death of his brother he got about 2000*l.*

At his house in Pall Mall, the Right Honourable William Windham, M. P. D. C. L. one of his majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and a Governor of the Charter House. Mr. Windham was descended from an ancient and highly respectable family in the county of Norfolk, where they had resided for several generations, and possessed a considerable property. His father, William Windham, was one of the most admired characters of his time; and, in 1756, soon after the plan of a National Militia was formed by Mr. Pitt (afterwards Earl of Chatham) this gentleman, in conjunction with the late Marquis Townshend, was extremely zealous and active in promoting and carrying into execution that scheme, which has since proved so salutary to his country. On this subject he published one or two very excellent pamphlets. He died in 1761, leaving his only son, then eleven years old, under the care of the executors of his will, the Rev. Dr. Dampier, then under master of Eton school, and Mr. Garrick. Mr. Windham was born at Felbrigg Hall, the family seat in Norfolk, in March 1750. He received the early part of his education at Eton, where he continued from 1762 to the autumn of 1766, when he removed to the University of Glasgow, where he resided for

about a year, in the house of Dr. Anderson, professor of natural philosophy; and diligently attended his lectures, and those of Dr. Robert Simson professor of mathematics, the well-known author of a Treatise on Conic Sections, and of other learned works. Here first probably he became fond of those studies to which he was ever afterwards strongly addicted. In September, 1767, he became a gentleman commoner of University College Oxford, Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Chambers being his tutor. During his academic course (from 1767 to 1771) he was highly distinguished for his application to various studies, for his love of enterprise, for that frank and graceful address, and that honourable deportment, which gave a lustre to his character through every period of his life. In 1773, when he was but twenty-three years old, his love of adventure, and his thirst of knowledge, induced him to accompany his friend Constantine, Lord Mulgrave, in his voyage towards the North Pole; but he was so harrassed with seasickness, that he was under the necessity of being landed in Norway, and of wholly abandoning his purpose. In 1778, he became a major in the Norfolk Militia, then quartered at Bury, in Suffolk, where, by his intrepidity and personal exertion, he quelled a dangerous mutiny, which had broken out; notwithstanding he was highly beloved by the regiment. On one of the mutineers laying hold of a part of his dress, he felled him to the ground, and put him into confinement; and, on his comrades afterwards surrounding him, and insisting on the release of the delinquent, he drew his sword, and kept them at bay, till



till a party of his own company joined and rescued him. Soon afterwards, in consequence of his being obliged to remain for several hours in wet clothes, he was seized with a dangerous bilious fever, which nearly deprived him of his life. In the autumn of that year, partly with a view of restoring his health, he went abroad, and spent the two following years in Switzerland and Italy. Previously to his leaving England, he was chosen a member of the Literary Club, founded by Sir Joshua Reynolds and Dr. Johnson (who had the greatest esteem for Mr. Windham) and, notwithstanding his engagements in consequence of his parliamentary business, and the important offices which he filled, he was a very frequent attendant at the meeting of that respectable society (for which he always expressed the highest value) from 1781 to near the time of his death. So early as the year 1769, when he was at Oxford, and had not yet attained his twentieth year, the late Marquis Townshend, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whom he twice visited during his residence in that country, offered him the office of his principal Secretary; but he declined it in a letter which is still extant, and which very forcibly displays that excellent sense, and those honourable sentiments, which afterwards uniformly regulated his conduct. In 1782 he came into parliament, where he sat for twenty-eight years, at first for Norwich, and afterwards for various boroughs; and he so early distinguished himself in the House of Commons, that he was selected by Mr. Burke, in June 1784, to second his motion for a representation to his Majesty on the state of the na-

tion. In the preceding year, he had been appointed principal secretary to the Earl of Northington, then constituted Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and in that capacity he visited Dublin in the spring of 1783, and intended to have accompanied his excellency when he afterwards opened the session of parliament there in October; but being prevented by illness, he relinquished his office; and his friend the honourable Thomas Pelham (now Earl of Chichester) was appointed secretary in his room. From the time of his coming into Parliament, to the year 1793, he usually voted with the opposition of that day; but he never was what is called a thorough party-man, frequently deviating from those to whom he was generally attached, when, in matters of importance, his conscience directed him to take a different course from them; on which account, his virtues and talents were never rightly appreciated by persons of that description, who frequently on this-ground vainly attempted to undervalue him. After the rupture between Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, in consequence of the French revolution, Mr. Windham attached himself wholly to the latter, with whom he had for many years lived in the closest intimacy; and of whose genius and virtues he had always the highest admiration. Being, with him, thoroughly convinced of the danger then impending over his country, from the measures adopted by certain classes of Englishmen, in consequence of that tremendous convulsion, he did not hesitate to unite with the Duke of Portland, Lord Spencer, and others, in accepting offices under the administration in which Mr. Pitt then



then presided. On this arrangement Mr. Windham was appointed secretary at war, with a seat in the cabinet, an honourable distinction which had never before been annexed to that office. This station he continued to fill with the highest reputation from that time (1794) till 1801, when he, Lord Spencer, Lord Grenville, and Mr. Pitt, resigned their offices; and shortly afterwards Mr. Addington (now Lord Viscount Sidmouth) was appointed chancellor of the exchequer and first lord of the treasury. On the preliminaries of peace with France being acceded to by that statesman and his coadjutors, in 1801, Mr. Windham made his celebrated speech in parliament, which was afterwards (April, 1802) published, with an appendix, containing a character of the present usurper of the French throne, which will transmit to posterity the principal flagitious passages of his life up to that period, in the most lively colours. On Mr. Addington being driven from the helm, in 1805, principally by the battery of Mr. Windham's eloquence, a new administration was again formed by Mr. Pitt, which was dissolved by his death, in 1806; and shortly afterwards, on Lord Grenville's accepting the office of first lord of the treasury, Mr. Windham was appointed secretary of state for the war department, which he held till his majesty, in the following year, thought fit to constitute a new administration. During this period he carried into a law his bill for the limited service of those who enlist in our regular army; a measure which will ever endear his name to the English soldiery. The genius and talents of this illustrious statesman are well

known and universally acknowledged. He was unquestionably the most distinguished man of the present time, and not inferior, in many respects, to the most admired characters of the age that is just gone by. He had been in his earlier years a very diligent student, and was an excellent Greek and Latin scholar. In his latter years, like Burke and Johnson, he was an excursive reader, but gathered a great variety of knowledge from different books, and from occasionally mixing, like them, with very various classes and descriptions of men. His memory was most tenacious. In his parliamentary speeches his principal object always was to convince the understanding by irrefragible argument, which he at the same time enlivened by a profusion of imagery, drawn sometimes from the most abstruse parts of science, but oftener from the most familiar objects of common life. But what gave a peculiar lustre to whatever he urged, was his known and uniform integrity, and a firm conviction in the breasts of his hearers, that he always uttered the genuine and disinterested sentiments of his heart. His language, both in writing and speaking, was always simple, and he was extremely fond of idiomatic phrases, which he thought greatly contributed to preserve the purity of our language. He surveyed every subject of importance with a philosophic eye, and was thence enabled to discover and detect latent mischief, concealed under the plausible appearance of public advantage. Hence all the clamourers for undefined and imaginary liberty, and all those who meditate the subversion of the constitution, under the pretext of reform, shrunk from



his grasp; and persons of this description were his only enemies. But his dauntless intrepidity, and his noble disdain of vulgar popularity, held up a shield against their malice; and no fear of consequences ever drove him from that manly and honourable course, which the rectitude and purity of his mind induced him to pursue. As an orator, he was simple, elegant, prompt, and graceful. His genius was so fertile, and his reading so extensive, that there were few subjects on which he could not instruct, amuse, and persuade. He was frequently (as has justly been observed) "at once entertaining and abstruse, drawing illustrations promiscuously from familiar life, and the recondite parts of science; nor was it unusual to hear him through three adjoining sentences, in the first witty, in the second metaphysical, and in the last scholastic." But his eloquence derived its principal power from the quickness of his apprehension, and the philosophical profundity of his mind. Of this his speech on Mr. Curwen's bill (May, 1809) is an eminent instance; for it unquestionably contains more moral and political wisdom than is found in any similar performance which has appeared since the death of Mr. Burke, and may be placed on the same platform with the most admired productions of that distinguished orator. In private life no man perhaps of any age had a greater number of zealous friends and admirers. In addition to his extraordinary talents and accomplishments, the grace and happiness of his address and manner gave an irresistible charm to his conversation; and few, it is believed, of either sex (for his address to

the ladies was inimitably elegant and graceful) ever partook of his society without pleasure and admiration, or quitted it without regret. His brilliant imagination, his various knowledge, his acuteness, his good taste, his wit, his dignity of sentiment, and his gentleness of manner (for he never was loud or intemperate) made him universally admired and respected. To crown all these virtues and accomplishments, it may be added, that he fulfilled all the duties of life, the lesser as well as the greatest, with the most scrupulous attention; and was always particularly ardent in vindicating the cause of oppressed merit. But his best eulogy is the general sentiment of sorrow which agitated every bosom on the sudden and unexpected stroke which terminated in his death. During the nineteen days of his sickness, his hall was daily visited by several hundred successive enquirers concerning the state of his health; and that part of Pall Mall, in which his house was situated, was thronged with carriages filled with ladies, whom a similar anxiety brought to his door. Every morning, and also at a late hour every evening, when his physicians and surgeons attended, several apartments in his house were filled with friends, who anxiously waited to receive the latest and most accurate accounts of the progress or abatement of his disorder. This sympathetic feeling extended almost through every class, and even reached the throne, for his majesty frequently enquired concerning the state of his health, pronouncing on him this high eulogy, that "he was a genuine patriot, and a truly honest man." Of the fatal malady which put an end to



to his invaluable life, such erroneous accounts have been published in the newspapers, that it may not be improper to give an accurate statement of that most distressful event. An idle story has been propagated, that the Hon. Frederick North, on his last going abroad, left his library and MSS. in the care of Mr. Windham, and had requested him to remove his books to Mr. Windham's house in Pall Mall; that he had neglected this charge, and thence had the stronger inducement to exert himself to save them. In all this circumstantial detail there is not one word of truth. The fact is, that on the 8th of last July, Mr. Windham, returning on foot at twelve o'clock at night from the house of a friend, as he passed by the end of Conduit Street, saw a house on fire, and, with the same gallantry of spirit which on a former occasion induced him to exert himself to save a part of the venerable Abbey of Westminster from destruction, he instantly hastened to the spot, with a view to assist the sufferers; and soon observed that the house of Mr. North was not far distant from that which was then on fire. He therefore immediately undertook to save his friend's library, which he knew to be very valuable. With the most strenuous activity he exerted himself for four hours, in the midst of rain and the playing of the fire engines, with such effect, that, with the assistance of two or three persons whom he had selected from the crowd assembled on this occasion, he saved four parts out of five of the library; and before they could empty the fifth book room, the house took fire. The books were immediately re-

moved, not to Mr. Windham's house, but to the houses of the opposite neighbours, who took great care of them. In removing some heavy volumes he accidentally fell, and suffered a slight contusion on the hip; but it made so little impression on his mind, that, not being apt to complain of any distress belonging to himself, in giving an account of the transaction the next day, he did not even mention this circumstance, nor for some months did he take notice of it to any friend. When he afterwards did mention it, it was in so slight a manner that it hardly attracted any attention from those who loved him best. By this accident, however, an indolent incysted tumour was formed in the part affected. For several months it was attended with no pain whatsoever; yet even in that state he had medical advice, and some slight applications were employed, with no great effect. At length, about the beginning of May, the tumour began to increase, and in certain positions of the body to give him some little pain; and on mentioning these circumstances to a friend, he strongly exhorted him to have the best surgical advice. Accordingly, on the next day, the 6th of May, Mr. Cline, who had been consulted about two months before, was again called in, to view the part affected; and he then pronounced the tumour to be of such a nature, that Mr. Windham's life might be endangered if it was not cut out. In consequence of this decision, Mr. Windham acted with the utmost prudence, propriety, and fortitude. He first consulted his own physician, Dr. Blane, who coincided in opinion with Mr. Cline. He then resolved, before



before he submitted to the operation, to consult six eminent surgeons separately, besides Mr. Cline; Dr. Blane having previously given all of them (except one, who, it is believed, was consulted without his knowledge) an accurate account of his constitution and habit of body; and four out the six thus consulted, were decidedly of the same opinion with Mr. Cline; that is, five were clearly for the operation, and two against it. Mr. Windham, having taken these precautions, acted as every wise man would have done, and resolved to submit to the operation. And so far was he from rashness or precipitation, which have been most untruly imputed to him, that after these opinions were obtained, Dr. Bailie, whose great anatomical skill is universally acknowledged, was also consulted; and he too agreed in opinion with Dr. Blane, and the five surgeons already alluded to. With manly fortitude he now prepared to submit to the requisite operation; and, after making a codicil to his will, he visited his friend and cotemporary at Oxford, the Rev. Dr. Fisher, Master of the Charter-House; and, as appears from one of his diaries, received the sacrament from his hands, Mrs. Fisher being the only other communicant. He bore the operation with the most heroic fortitude; and even when the pain was most exquisite, exhibited a vivid proof of the strength of his mind, by a playful allusion to the language of the vulgar in similar situations. With the most kind and anxious tenderness he had taken care that Mrs. Windham, who was in the country at this time, should not have the slightest suspicion of what was go-

ing on; nor was she apprised of the operation, till, on her arrival in town on the 18th of May, she was informed that it had been successfully performed on the preceding day. But, unhappily, very soon afterwards appearances were such as gave very little ground for hope. A morbid ichor appeared, attended with a general inflammation, and with two abscesses; and the wound never suppurated. A fever ensued, of course; but it was idle to suppose that this was the malady which proved fatal, it being merely symptomatic: and equally unfounded is the current opinion, that Mr. Windham's most valuable life was sacrificed to this operation; for the tumour itself was found to be of a schirrous nature, and fully justifies the decision that was made; and the state of his whole frame shews that his death was owing to a morbid habit, and not to the operation. Had it been deferred for a month longer, it would still have been necessary; it would have been performed at a less proper time, and have been attended, meanwhile, with the most distressful circumstances. Having never been guilty of excesses in his youth, and having all his life been extremely moderate both in eating and the use of wine, that his constitution should have been thus suddenly undermined is most extraordinary. For several days previous to his death he seemed to entertain little hope of life, submitting to Divine Providence with perfect calmness and resignation. On the night preceding his decease, on the attending surgeon, Mr. Lynn, placing him in the most favourable situation for sleep, he said, "I thank you; this is the last trouble I shall give you;



you: he then fell into a doze, or stupor, and the next morning (June 4) he expired, with so little pain, that it was scarcely perceived when he drew his last breath. Great as his loss is to his country and to his friends, it is some consolation that he died in the full maturity of his fame, and has left behind him an imperishable reputation. In 1798 Mr. Windham married Cecilia, the third daughter of the late Commodore Forrest, a lady whose virtues are above all praise, and whose attainments, joined with the most amiable manners and sweetest disposition, rendered her a suitable companion for one of the most distinguished characters of his time. His remains were removed from his house in Pall Mall, June 8, for the family-vault at Felbrigge, attended by his nephew, Robert Lukin, Esq. and Edward Byng, Esq. nephew to Mrs. Windham.

At Portsea, Mr. James Hay, jun. sculptor, aged twenty-eight. From his earliest days he was much accustomed to the study of the natural history and antiquities of his country, in which he acquired a great proficiency, as well as a knowledge of the learned languages. Being an able draughtsman, and possessing exquisite taste for painting, he was put under Mr. West; but having a greater inclination for sculpture, he was very soon after pupil to Flaxman. Under this distinguished master two years, he made rapid progress in the art, whilst he likewise studied anatomy and physiology under Sheldon, Brookes, &c. Too intense application, to the various branches of science, brought on a lingering disease, which terminated, by a pre-

mature death, the life and labours of a rising genius, who would have proved an honour and an ornament to his country. Whilst he was firm in his opinions and lucid in his representations, he always displayed the mild and amiable features of a mind that believed and felt the doctrines of the religion he professed. He has left many drawings of the most remarkable antiquities in Hampshire; and a much greater number of almost the whole zoology of Great Britain, particularly a complete arrangement of all the shells, beautifully drawn and coloured from nature, which were intended for publication.

## JULY.

At Turnham Green, Mr. Ogden, of sporting celebrity: he was the most quick calculator of the long odds ever known on the turf, and could as readily hedge his bets, when many horses started, so as to secure himself a winner, by which peculiar talent he realized a fortune of 100,000*l*.

Mrs. Sarah Anne Wynne, aged thirty-eight, at Hatton, near Warwick, the only remaining daughter of the Rev. Dr. Parr. The brilliancy of her imagery in conversation and writing, the readiness, gaiety, and fertility of her wit, the acuteness of her observations upon men and things, and the variety of her knowledge upon the most familiar and most profound subjects, were very extraordinary. They who lived with her in the closest intimacy were again and again struck with admiration at the rapidity, ease, vivacity, and elegance, of her  
epistolary



epistolary compositions. Whether upon lively or serious topics, they were always adapted to the occasion; they were always free from the slightest taint of affected phraseology and foreign idiom; they were always distinguished by a peculiar felicity and originality of conception and expression; and the genius displayed in them would most undoubtedly have placed the writer in the very highest class of her female cotemporaries, if she had employed her pen upon any work with a deliberate view to publication. Her reading in the most approved authors, both French and English, was diversified and extensive, her memory was prompt and correct, and her judgment upon all questions of taste and literature, morality and religion, evidently marked the powers with which she had been gifted by nature, and the advantages which she had enjoyed for cultivating those powers, under the direction of her enlightened parents, and in the society of learned and ingenious men, to which she had access from her earliest infancy. With becoming resignation to the will of Heaven, she endured a long and painful illness, which had been brought upon her by the pressure of domestic sorrows, on a constitution naturally weak. Her virtues, as a friend, a child, a wife, and a mother, were most exemplary; and her piety was sincere, rational and habitual.

At Ludwell, Mr. Robert Foot, jun. aged nineteen. Four days before his death he was going out with a loaded gun, but stopping to converse with a friend, he incautiously rested on the muzzle of the gun, which went off at half-cock, and nearly the whole charge of

shot passed through his left hand, grazed his side, and lodged in his shoulder. He had just quitted an affectionate mother, in the full glow of health and youthful spirits; he returned to her maimed and streaming with blood! From the direction in which the shot had passed and lodged, little hope was from the first entertained of his recovery. He endured his sufferings with great fortitude and patience, took an affectionate leave of his friends, *and requested that this statement might be made public, in the hope that it would induce others to be more careful, and thereby prevent the recurrence of a similar accident.*

#### AUGUST.

Mr. Joseph Sparshall, at Beccles, in the eighty-seventh year of his age, one of the society of Friends; who, during the whole of so long a life, devoted almost every moment he could spare from the avocations of business and the affairs of his family, to the acquirement of useful knowledge, and was an instance of what may be effected by the powers and natural bent of the mind, unassisted by the advantages of a liberal education. Of natural history, in its various branches, he was passionately fond; but botany, chemistry, and electricity, were his most favourite studies. He wrote some essays on philosophical subjects, one of which, giving an account of a remarkable *Aurora Borealis*, appeared in a volume of the Philosophical Transactions, and procured him the offer of becoming a Member of the Royal Society, an honour which he had the modesty



desty to decline. To sum up his character in a few words, as a naturalist and a man of general knowledge, he was well informed and communicative; as a moralist, he was exemplary and correct; and as a christian, he cannot be better designated than in the words of our inimitable poet, for

“He look’d through nature up to nature’s God.”

In Horsham gaol, aged eighty-two, Simon Southward, formerly of Boxgrove, near Chichester. This singular character was a miller, which occupation he followed with industry and attention till about the year 1766, when, by a strange species of insanity, he fancied himself Earl of Derby, King in Man, assumed those titles, neglected his business, and became very troublesome to many of his neighbours. In February 1767, he was arrested for a small debt, at the suit of the late Duke of Richmond, and was conveyed to the old gaol at Horsham, from which he was removed (the first prisoner after its completion) to the present gaol, and from which he was released, after a captivity of forty-three years, four months, and eight days, by the hand of death! Simon Southward was in stature about six feet, was exceedingly well made, and had a commanding countenance; his manners were generally affable, and his deportment polite: he was, however, when offended, exceedingly wrathful, and with difficulty pacified, particularly when his ire had been occasioned by doubts about his assumed dignity. He supposed himself a state prisoner, and would accept of no money or clothes which were not presented to him as coming from the king, his cousin.

His dress was generally a drab coat of a very ancient cut, and a cocked hat with a black cockade. Simon was addressed, as well by the governors of the gaol, as by his fellow prisoners and visitors, “My Lord!” and to no other denomination would he ever reply. He had been supported for a number of years by a weekly stipend from the parish of Boxgrove.

At Formosa Place, Sir George Young, Admiral of the White, one of the oldest and bravest officers in the service. He was of Boscawen’s school, and during an honourably spent life, performed some brilliant things in general as well as in single actions, both at home and abroad, which his intimate friends, the immortal Nelson and Captain Edward Thompson, who were an honour to our nature as well our navy, have often witnessed. But having been either confined by gout, or bed-ridden for many years past, his king and country have consequently been deprived of his services.

At Shaftesbury, Mr. John Hayter, cooper, well-known by the name of the Old Squire. Although often prosecuted and persecuted by gentlemen tenacious of their game, he kept a pack of barriers upwards of sixty years, and was earth-stopper to various gentlemen who claimed the Duntley and Allin’s fox hunt for nearly the same period. When quite a boy he kept a few beagles, and would often entice a neighbouring gentleman’s hounds from their kennel to assist his little pack, for which he was as often chastised by his own father and Mr. Hardiman (the gentleman alluded to); but such was his propensity for the chase, that he would sit up whole winter nights to get his work forward



forward, in order to hunt on foot the next morning. Latterly he was obliged to part with his hounds; but even to the latter end of the last hunting season, he would meet the fox hounds on foot; and almost to the hour of his death was fond of rehearsing the sports of the field.

At Colyton, Captain Henry Wilson, late of the East India Company's ship Warley, whose name is in the recollection of the public, as connected with that most interesting narrative, published from his journal, of the shipwreck and providential preservation of the crew of the Antelope packet, on the Pelaw Islands, 1783. On this occasion his intrepidity, discretion, and talents, as a commander, shone forth in a manner which has rarely been excelled. The most remarkable instance of his abilities appears, when, unarmed by authority or power, he was able to persuade his people to destroy all the spirituous liquors remaining on the wreck; scarcely any governor ever produced a greater act of self-denial for the public good. His comprehensive understanding and persevering industry raised him, through every gradation of a seaman's life, to the highest post in his own line; and he had the honour to be second in command to Commodore Sir N. Dance, when Admiral Linois, in an eighty-gun ship, with several frigates, was baffled and discomfited by a fleet of East Indiamen. In private life he was a firm and benevolent friend, a kind parent, and died a pious christian. Captain Wilson had not long enjoyed his retirement at Colyton; and, but for the distance, his remains would have been interred near those of his friend, Prince Lee Boo.

At Aberdeen, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, Mr. James Chalmers, printer to the city and university, and printer and proprietor of the Aberdeen Journal, which he conducted with uncommon ability, and steady and loyal consistency of principle, for the long space of forty-six years. Few men have departed life in the city of Aberdeen with more unfeigned regret, by a most numerous and highly respectable circle of friends, to whom he was endeared by the best virtues that adorn social life—inflexible integrity, steady friendship, a disposition elevated, humane and charitable, a temper unusually cheerful, and a memory rich in anecdote and information, chiefly of the literary kind. His father, who cultivated his profession for some years in London, in the printing-office of Mr. Watts (where he had the celebrated Dr. Franklin for his fellow-journeyman) was afterwards ranked among the literary printers of his time, and at his death was recorded as a gentleman "well skilled in the learned languages." His father was the Rev. James Chalmers, Professor of Divinity in the Marishal College, who died in 1744. About the year 1740, his son returned from London, and in 1746 established the Aberdeen Journal, at the close of the memorable rebellion, during which he was a considerable sufferer, from his attachment to the House of Hanover. His son, the subject of this article, was born in March 1742, and, after a classical and academical education at Marishal College, removed to London, and improved himself in the typographical art, both there and at Cambridge, until September 1764, when the death  
of



of his father put him in possession of the establishment in his native city. Although now engaged in a business which afforded but little relaxation, and with the cares of a numerous family, he found leisure to indulge his love of literature, by that extensive course of reading which rendered him a valuable member of the literary societies of the place. With many of the professors of both colleges, and particularly with the late Drs. Campbell, Gerard, and Beattie, he formed an intimacy which death only dissolved.

### SEPTEMBER.

In Basinghall Street, Thomas Loggen, Esq. an eminent solicitor. By his incorruptible integrity in public, and his amiable manners in private life, he was universally esteemed, beloved, and respected; and in his profession his character stood deservedly high.

Sir Francis Baring, Bart. in his seventy-fourth year, at Leigh, in Kent. He was physically exhausted, but his mind remained unsubdued by age or infirmity to the last breath. His bed was surrounded by nine out of ten, the number of his sons and daughters, all of whom he lived to see established in splendid independence. He was formerly member for Chipping Wycombe, Bucks, and was succeeded in the representation of that borough by his son, Thomas Baring, Esq. the present member. Three of his sons carry on the great commercial-house, and which, by his superior talents and integrity, he carried to so great a height of respect. His other two sons are re-

turned from India with fortunes. His five daughters are all most happily married; and, in addition to all this, it is supposed that he has left freehold estates to the amount of half a million. This gentleman was born in 1736. His father was a merchant in the Virginia trade, which he began with a very inconsiderable capital; but his rigid honesty and dexterity in business, having recommended him to some great mercantile houses, they adopted his interests, and by liberal loans enabled him to extend the circle of his commerce: from this assistance the house of Baring soon rose to consideration, in a city where wealth and talents for business are estimated at their proper value. With parental fondness Mr. Baring watched over the education of his son, in order to render him a complete man of business, till he was sent to a reputable school under a Mr. Coleman, the author of several mathematical treatises. It was here he acquired the talent for which he was most distinguished; for in calculations made on the spot, admitting of no previous study, he was certainly considered as unequalled. Upon the death of his father he was esteemed a most worthy successor; and the richest houses, and the most wealthy heiresses, at the east-end of the town, considered him as a desirable partner. He at length married the daughter of Mr. Boston, an opulent merchant. Mr. Baring, from a proprietor, having become a director of the East India Company in the year 1784, canvassed the Cornish borough of Grampound, and took his seat in the House of Commons. The nation was then just beginning to recover from the effects of the American



rican revolution, and Mr. Baring had the honour of being consulted by the premier with respect to the means to be adopted on this occasion. His wealth, talents, and activity, augmented his favour and importance with Mr. Pitt's administration. He was considered as one of the strongest links of the *monied aristocracy*; and was created a baronet in 1793. It is well known that the system of this country, with regard to all its foreign possessions, has ever been that of exclusive monopoly; accordingly, when the whole body of English merchants demanded some participation in the East India traffic, Sir Francis came forward as the advocate of the company. He insisted that their heavy expence and their actual public services composed a debt, to the discharge of which an eternal monopoly of the East India trade would scarcely be sufficient! It is needless to add, that the charter was again renewed; and the relief of the body of English merchants, from what their petition called "oppressive monopoly," was left, like other evils, to the gradual effect of time, or the shock of some revolution. In 1796, upon Sir John Jervis being rewarded with a peerage, and vacating his seat for Chipping Wycombe, Sir Francis Baring was elected for that borough; and at the general election in 1802, he was again returned for the same place. Sir Francis was esteemed not less amiable in domestic than in public life. Although of a grave cast of mind, he was not without a relish for social enjoyments, and was, till within a few years past, seldom absent from the parties and entertainments of his friends. The routes of his lady were reckoned

among some of the most brilliant in town; but he preferred the more tranquil enjoyments of a domestic circle, to those gay, but promiscuous, assemblies. His table was such as became his wealth, and his solid hospitality was perfectly suitable to the opulent character of an English merchant. His talents were of a very superior cast, and highly improved by reading. Few men understood the real interests of trade better; and it may surely be added, few men ever arrived to the highest rank and honour of commercial life with more unsullied integrity. At his death, he was unquestionably the first merchant in Europe; first in knowledge and talents, and first in character and opulence. His name was known and respected in every commercial quarter of the globe; and by the East India Company, and other public trading bodies, he was consulted as a man of consummate knowledge and inflexible honour.

At Seabam, near Stockton-upon-Tees, aged twenty-three, of a decline, Joseph Blackett, the extraordinary young man, whose talents and misfortunes recommended him to the notice, and afterwards to the protection, of many very distinguished characters, under the introduction and auspices of Mr. Pratt. About a year and a half since, Mr. P. assisted him in putting forth a volume of poems, under the title of "*Specimens of the Poetry, &c.*" the whole edition of which was circulated by private patronage, very greatly to the advantage of the author.

At Treepland, in Cumberland Mrs. Mary Jackson, aged eighty-two years, forty of which she had been a widow, and was greatly respected through



through life. She was the person who first discovered the method of rearing what are now called the *potatoe-oats*, so generally cultivated and with such success in various parts of the kingdom. The circumstance which led to it was the deceased's observing a single stem of oats growing on a potatoe rig, the seed of which had been conveyed thither by the wind. Observing that the straw was uncommonly strong, when the grain was matured, she preserved it, and used it for seed the ensuing season, which succeeding in a very extraordinary degree, the method was soon after adopted by numbers of farmers.

At Nice Blundell, near Liverpool, Henry Blundell, Esq. in the twenty-seventh year of his age. As a patron of the fine arts, and an encourager of deserving merit in whatever shape it presented itself he stood unrivalled. Of his benevolent and extensive charities, our public institutions bear ample testimony, and in private life, he possessed in a most eminent degree, every social tie and endearing quality that human nature is capable of. The remains of this much esteemed gentleman, were interred in the family vault in Sephton church, attended to the grave by a numerous assemblage of the neighbouring gentry, tenantry, and servants, amidst a concourse of spectators, who were gathered together to witness this tribute of respect to the memory of departed worth. The procession extended nearly half a mile. There were forty-six carriages, only three of which were empty.

At Venice, the French General Menou; celebrated in the campaign at Egypt. He appears to have been a favourite of Bonaparte; for he

protected him on his return to France against all his officers, who attributed the necessity of evacuating that country to his mismanagement. Like his friend, Bonaparte, he changed his religion, married an Egyptian woman, wore the turban, and took the name of Abdallah Menou. Bonaparte made him a count, and governor of Venice, but never entrusted him with any military command, where active operations were going on.

During the defence of Fort Matagorda, Cadiz, Major Lefevre, royal engineer, by a cannon ball. By his death the army has lost a most intelligent officer. Upon every occasion in which his services were demanded, he evinced the utmost bravery and zeal; but it was chiefly at the battle of Maida that he displayed those qualities. The talents he manifested in a distinct command which was entrusted to him in that ever-memorable battle, entitled him to the honour of a medal, which was intended to be conferred only on officers of superior rank; but his claims were undeniable, and the reward which was due to his gallant exertions, was in justice granted, as a fair distinction which he had earned on that glorious day. The reputation he had acquired attracted the notice of his majesty's government; and he was, with great propriety, selected as an officer in every respect qualified to give the Spaniards the aid of his talents, and to obtain such intelligence respecting the state of things in Spain, as could be relied upon for the extent and the accuracy of its details. In the performance of both these services, he gave the utmost satisfaction. Major Lefevre may be truly said to have existed only for the



the service. His passion for the army predominated over every other, and almost every thought of his mind was concentrated in that single point. He at last fell a victim to his heroic gallantry. General Graham, who entertained a just conception of his merit, had commanded him to bring off the detachment that had so long and so bravely defended the fortress of Matagorda. This fortress had been very injudiciously dismantled in part, previous to the arrival of the French. Sensible, too late, of the importance of its position, as it commands the entrance into the inner harbour, it was resolved to defend it; principally with a view to retard the approach of the French towards Cadiz. The detachment employed for this purpose succeeded in keeping possession of the fort for about three weeks. The French employed nearly fifteen days in constructing their batteries; and the first they opened was at the distance of about 1200 yards. Their second battery opened at the distance of about 800 yards: they succeeded in making a breach, and it was their intention to have stormed it. The little garrison had suffered so much, having lost about half its number in killed and wounded, that it became necessary for the remainder to evacuate the place. Major Lefevre recommended that some gun-boats should be employed against the French batteries, both to annoy the enemy, and to divert their fire during the evacuation. This, however, was unfortunately omitted. The French, therefore, still kept up a tremendous fire upon the fort. The evacuation was effected in good order; and Major Lefevre, continuing in it to the last,

was, at the moment of retiring from it, struck between the shoulders by a thirty-two pound shot; and instantly killed.

## OCTOBER.

In Soho Square, Jonas Dryander, Esq. librarian to Sir Joseph Banks, and to the Royal Society, and a vice-president to the Linnean Society, aged sixty-three. His eminent attainment in that branch of science which he chiefly cultivated, had long placed him in the first rank among the naturalists of Europe; and his catalogue of the Banksian library, which is before the public, will be a lasting monument of erudition, perseverance, and sound judgment.

At Ealing, John Williams, Esq. one of the king's serjeants-at-law, a native of Carmarthen, and formerly fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. He was a man gifted by nature with extraordinary powers of memory and an excellent understanding; to these happy endowments he added the most patient and persevering application to the study of the law; his labours were crowned with success; he became one of the most eminent lawyers of modern times. His luminous expositions, sound deductions, clear reasoning, profound and accurate knowledge in his profession, were justly appreciated, in Westminster Hall, by his cotemporaries, and will long be recollected by them with admiration and merited eulogy; but his professional and posthumous fame will not rest on the frail basis of living testimony, his edition of Lord Chief Justice Saunders's Reports will remain to after ages a splendid monument.



monument of his intimate acquaintance with the laws of his country.

At Morden, Surry, Abraham Goldsmid, Esq. Mr. G. was the second son of a respectable Dutch merchant, of the Jewish persuasion, and came over to this country with his father and elder brother. He was born in the year 1757, and as soon as his mind had acquired sufficient powers, was initiated into the principles of merchandize. Tenderly attached to his brother, he became his partner when both were grown up, and when the death of their father left them in possession of a capital that enabled them to venture into bold speculations.— Their indefatigable industry and natural acuteness soon improved their fortune, which was greatly augmented by the marriage of the elder Goldsmid with the daughter of Mr. Solomons, of Clapton, who brought him no less a sum than one hundred thousand pounds. From that time their commercial undertakings became more considerable, and in a few years they were ranked among the first men in the monied world. Their increasing riches introduced them to the notice of the administration. Whenever a loan was wanted, the Goldsmids easily supplied a large portion of it; and as the terms on which it was obtained were always advantageous, their fortune kept pace with the facilities which they granted to government. In the purchase and sale of bullion, stocks, navy bills, and exchequer bills, and in negotiating foreign bills of exchange, they also annually disposed of millions, till at last the extent of their speculations, the greatness of their credit, and the liberality of their dispositions, caused them to be

placed, without one dissenting voice, at the head of the stock exchange. Thus eminently raised in the public opinion, they incessantly laboured, not to obtain the applause of men, which they already possessed, but that of their own hearts. Charity and benevolence marked all their actions, and their munificence was not confined to the deserving objects of their own nation and belief, but to Christians of every denomination. They supported every public-spirited institution with their subscriptions, and never closed their hearts or their purse to those who wanted assistance, whatever might be their religious principles. Mr. Goldsmid was joint contractor with the house of Sir Francis Baring for the last loan, and taking the largest probable range that he had dealt amongst his friends one half of the sum allotted to him, the loss sustained by the remainder, at the rate of sixty-five pounds per thousand, which was the price of Thursday, was more than any individual fortune could be expected to sustain. Ever since the decline of omnium from par, Mr. Goldsmid's spirits were progressively drooping; but when it reached five and six per cent. discount, without the probability of recovering, the unfortunate gentleman appeared evidently restless in his disposition and disordered in his mind; and, not finding that cheerful assistance amongst his monied friends which he had experienced in his happier times, he was unable to bear up against the pressure of his misfortunes. Another circumstance that is said to have pressed heavy upon his mind within the last week was, that he had borrowed of the East India Company half



a million. He had given security for this sum, but the period of redemption had arrived, it was to have been paid off on Friday, and Mr. Goldsmid, it is reported felt considerable difficulty in raising the money. However, it is said there will be amply sufficient, when his affairs are arranged, to pay all debts, and leave a large surplus. His account with government is perfectly clear, and the only loss he appears to have sustained is by the fall of omnium. It is rumoured that Mr. Goldsmid had at one time determined, if possible, to put an end to all his dealings in the Stock Exchange, and to retire to private life. But this determination could not be executed immediately, and in the mean time heavy demands would come against him. His temper, hitherto so equal, became, in consequence, irritable. He lost all his fortitude. Despondency took possession of him, and drove him to the commission of that fatal act which terminated his life. Yet he so far mastered his feelings in company, that his friends and family had not the least apprehension of his committing suicide. He came to town on Thursday, September the twenty-seventh, in his carriage, from Morden, accompanied by his brothers, Edward and Isaac, and his son Moses; and several friends who met him did not observe any thing particular in his manner or appearance. He returned to Morden to dinner, and had company. In the evening he joined in a party at cards, after walking a good deal in his grounds, and giving notice to several of the workmen employed in his large premises that he should soon discharge them. On Friday morning he rose at his

usual early hour, and, about half-past seven o'clock, was observed to pass over the bridge to the wilderness or rookery, in his grounds; and there he perpetrated the fatal deed. His coachman having, as was usual, enquired what horses were to go to town, he was referred to Mr. G. being told at the time which way his master had walked. The coachman went in search of him, and was the first that found him weltering in his blood, with the pistol grasped in his right hand. Life was not quite extinct, but before the medical assistance which was sent for arrived, he had expired in the arms of his afflicted family; but wholly unconscious of being with them. He has left a widow and several children. He was in his fifty-third year. An inquisition was held, on Saturday, on the body, at his house at Morden. Among the jury were some of the most respectable and intelligent persons in the vicinage. The proceedings lasted but a few minutes, when the following verdict was returned:—*“Died by his own hand, but not in his senses at the time.”* His remains were interred in the Jews' burial ground, at Mile End. The hearse, which conveyed the body, passed over London Bridge, followed by the carriage of the deceased, and thirteen mourning coaches, in which were the high priest, the elders of the synagogue, and a great part of the family, except his brothers, who were too much affected to attend. On their arrival at the ground, a number of poor persons had collected to witness the interment of a man, who had proved not only their particular benefactor, but had studied to render himself useful through life to all classes



classes of mankind. The mourners were scarcely able to support themselves. Mr. Alison, the brother-in-law of the deceased, fainted over the body twice, and sunk on the grass, lamenting the dismal event. The high priest and elders paid every distinction in their power to the remains of their departed friend; but in conformity to the Mosaic laws, they withheld from him the customary funeral rites.

Mr. James Beattie, professor of civil and natural history in Marischal College and University Aberdeen, aged forty-three. As a man of science, his attainments were of the highest stamp. He possessed that enlargement and expansion of mind, without which scientific pursuits never can be prosecuted with success; that ardour which stimulates and facilitates every exertion; and that persevering industry which subdues every obstacle. His general knowledge was copious and comprehensive, and applied with sound judgment and accurate discrimination, to every subject which he had occasion to discuss. He commanded a great store of erudition, and was intimately acquainted with the Greek and Latin classics, whose writings he not only perused with critical skill, but had many of their most brilliant passages recorded in his memory.

#### NOVEMBER.

At the Vicarage House, Kentish Town, aged seventy-four, the Rev. Dr. Champneys. He was entered of Trinity College, Cambridge, B.A. 1760, M.A. 1767. He was elected a minor-canon of St. Paul's in 1760; and, after filling several offices in

that cathedral, eventually became sub-dean thereof. For nearly fifty years he was minor-canon of Westminster Abbey; and for almost as long a period minor-canon of Windsor. He was successively possessed of the benefices of Kensworth and Caddington, Hertfordshire; Langdon Hills, Essex; and St. Pancras, Middlesex; all in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. Dr. C. at one period also enjoyed a living from the Dean and Chapter of Windsor, who permitted him to resign it in favour of his eldest son, the Rev. Weldon C. In the early part of his life he was for a short time minister of the chapel at Market Street, Herts, which he resigned thirty-nine years ago. He also held for many years, under the patronage of Sir Christopher Whichcot, Bart. the vicarage of Deeping James, Lincolnshire. He was the oldest lecturer in London, having been chosen to the lectureship of St. Bride's in 1767; and was for many years chaplain to the worshipful companies of Goldsmiths, Cutlers, &c. In all his various preferments, Dr. Champneys was very indefatigable in his attention to the duties of his profession.

In Charles Street, Berkeley Square, Francis Baring, Esq. second son of John B. Esq. of Mount Radford, near Exeter. He put an end to his life by shooting himself. At the coroner's inquest, it appeared, by the testimony of two witnesses, that he had been in a desponding state for some time past, arising, as it was suspected, from pecuniary embarrassment. Having sent out his valet to order dinner, Mr. Baring locked himself in his dressing room, and shortly after the report of a pistol alarmed two female servants



in the house. The neighbours broke into the room, and found him lying on his face, dead: a ball having entered his forehead, and shot away part of his head. He had a pistol in each hand, and one was found loaded. Verdict—*Insanity*.

At Fulham, aged seventy-three, Nathaniel Kent, Esq. an eminent land agent, whose morality, strict integrity, and urbanity of manners, added to a conscientious discharge of his professional duties towards landlord and tenant, had long endeared him to numerous friends and acquaintance.

At Windsor, November the second, her Royal Highness the PRINCESS AMELIA, the youngest child of their Majesties. She was born August the seventh, 1783, and was from early youth of a very tender and delicate constitution, being frequently attacked with severe indisposition. In her person she was tall and slender, and her air was most graceful and prepossessing. Illness had impressed its marks on her countenance, and scattered lilies over her cheeks. In her manners she was so mild, elegant, and amiable, as to win every heart. The frequency of her indispositions prevented her from studying as deeply as her eldest sisters, yet she cultivated the fine arts with great success. In music and painting she was a proficient. She met with few rivals on the piano-forte, and displayed a classical taste, both in her selection and execution of pictures. A model of filial piety; her love for her father was revealed in all her actions, and was so tenderly expressed a few days before her death, as to occasion the unfortunate illness under which he still continues to labour. Dignified, though conde-

scending; benevolent, without ostentation; lively, though a prey to sickness, which usually quenches the spirits as well as the health of youth, she was beloved by all those who lived within the sphere of hearing of her virtues. Some symptoms of the illness which terminated her existence, having revealed themselves early, her royal highness tried the effects of sea-bathing, and derived much benefit from that practice. Her favourite amusement was that of riding, in which she was conspicuous for her elegance and skill. Exercise, however, and all the resources of the medical art, could but delay the fatal hour; her disorder began to gain ground in an alarming manner upwards of two years ago, and when the first jubilee of his majesty was celebrated, she was lying on the bed of sickness, with but little hopes of recovery. Towards the middle of last summer, however, she regained strength enough to sit up in her apartments, and to take a short walk into the garden. About a month before her decease, her royal highness was attacked with St. Anthony's fire, which brought on a relapse, which afforded her an opportunity of displaying the noblest christian faith and fortitude, during weeks of prolonged agony, uncheered by any ray of hope. During the last few days her strength had been rapidly wasting away; and she closed her eyes as in a kindly sleep. It would be injustice to the memory of this excellent princess, to ascribe all her patience and fortitude to the natural frame of her mind, as the habit of devotion to which she had been trained and led by parental example, and the true principles of religion which regulated



regulated the whole of her conduct, strengthened the amiable and gentle qualities of her disposition, and made her submit with meek resignation to the divine will, through the whole of the severe probation which she was to endure in this life to prepare her for a better.

At Kentish Town, in his ninety-fourth year, Charles Grignion, who flourished in this country, as an historical engraver, upwards of half a century. He had the good fortune to pass a portion of his early youth at Paris, in the study of the celebrated Le Bas; and, though his stay with that artist was but short, yet it was of sufficient duration to enable him to imbibe such sound principles as laid the foundation of a style at once energetic and elegant. Having commenced his career in this school, he could draw as well as engrave; and, as he possessed that rare talent in his art, the power of giving a free and faithful translation of a picture, the quality and cast of his productions were bold and original. His best works not only possess in an eminent degree, whatever constitutes character and expression, as the print he engraved from one of Hogarth's series of election pictures abundantly proves, but they partake of that happy carelessness of execution, which is as much a characteristic beauty in the style of painting or engraving as it is in that of poetry. As Mr. Grignion advanced in life, his pure old fashioned style was superceded by a more imposing, a more finished, but a less intelligent manner. This revolution in engraving threw him into obscurity, and reduced him to poverty; but a few artists and lovers of art, to whom his virtues and his talents were equally

dear, by a prompt and efficient subscription, smoothed the path of his declining age, and enabled him to close his days in the bosom of his family, with a contented and grateful mind. This venerable engraver resigned his life without any pain or struggle.

At Sidmouth, Devonshire, whither he had gone for the recovery of his health, the Right Honourable George Legge, Earl of Dartmouth, and Viscount Lewisham. He was called up as a baron to the House of Peers in 1801, during the lifetime of his father, and appointed president of the Board of Controul in the same year. In 1804, he succeeded his father in his titles. He was lord chamberlain to his majesty, and a knight of the garter; and was born October the second, 1755; was educated at Oxford, and obtained the degree of M.A. in 1775. In 1774, he was returned M.P. for the borough of Plymouth; and, in 1780, for Staffordshire; and, two years after was appointed one of the lords of the bedchamber to the Prince of Wales; and, in 1789, Lord Warden of the Stanneries. In 1783, he was nominated one of the commissioners of Mr. Fox's new Board of Admiralty, who were to be assisted by a subordinate board of nine directors. In the summer of 1807, he resigned the colonelcy of the loyal Birmingham volunteers, on account of ill health. While member for Staffordshire he supported the coalition administration, and voted for Mr. Fox's India bill. His lordship was a man of the mildest and most amiable manners. He married Frances, sister to the Earl of Aylesford, by whom he had a numerous family. He is succeeded in his title and estates by his son



William, Viscount Lewisham, now in his twenty-sixth year. The following lines were written on the late earl, by the Earl of Carlisle, when they were boys at Eton school :

“Mild as the dew that whitens yonder plain,  
Legge shines serenest 'midst your youthful train ;  
He whom the search of fame with rapture moves,  
Disdains the pedant, though the muse he loves ;—  
By nature formed with modesty to please,  
And joins with wisdom unaffected ease.”

At Mongeham parsonage, in the eighty-second year of his age, after a little more than an hour's indisposition, the Rev. Henry Dimock, of Pembroke College, Oxford, M.A. 1751; rector of St. Edmund, the King, and St. Nicholas Acons, London, and of Blackmanstone, in this county. Of this good man, at the close of a long life, spent in the practice of every duty, professional, social, and domestic, it may be truly said, he fell asleep. The depth and soundness of his learning, the strict orthodoxy of his belief, and the primitive simplicity and integrity of his manners, might have entitled him to the highest offices of the church; but, in this world, reward does not always accompany desert.

At Deal, aged eighty-seven, John Carter, Esq. the oldest magistrate (perhaps with the exception of Lord Frederick Campbell) of the county. He was brother of the celebrated Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, the poetess, and learned translator of Epictetus, who died February the nineteenth, 1806, aged eighty-nine. He was born about December, 1723, the eldest son of Dr. Nicholas Carter, minister of Deal, and rector of Woodchurch and of Ham, in the same county (a native of Bucking-

hamshire) who died at Deal in 1774, aged eighty-seven, by Margaret, daughter and heiress of Richard Swayne, Esq. of Bere, in Dorsetshire, by a daughter of Thomas Trenchard, Esq. of Wolverton and Lychet-Maltravers, in the same county. Mr. Carter, after having been educated at Cambridge, went into the army, and had a company in the ninth regiment of foot (if we mistake not) about sixty-five years ago. At this period his active and intelligent mind made him much consulted and employed, particularly on the Kentish coast, when the rebellion of 1745 created serious fears of an invasion. Some years afterwards, he married a lady of good fortune at Deal, to whom some of his sister's poems are addressed; and retiring to the excellent house which formed a portion of her property in his native town, there passed the remainder of his life, and breathed his last. Soon after, he was put into the commission of the peace for the county, and discharged the duties of it for a long period of years with eminent superiority, so as to entitle him to the elevation to the chair of the East Kent sessions, which he filled for some time with great credit. He was a man of very lively and acute natural parts, very highly cultivated, an exact and elegant classical scholar, an excellent linguist, and a man of extensive and general reading; in all which various departments he continued to exercise his admirable faculties to the last, his final illness not having attacked him for more than ten days before his death. Till that period he enjoyed all the powers of his body and mind, with little apparent decay; his memory and vivacity were in







TABLE of the Number of Persons charged with CRIMINAL OFFENCES, committed to the different Gaols in England and Wales, for Trial at the Assizes and Sessions held for the several Counties and Places therein, during the Year 1810; shewing the Nature of their Crimes, and the Sentences of those Convicted; and the Nature of the Crimes respectively of such as were Acquitted, and of such as were Discharged by reason of no Bill being found against them, and by reason of no Prosecution; and the Number Executed of those who received Sentence of Death.

Number of persons for trial, Males ..... 3,733 Females .... 1,413  Total .. 5,146			SENTENCES.											Discharged, by reason of no Bill being found against them, and by reason of no prosecution.	EXECUTED.	
NATURE OF CRIMES.	Number of persons convicted.	DEATH.	TRANSPORTATION.			IMPRISONMENT.*					Whipped and discharged.	Fined and discharged.	Burnt in the hand and discharged.			ACQUITTED.
			Life.	14 Years.	7 Years.	5 Years.	3 Years.	2 Years, and above 1 Year.	1 Year, and above 6 Months.	6 Months and under.						
Arson, and other wilful burning .....	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	11	..
Burglary .....	88	88	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	47	22	17
— counselling another to commit .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Bank notes, forgery of, and uttering forged .....	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
— forged, having in possession .....	16	..	..	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Bigamy .....	14	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	5	6	1	..	..	3	1	..
Coin, counterfeiting the current .....	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..
— having in possession an engine for coining ..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
— putting off, and uttering counterfeit .....	72	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
— ditto, having been before convicted as } common utterers .....	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	43	29	..	..	..	26	5	..
— having in possession counterfeit .....	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Cattle stealing .....	14	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	..
— maliciously killing, and maiming .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	1
Cheat .....	43	..	..	..	14	..	..	1	9	18	1	..	..	1	2	..
Conspiracy .....	29	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	17	4	1	..	..	16	12	..
Deer stealing, and killing, &c. ....	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..
Embezzlement (by servants, &c.) .....	18	..	..	3	4	..	..	2	1	7	..	1	..	..	1	..
Forgery, and uttering of forged instruments .....	22	22	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	3	..
Housebreaking, and larceny .....	44	44	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	6	15
Horse stealing .....	58	58	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	9	1
Letters, secreting and stealing, &c. ....	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	6	4
— sending threatening .....	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Larceny .....	2,267	..	..	1	465	..	2	86	302	1,275	53	82	1	2	..	..
— counselling another to commit .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	663	597	..
Murder .....	15	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
— (females) of their infants .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	26	15	9
— ditto, concealing birth of infants .....	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	4	5	..	..	..	4	4	..
— maliciously shooting, stabbing, and ad- } ministering poison with intent to .....	10	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
— attempt to poison .....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	14	1	2
— assault with intent to .....	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Manslaughter .....	39	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Misdemeanor .....	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	22	5	..	..	19	1	..
Perjury .....	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	4	10	..	..	..	12	12	..
Robbery from the person in streets and highways ..	38	38	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	3	1	..
— ditto, in houses and other places .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	27	15	6
— ditto, by threatening to charge with an } unnatural offence .....	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	4	..
— assault with intent to commit .....	4	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rape .....	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	..
— assault with intent to commit .....	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	6	1	..	..	..	6	16	1
— assault on female infant, &c. ....	7	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	1	1	..	..	..	4	1	..
Receiving and having in possession stolen goods ..	27	..	..	7	3	..	..	6	5	5	..	1	..	..	2	..
— ditto, naval stores, &c. ....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	52	12	..
Riot, and pulling down a dwelling house .....	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
Sodomy .....	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Unnatural offences, misdemeanors .....	29	..	..	..	..	1	2	17	7	2	..	..	..	5	2	4
Sheep stealing and killing, with intent to steal ...	39	39	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	7	..
Stealing in dwelling-houses to the value of 40s. ....	67	67	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	34	9	1
— in shops, &c. to the value of 5s. ....	27	27	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	34	18	1
— on navigable rivers, &c. to the value of 40s. ....	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	1	..
— sacrilegiously, &c. ....	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..
— from the person .....	64	..	12	3	32	..	..	4	3	8	1	1	..	..	..	..
— naval stores to the value of 20s. ....	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	25	47	..
— from bleaching grounds, &c. ....	3	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sedition .....	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	2	..
Transports being at large, &c. ....	14	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Total .....	3,153	476	12	31	526	1	5	133	494	1,307	69	95	1	1	1	1



in strong force ; he moved with agility, and the marks of age had made little impression on his person ; he worked in his garden, he read with eagerness, he talked with his usual clearness and fluency, and he abated in none of the attentive politeness of the old court. He joined in all social circles, lived cheerfully and hospitably, and betrayed none of the peevishness of an octogenarian. His person was that of a hale man, of little more than sixty. He had seen much of life, knew its follies, and turned not with stern repulsiveness from an acquaintance or compliance with its humours. In short, he had all the polish, and all the agreeable knowledge, of a man of the world, added to that of a ready and perfect scholar. In his literary taste, he was what some would deem too antique ; and many would deem too severe. Of the ancients, among his prime favourites, was Horace ; and of the moderns, Pope. He seemed to prefer wit and acute sense, to sentiment and fancy. His politics were those of whiggism, perhaps a little extended with the times. He feared despotism rather than anarchy ; and corruption rather than licentiousness. He saw two extremes of danger between which modern governments were vibrating, and leaned to the side of the people. The stores of his understanding were so abundant, and in such constant exercise, that it was difficult to contend with him ; and his very years, which had all the venerability, without any of the weakness of age, added the imposing advantage of high respect and awe. Rank never dazzled him ; office and power he treated with indifference ; and all the habits of his life

were guided by a calm and manly independence. He was a master of the law (various and complex as it is) which concerns the duty of a country magistrate, and wielded all its technicalities with astonishing readiness and skill. On these subjects he was firm, and sometimes, perhaps, a little tenacious in his opinions ; but it was very rarely that he could be detected in an error. His pen was continually in his hand, and in the course of a long life, he was the author of several pamphlets and political letters of a temporary nature, which have probably perished with the occasion. He was a most affectionate husband, and a most fond and attentive father ; dedicating much of his time to the instruction and accomplishment of his children ; and applying his care and his fortune to their gratification. In his death, both they and his widow will experience an irreparable loss.

#### DECEMBER.

At Whitchurch, Edgeware, the Rev. Henry Poole, M. A. chaplain to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and formerly tutor to the present Lord Southampton and the Fitzroy family, aged sixty-six. As a scholar, few of the present day, perhaps, could surpass him ; and as a lover of truth, and of every virtue which characterizes the exalted Christian, he was eminently conspicuous. In the pulpit he inspired reverential awe, and the plain, easy, yet nervous style of his discourses, never failed to make a due impression on the mind of his hearers, and often awakened the feelings of those who had hitherto lived in a state



state of thoughtless indifference respecting their future existence.

At Gloucester, Mr. John Russell, late keeper of the prison in that city; a man who was remarkable for his kindness and humanity to those unfortunate persons who were committed to his care. It is a fact not generally known, that no adequate provision is made for the support of these persons, who, were it not for the contributions of the cha-

ritable and humane, must often experience the most severe privations. To the credit of Mr. Russell, it ought to be known, that he appropriated more than half his salary to this benevolent purpose: and to the humanity of the keeper, and liberal contributions of a benevolent lady, these poor creatures were often indebted for a comfortable meal.







MARRIAGES *in the year* 1810.

*Jan.* 1. William John Danby, Esq. to Anne, second daughter of Beckford Cater, Esq.

8. Robert Smith, Esq. to Miss Julia Pemberton.

15. Sir William Geary, to Mrs. Dering.

16. H. Combe Compton, Esq. to Charlotte, second daughter to W. Mills, Esq. M. P.

20. Captain Spicer, to the only daughter of the late Sir George Prescott, Bart.

26. Rev. Bryant Burgess, to Miss Rutton.

29. W. W. Whitmore, Esq. to the Hon. Miss Bridgman, only daughter of Lord Bradford.

*Feb.* 5. William Gordon, Esq. M. P. to the youngest daughter of Sir George Cornwall, Bart.

8. T. Duffield, Esq. to the only daughter of George Elwes, Esq.

11. E. A. Welde, Esq. to the eldest daughter of W. Norris, Esq.

15. Rev. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, to Mary, youngest daughter of Henry Thompson, Esq.

27. Captain Platt, to Charlotte, widow of Captain John Boucher.

*March* 5. Right Hon. Charles Vereker, M. P. to the eldest daughter of J. Palliser, Esq.

13. Wm. Norman, Esq. to Miss M. Sparrow.

21. C. Mills, Esq. M. P. to Miss Digby.

29. John M. Leake, jun. Esq. to Helen, widow of Captain Lacy.

*April* 2. Hon. Joshua Vanneck, to Miss Arcedeckne.

4. Hon. George Cadogan, to Honoria Louisa, youngest daughter of the late Joseph Blake, Esq.

7. Samuel Hamilton, Esq. to

Caroline Mary, eldest daughter of James Heath, Esq.

10. James Montague, Esq. to Letitia, youngest daughter of the late Rev. Anthony Crole.

12. W. A. Garratt, Esq. to the eldest daughter of James Stephen, Esq. M. P.

13. Jedediah Strutt, Esq. to Susannah, the only daughter of Joshua Walker, Esq. of Clifton, Yorkshire.

14. T. A. Shuter, Esq. to Sarah Frances, third daughter of the Rev. Dr. Valpy.

24. P. T. Robertson, Esq. to Mary, sixth daughter of Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker, Bart.

25. Sir Rob. Graham, Bart. to Elizabeth, only daughter of John Young, Esq.

*May* 4. John Berkeley Monk, Esq. to Mary, eldest daughter of Wm. Stephens, Esq.

8. Lord Bolton, to the Hon. Maria Carleton, eldest daughter of the late Lord Dorchester.

16. Thomas Kennedy, Esq. to Miss Smith, daughter of the Lord Mayor.

19. Lord Francis Murray, to Lady A. M. Percy.

21. Marquis of Ely, to the Hon. Miss Dashwood.

24. Sir William Oglander, Bart. to Lady Maria Fitzroy, eldest daughter to the present Duke of Grafton.

29. Wm. R. Cartwright, Esq. M. P. to Miss Julia Frazer.

*June* 2. Rev. G. Massey, to the eldest daughter of the late Captain Frodsham.

7. R. J. S. Stevens, Esq. to the eldest daughter of G. Jeffery, Esq. of Peckham.

12. Nath. Phillips, Esq. to Margaret, eldest daughter of William Hibbert, Esq.

18. Rev.



18. Rev. Robert Gutch, to Miss James.

26. Rev. Dan. Matthias, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of John La-font, Esq.

*July 3.* Hon. Samuel Hood to lady Charlotte Nelson, daughter of Earl Nelson.

5. Rev. John Rideout, to Mrs. Dring.

12. Baron de Steiger, to Miss de Tasset.

19. Hon. C. C. C. Jenkinson, to Miss Julia Shuckburg Evelyn.

The Earl of Guildford, to Miss Maria Boycott.

24. Lord Brownlow, to the eldest daughter of Sir Ab. Hume, Bart.

26. Dr. Buxton, to the eldest daughter of Joseph Travers, Esq.

31. John Downe, Esq. to Anne, eldest daughter of T. M. Kelson, Esq.

*August 1.* William Bolland, Esq. to Elizabeth, third daughter of John Bolland, Esq.

6. M. Hen. Perceval, Esq. to the eldest daughter of Sir Charles Flower.

13. Benj. Sharpe, Esq. to Anne, eldest daughter of Benj. Kennet, Esq.

18. Mr. R. Herring to the eldest daughter of John Morgan, Esq.

19. Hon. P. S. Pierrepont, to the widow of the late P. Edwards, Esq.

27. Viscount Falmouth, to Anne, eldest daughter of Henry Barker, Esq.

*Sept. 1.* H. Combe, Esq. to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Quarles Harris, Esq.

5. J. Dickenson, Esq. to Anne, the second daughter of H. Grover, Esq.

10. G. P. Barclay, Esq. to Maria,

fourth daughter of Henry Boulton, Esq.

13. G. Proctor, Esq. to Miss Hale, daughter of W. Hale, Esq.

18. Dr. Wilkinson, to Elizabeth, daughter of the late Jabez Smith, Esq.

19. Richard Jackson, Esq. to Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the late Rev. G. Sanby, D. D.

25. William Johnson, Esq. to Charlotte, daughter of Matt. Consett, Esq.

*Oct. 1.* Rev. John Taddy, to Catharine, third daughter of Sam. Latham, Esq.

11. Hon. George Lysaght, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sam. Knight, Esq.

13. Rev. James Worsley, to Sophia, second daughter of Sir John Pinhorn.

14. Hon. Miss French, and the Hon. Miss Rose French; the elder to Edward J. Beyragh, Esq. and the younger to Francis Blake Porter, Esq.

19. Sir Thomas Trowbridge, Bart. to Miss Cochrane.

20. C. Coote, Esq. to Caroline Lucy, second daughter of Lord Douglas.

30. Rev. J. Haggit, to the eldest daughter of the late Sir H. Peyton.

*Nov. 2.* Rev. Gilbert Holmes, to Lydia, eldest daughter of Francis Sanderson, Esq.

9. George Morgan, Esq. to Miss Harrison.

10. Chevalier Bisson, to Miss Burdett.

21. Rev. William Price, to Miss Davies.

27. Henry Combe, Esq. to Anne, second daughter of Charles St. Barbe, Esq.

28. Mr. Thos. Kennion, to Martha, eldest daughter of Dr. Winter.

*Dec. 1.*



*Dec. 1.* Thomas Roworth, Esq. to Mary Anne, second daughter of Dr. Valpy.

3. Sir Rich. Levinge, to the Hon. E. A. Parkyns, daughter of the late Lord Ranelagh.

8. James Wedderburn Webster, Esq. to the Right Hon. Lady Frances Caroline Annesley.

15. Rev. C. H. White, to Elizabeth, second daughter of the late Edw. Wise, Esq.

20. The Hon. Gerrard Vanneck, to Miss Lovelace.

30. Sir Charles Farnaby, Bart. to Eliza, youngest daughter of the late T. Morland, Esq.

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#### BIRTHS in the year 1810.

*Jan. 3.* The Lady of J. M. Raikes, Esq. of a son.

6. Mrs. Dobson, one of the midwives of the Westminster General Dispensary, of three daughters.

10. Lady Ossulston of a son and heir.

11. The Lady of Sir William Chambers Bagshaw of a daughter.

34. The Lady of James Dupré, Esq. of a daughter.

28. The Lady of Sir James Dumberly of a son.

29. Lady Gardner of a son and heir.

31. The wife of Thomas Tooke, Esq. of a son.

*Feb. 17.* The wife of John Yellowly, Esq. of a daughter.

21. The wife of Mr. Brown of Pancras, of two boys and two girls.

23. The Lady of W. Lushington, Esq. of a daughter.

26. Mrs. Onslow, wife of the Rev. A. Onslow, of a son.

*March 3.* Right Hon. Lady Doune of a son.

8. The wife of Timothy Tyrrell, Esq. of a son.

19. The Countess Talbot of a son.

21. Lady Romilly of a son.

29. Hon. Mrs. E. S. Stewart Erskine of a son.

Lady Bantry of a son.

*April 1.* Lady Hawkins of a son.

3. Lady Kennaird of a son.

5. The Lady of Sir J. Wrottesley, Bart. of a son.

11. Lady Grantham of a son.

The Countess of Banbury of a son.

15. Countess Loudon and Moira of a daughter.

18. Viscountess Grimston of a daughter.

20. The Lady of Colonel H. A. Dillon of a son.

21. Lady Whichcote of a son.

23. Countess of Castlestewart of a son.

26. The Lady of the Rev. Hugh Percy of a daughter.

*May 2.* The wife of the Rev. Thomas Powys of two sons and a daughter.

8. Lady Elizabeth Fielding of a son.

The Lady of Sir Thomas M. Stanley of a son.

12. The Marchioness of Winchester of a son.

18. The Lady of Lord Viscount Tournour of a son and heir.

27. Lady Kensington of a son.

*June 4.* Viscountess Duncan of a daughter.

9. The Lady of Rear-Admiral Lechmere of a daughter.

10. Hon. Mrs. Vaughan of a daughter.

17. Lady Anne Ashley Cooper of a son.

23. Her Grace the Duchess of Bedford of a daughter.

24. Countess



24. Countess Jersey of a son.  
*July 10.* The Lady of Sir J. C. Honeywood of a son.  
 12. Lady Baggott, of a son.  
 21. The Queen of Bavaria of a daughter.  
 28. Hon. Mrs. Erskine of a son.  
 31. The Lady of George Baring, Esq. of a son.  
*August 1.* The Lady of the Hon. E. J. Turnour of a daughter.  
 4. The wife of Dr. Crotch of twin daughters.  
 8. Lady Frances B. Riddell of a son.  
 11. Lady Frances Ley of a daughter.  
 14. The Countess Dalhousie of a daughter.  
 18. Lady Isabella de Chabot of a son.  
 24. The Lady of Sir Oswald Mosely, Bart. M. P. of a daughter.  
*Sept. 1.* The Lady of Colonel Buller of a daughter.  
 5. Lady Mary Anne Gage of a son.  
 13. Lady Anna Beresford of a daughter.  
 15. The Countess of Pembroke of a son.  
 22. The Lady of Arthur Annesley, Esq. of twin daughters.  
 Lady Charlotte Gould of a son.  
*Oct. 2.* The Lady of Colonel Gore Langton, M. P. of a son.
13. Viscountess Primrose of a son.  
 14. Viscountess Templetown of a son.  
 25. The wife of J. Finch Simpson, Esq. of a daughter.  
 31. The wife of G. Smith, Esq. M. P. of a son.  
*Nov. 3.* Viscountess Hereford of a son.  
 6. Countess Cowper of a son.  
 18. The Lady of Thomas Cadell, Esq. of a son.  
 19. Hannah Browne of two girls and a boy.  
 25. The Countess of Lindsay of a daughter.  
 The Countess of Aberdeen of a son.  
 The Lady of Sir William Geary, Bart. of a son.  
*Dec. 10.* The wife of Isaac Goldsmid, Esq. of a son.  
 14. The Lady of William Tooke, Esq. of a son.  
 22. The Lady of John Disney, Esq. of a son.  
 28. Lady Wm. Beauclerk of a daughter.  
 29. Duchess of Rutland of a daughter.  
 Lady Gardner of a daughter.  
 Countess Grey of a son.  
 On the 12th of October, 1809, at Madeira, the Lady of the Hon. Major-General Meade of a son and heir.



## SHERIFFS

*Appointed by his Majesty in Council for the Year 1810.*

Bedfordshire, Sir Gregory Osborne Turner, of Battlesden, Bart.  
 Berkshire, Peter Green, of Cookham, Esq.  
 Buckinghamshire, John Ayton, of Missenden Abbey, Esq.  
 Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, George William Leeds, of Croxton, Esq.  
 Cheshire, Thomas Brook, of Church Minshull, Esq.  
 Cumberland, Sir Hen. Fletcher, of Clea Hall, Bart.  
 Derbyshire, John Crumpton, of Derby, Esq.  
 Devonshire, Sir Masseh Manasseh Lopez, of Mariston, Bart.  
 Dorsetshire, H. Seymour, of Hanford, Esq.  
 Essex, John Rigg, of Walthamstow, Esq.  
 Gloucestershire, Paul Wathen, of Lypiatt Park, Esq.  
 Herefordshire, Robert Higginson, of Birchmill Park, Esq.  
 Hertfordshire, Thomas Howarth, of Boreham Lodge, Esq.  
 Kent, James Burton, of Mabledon, Esq.  
 Lancashire, W. Hulton, of Hulton, Esq.  
 Leicestershire, the Hon. Thomas Bowes, of Higham-on-the-Hill.  
 Lincolnshire, Edm. Turner, of Panton, Esq.  
 Monmouthshire, Thomas Pilkington, of Hillston, Esq.  
 Norfolk, Nath. Micklethwaite, of Beeston, Esq.  
 Northamptonshire, William Sawbridge, of East Haddon, Esq.  
 Northumberland, John Read, of Chipchase Castle, Esq.  
 Nottingham, Jn. Chaworth, of Ansley, Esq.  
 Oxfordshire, William Henry Ashurst, of Waterstock, Esq.  
 Rutlandshire, Wm. Gillson, of Wing, Esq.  
 Shropshire, William Lloyd, of Aston, Esq.  
 Somersetshire, Thomas Strangeways Horner, of Wells, Esq.  
 County of Southampton, Sir James Watley Smith Gardner, of Roche Court, Bart.  
 Staffordshire, Henry Webb, of Forebridge, Esq.  
 Suffolk, Josh. Grigby, of Drinkstone, Esq.  
 Surry, Henry Edmund Austen, of Shalford House, Esq.  
 Sussex, Rich. Wyatt, of Courtwick, Esq.  
 Warwickshire, James West, of Arlescote, Esq.  
 Wiltshire, Abraham Ludlow, of Heywood, Esq.  
 Worcestershire, Joseph Smith, of Sion Hill, Esq.  
 Yorkshire, Thomas Nynne Bellasyse, of Newbrugh Abbey, Esq.

## SOUTH WALES.

Carmarthenshire, William M'Clary, of Manerfabon, Esq.  
 Pembroke, John Myrehouse, of Brownslade, Esq.  
 Cardigan, William Edward Powell, of Nanteos, Esq.  
 Glamorgan, Thomas Lockwood, of Dan-y-graig, Esq.  
 Brecon, James Jones, of Llanthomas, Esq.  
 Radnor, Harley James Hague, of Bailey House, Esq.



## NORTH WALES.

Merioneth, J. Davies, of Aberllefoni, Esq.  
 Carnarvonshire, Humphrey Rowland Jones, of Ystimyllyn, Esq.  
 Anglesey, Hugh Evans, of Houblas, Esq.  
 Montgomeryshire, John Owen Herbert, of Dalforgan, Esq.  
 Denbeighshire, Richard Lloyd, of Branhaelog, Esq.  
 Flintshire, Francis Richard Price, of Brynypys, Esq.

*SHERIFF appointed by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in Council, for the year 1810.*

Cornwall, Rd. Oxnam, of Penzance, Esq.

## NEW PATENTS,

GRANTED DURING THE YEAR 1810.

Mr. John Leigh Bradbury's (Meath) for a method of spinning cotton, flax, and wool.

Mr. Fred. Bartholomew Folsch's (Oxford Street) for improvements on certain machines, instruments, and pens, calculated to promote facility in writing.

Mr. John Davenport's (Barrlem) for a method of ornamenting all kinds of glass, in imitation of engraving, &c. by means of which any designs, however elaborate, may be executed in a style of elegance hitherto unknown.

Mr. John Duff's (Great Pulteney Street) for an invention of snuff-boxes on a new and improved construction, communicated to Mr. Duff by a foreigner.

Mr. Edward Mauley's (Uffculm, Devon) for a plough, termed the "expedition plough."

Mr. John Barton's (Argyle Street,

Westminster) for a lamp of a new construction.

Mr. William Hutton's (Sheffield) for a method of making sickles and reaping hooks.

Mr. John Murray's and Mr. Adam Anderson's (Edinburgh) for a portable stove or furnace.

Mr. John Jones's (Birmingham) for improvements in manufacturing of skelps for fire-arms.

Mr. John Manton's (Dover Street) for an improved lock for guns and pistols.

Mr. John Dumbell's (Warrington) for new methods of flax spinning, &c.

Mr. George Pocock's (Bristol) for an invention of geographical slates for the construction of maps.

Mr. Marc Isambard Brunel's (Portsea) for an invention of a new mode of cutting veneers or thin boards, by machinery.

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Mr. D.



Mr. D. M. Randolph's (Featherstone Buildings, Holborn) for improvements in the construction of wheel-carriages of all kinds.

Mr. James Baron's (Well Street) for improvements in the apparatus used for rollers, window blinds, maps, &c.

Mr. John Frederick Archbold's (Great Charlotte Street, Surry) for a method of converting salt or sea water into fresh water, both on land and on board of ships at sea.

Mr. William Murdock's (Soho Foundry, Stafford) for a method or process for boring and forming pipes, cylinders, columns, and circular disks, out of solid blocks and slabs of stone of any kind.

Mr. Joseph Manton's (Davies Street, Berkeley Square) for improved time keepers.

Mr. A. F. De Heine's (East Smithfield) for improvements on printing and stamping presses.

Mr. De Roche's, for improvements in the art of brewing.

Mr. Peter Warburton's (Colridge, Staffordshire) for a new method of decorating china, &c. with metals, which method leaves the metals, after being burned in their metallic state.

Mr. John Marshall's and Mr. John Naylor's (Norwich) for a new and improved method of manufacturing salt.

Mr. Charles Le Caan's (Llanelly) for an invention of certain apparatus to be added to the axle-trees and wheels, or naves of wheels, of carriages, so as to impede, resist or check their action.

Mr. John Schmidt's (St. Mary Axe) for a phantasmagoric chronometer, or nocturnal dial, rendering visible at night, to any en-

larged size, the dial of a watch, against the wall of a room, &c.

Mr. C. F. Davis's (Pilchcombe, Gloucester) for an improvement in the manufacture of wollen cloths.

Mr. James Goddard's (Newman Street, London) for a method of manufacturing a certain description of wooden boxes, called chip boxes, or pill boxes, of various sizes and shapes.

Mr. Penwarne's (Pancras) for an invention, or process, for giving statues, or other ornamental works in plaster, an appearance nearly resembling marble.

Mr. John Craigie's (Craven Street, London) for an improved kitchen fire-place.

Mr. John Thomas Grove's (Whitehall) for an improved mode of constructing buildings, by which expence and labour are saved, and the building secured from the dry rot.

Mr. Joseph Stephenson's (Mortimer Street) for an improved machine for filtering and purifying water.

Mr. Richard Witty's (Kingston-upon-Hull) for his invention of certain parts of rotative steam engines.

Mr. William Docksey's (Bristol) for improvements in the process of manufacturing ivory black, and for reducing other articles to an impalpable powder.

Mr. James Hall's (Astbury, Cheshire) for a method of making shivers and pulley-wheels, of every description, from certain materials or compositions of earth and minerals, which render the said articles more durable than such as are made in wood or metal.

Mr. John Maiben's (Perth) for improvements in the construction of



of apparatus for making carbonated hydrogen gas, and for using the same in lighting mills, factories, &c.

Mr. J. Slater's (Birmingham) for an improvement in hanging and securing grindstones from breaking in the middle or centre.

Mr. Benjamin Flight's (St. Martin's Lane) for a metal nave, axle, and box, for wheel carriages, to prevent the danger of overturning, and the concussion of carriages coming in contact at the nave, &c.

Mr. John Williams's (Cornhill) for an apparatus to be applied to and used with wheel carriages.

Mr. Thomas Robinson's (Salehurst, Sussex) for a mashing machine.

Mr. William Shakespear's and Mr. Thomas Osler's (Birmingham) for a new method of manufacturing glass or paste drops.

Mr. John Onion's (Brosely) for a machine for thrashing corn, &c.

Mr. Joseph Anthony Berrolla's (Coppice Row, Clerkenwell) for a warning watch upon a new construction.

Mr. Michael Shannon's (Berwick Street, London) for improvements in the art of brewing.

Mr. Charles Williams's (Gravel Lane, London) for a machine for grinding malt, &c.

Mr. Stephen Hooper's (Waltham) for a thermometer for ascertaining the heat of bakers' ovens, and various other purposes.

Mr. Mayer Oppenheim's (London) for a red transparent glass.

Mr. Jonathan Varty's (Liverpool) for improvements in the axle-trees of carriages.

Mr. Joseph Warren's (America) for a new and improved method of splitting hides and shaving leather.

Mr. William Watt's (Bath) for methods of combining and disposing of machinery, and applying the different powers of wind, water, and cattle, to the improvement of mills.

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*Account of livings in England and Wales under 150l. a year :*

Not exceeding 10l. a year . . . .	12
From 10l. to 20l. incl. . . . .	72
From 20l. to 30l. . . . .	191
From 30l. to 40l. . . . .	353
From 40l. to 50l. . . . .	433
From 50l. to 60l. . . . .	407
From 60l. to 70l. . . . .	376
From 70l. to 80l. . . . .	319
From 80l. to 90l. . . . .	309
From 90l. to 100l. . . . .	315
From 100l. to 110l. . . . .	283
From 110l. to 120l. . . . .	307
From 120l. to 130l. . . . .	246
From 130l. to 140l. . . . .	205
From 140l. to 150l. excl. . . .	170

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Total 3998

Of these very small livings three are in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, three in that of Norwich, two in that of St. David's, one in that of Llandaff, one in that of London, one in that of Peterborough, and one in that of Winchester.

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*The Thanksgiving Prayer.*

Form of prayer and thanksgiving to Almighty God, for his mercy in having vouchsafed to bestow on this nation an abundant crop and favourable harvest.

“ O Almighty God ! who openest wide thine hand, and satisfiest  
E e 2 the



the desire of every living thing, we thank thee that thou hast reserved unto us the appointed weeks of harvest, and caused our valleys to be covered with corn. Sustain and keep alive in us, we beseech thee, such a sense of thy bountiful goodness, that we forget not, in the pride of our heart, the hand from which every blessing flows. It is thy mercy, O God, that humbleth us in want. It is thy mercy that feedeth us with plenteousness. Protect and cover us, we pray thee, from the abuses of each; lest we be full, and deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord? or lest we be poor and steal, and take the name of our God in vain. More especially at this time dispose us to acknowledge, with all humility, thy good Providence, in supplying our wants at the moment of approaching necessity, in upholding our cause against the increased aggression of our enemies, and in continuing thy protection to our most gracious sovereign, the father of his people, and the dispenser of thy mercies. These praises and prayers we humbly offer at the throne of grace, through the merits and mediation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.—Amen.”

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*The prayer for the restoration of his Majesty's health.*

“O God, who commandest us when we are in trouble to open our

hearts, and to tell out our sorrows unto thee in prayer, and dost promise to listen with compassion to our humble supplications, give us grace so to approach thee, that we offend not in word or thought: put away from us every impatient feeling, silence every unworthy expression: let not our prayers assume the language of complaint, nor our sorrows the character of despair. Upon thee, O God, and upon the multitude of thy mercies, we repose our grief. To thee alone we look for that blessing for which our hearts bleed. Raise, we implore thee, our beloved sovereign from the bed of sickness and of affliction; soothe his parental cares; restore him to his family, and to his people. And of thy great mercy, O God! look down with pity and compassion on the accumulated sorrows of the royal family. Give them strength, and courage, and virtue, to meet with pious submission the grievous trial to which they are exposed: and, whether it shall seem fit to thine unerring wisdom, presently to remove from us this great calamity, or for a time to suspend it over us, teach both them and us, patiently to adore thy inscrutable Providence, and to bless thy holy name for ever and ever. These prayers and supplications we humbly address to thy Divine Majesty, in the name and through the mediation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.—Amen.”



*Statement of the gold and silver coined in England during every reign from the Restoration to the 25th of March, 1810, extracted from authentic documents:*

By Charles II. ....	£.7,524,105
By James II. ....	2,737,637
By Anne ....	2,691,626
By George I. ....	8,725,921
By George II. Gold .....	11,662,216l.
Silver.....	304,360l.
	11,966,576

The great re-coinage of gold between 23d August, 1773, and the end of 1777, amounted to 20,447,002l. From the commencement of the reign to August 1773, there were coined about 10,000,000l. making—

By George III. before the 31st December, 1780—Gold 30,457,805l.; Silver 7,126l.:—	30,464,931l.
From 1780 to the end of 1802—Gold 33,310,832l.; Silver 56,473l.:—	33,367,305l.
From 1802 to 25th March, 1810,—Gold 2,445,253l. ....	66,277,489

Total gold and silver coined since the Restoration .. 99,923,354

Amount of Bank of England Notes in circulation on the 7th and 12th days of January, 1809 and 1810:

	<i>Bank Notes of 5l. and upwards.</i>	<i>Bank Post Bills.</i>	<i>Bank Notes under 5l.</i>
1809. January 7.	11,718,010	796,250	4,241,420
12.	14,077,780	825,580	4,305,920
1810. January 7.	13,013,790	851,160	5,663,080
12.	14,668,640	884,120	5,854,170

An account of all the Dollars issued by the Bank of England, to the 8th day of February, 1810, inclusive:

Dollars stamped in the year 1797, and issued .....	2,325,099
Ditto stamped in the year 1804, and issued .....	1,419,484
Ditto stamped in the years 1809 and 1810, and issued .....	1,073,051
Dollars.....	4,817,634

*The quantity of strong beer brewed by the first twelve houses in the London porter brewery, from the 5th of July, 1809, to the 5th of July, 1810:*

	<i>Barrels.</i>		<i>Barrels.</i>
Barclay, Perkins, and Co.	235,053	Combe and Co.	85,150
Meux, Read, and Co.	211,009	Brown and Parry	84,475
Truman, Hanbury, and Co.	144,990	Goodwin, Skinner, and Co.	74,223
Felix, Calvert, and Co.	133,491	Elliott and Co.	57,251
Whitbread and Co.	110,939	Taylor	44,510
Henry Meux and Co.	93,660	Clowes and Co.	41,594



# APPROPRIATION OF THE BRITISH SUPPLIES,

GRANTED IN THE LATE SESSION OF PARLIAMENT

BY THE ACT 50TH GEO. III. C. 115.

	£.	s.	d.
For naval services .....	19,829,434	5	0
To take measures for defeating the enemy .....	3,000,000	0	0
For the exigences of Ireland .....	200,000	0	0
For his Sicilian Majesty .....	400,000	0	0
To the government of Portugal.....	980,000	0	0
For land forces .....	20,337,080	0	0
Ordnance for ditto, Great Britain, 1810 .....	3,078,742	19	0
..... 1808 .....	131,191	18	3
..... 1809 .....	124,542	5	0
..... Ireland, .... 1810 .....	447,710	3	3
..... 1809 .....	37,278	19	2
Paying off Exchequer Bills, issued 1809 .....	28,689,900	0	0
Issued in pursuance of addresses of the House of Commons.....	15,165	2	6
For civil establishment of Upper Canada .....	10,450	0	0
..... Cape Breton .....	2,060	0	0
..... Nova Scotia .....	10,165	0	0
..... New Brunswick .....	5,600	0	0
..... Bahama Islands .....	3,700	0	0
..... Bermuda Islands ....	1,030	0	0
..... Dominica .....	600	0	0
..... Newfoundland .....	4,551	0	0
..... New South Wales ....	13,268	15	0
..... Sierra Leone .....	15,710	0	0
..... St. John's (or Prince Edward's) Island, America .....	3,100	0	0
British forts in Africa .....	23,000	0	0
For paying off certain annuities .....	18,776	3	3
To Sheriffs for convicting felons .....	6,000	0	0
To law charges for Great Britain .....	20,000	0	0
Bow Street Office .....	12,000	0	0
Printing and stationary 1810 .....	26,800	0	0
..... Deficiency of 1809 .....	1,362	6	11½
Poor of St. Martin in the Fields .....	1,328	5	4

Prosecutions



	£.	s.	d.
Prosecutions relating to coin, &c. ....	3,500	0	0
Superintendence of aliens .....	7,841	12	11
Employing convicts .....	56,450	0	0
Emigrant clergy and laity of France .....	161,452	2	0
Salaries of officers of both Houses of Parliament	5,500	0	0
Printing by order of commissioners of public records .....	3,162	7	4
To J. France, Esq. for index to rolls of parliament	428	15	0
To T. Brodie, Esq. for index to Journals of the House of Lords for 1809 .....	533	13	6
To ditto for salaries and expences in making ditto	1,151	8	0
To Lord Walsingham, as chairman of the com- mittee of the House of Peers, for 1809	2,698	13	0
To W. Watson, Esq. Serjeant at Arms to the House of Peers, for 1809 .....	1,623	0	0
To J. Clementson, Esq. Deputy Serjeant at Arms, in lieu of rent .....	219	14	0
To E. Sealy, Esq. for expences in the Elm Bark Bill, .....	182	5	3
To F. Nettleship, Esq. for publishing the average prices of sugar .....	838	17	0
To Dr. T. B. Clarke, for preparing returns of the non-resident clergy .....	289	19	8
To ditto for his trouble relative to the non-resi- dence acts .....	278	6	6
To K. Mackenzie, Esq. for making road from Contin to Ullapool .....	324	18	6
To the officers of the talley court for levying tallies	1,160	12	0
To the royal college of surgeons .....	12,500	0	0
To Wm. Chenmery, Esq. to pay bills drawn from Sierra Leone .....	20,125	2	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
For a new Mint on Tower Hill .....	16,500	0	0
For the Marshalsea prison .....	8,000	0	0
For the Lazaretto at Chetney Hill .....	21,000	0	0
For contingencies of three Secretaries of State..	17,500	0	0
For messengers to the three Secretaries of State for 1810 .....	14,000	0	0
For secret services . . . . .	175,000	0	0
For works done at the House of Lords .....	5,000	0	0
To pay bills drawn from New South Wales .....	40,000	0	0
For the deficiency of grant in 1809, for allowances to officers of the Houses of Lords and Commons .....	110	0	0
For fees on passing public accounts .....	5,000	0	0
To E. Stracey, Esq. for his services to the chair- man of the House of Peers, for two sessions	3,396	8	0
For the repair of Henry the Seventh's Chapel....	1,500	0	0



	£.	s.	d.
For improving the harbour of Holyhead.....	10,000	0	0
For erecting buildings for a Naval Asylum .....	46,788	10	1
For building public edifices in Trinidad .....	25,000	0	0
For the Board of Agriculture .....	5,500	0	0
For the Veterinary College .....	1,000	0	0
For Greville's collection of minerals .....	13,727	0	0
For printing Vols. 38 and 39 of the Journals of the House of Peers .....	2,817	19	7
For printing the Calendar of the Journals of ditto	1,564	1	0
For the works done at the Houses of Parliament	11,550	0	0
For the lighthouse at Heligoland.....	7,716	0	0
For exploring the interior of Africa.....	521	15	0
For Westminster improvements .....	8,844	9	0
For compensation to the commissioners on public expenditure in the military departments..	21,000	0	0
For compensation to the commissioners for enquir- ing into the state of Windsor Forest ....	8,000	0	0
For the National Vaccine Establishment .....	3,000	0	0
To R. Mitford, Esq. to pay a bill drawn by the Governor of Fort George .....	44	11	0
To Bryan Bentham, Esq. for erecting a prison at Sheerness.....	389	16	0
To T. N. Wittwer, Esq. for examining East India accounts .....	426	12	0
To the magistrates of the Thames Police .....	316	16	0
To E. Walmsley, for preparing Vols. 38 and 39 of Lords' Journals .....	249	8	0
To G. Dickens, Esq. for stationery sent to the Cape of Good Hope .....	336	10	0
To J. Read, Esq. for horse patrol, till April 5, 1810 .....	1,546	17	0
To W. Chinnery, Esq. for Messrs. Gurney, for expences of committees .....	371	12	0
To the Governors of Queen Anne's bounty for the poor clergy.....	100,000	0	0
To J. Read, Esq. to pay expences of special con- stables.....	1,034	5	0
To the representative of C. Morris, Surveyor Ge- neral of Nova Scotia .....	193	13	6
To the commissioners for the sale and redemption of land tax .....	12,000	0	0
For military roads in North Britain .....	5,696	11	8
For roads and bridges in the Highlands of Scotland	10,000	0	0
Grand Total.....	78,387,451	5	2½



LIST OF  
HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS,  
1810.

*CABINET MINISTERS.*

Earl Camden .....	President of the Council.
Lord Eldon .....	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl of Westmorland .....	Lord Privy Seal.
Earl Bathurst .....	President of the Board of Trade.
Right Hon. Spencer Perceval ....	} First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister) Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer, also Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Right Hon. Charles Philip Yorke ..	
Lord Mulgrave .....	Master General of the Ordnance.
Right Hon. Richard Ryder .....	} Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Marquis Wellesley .....	
Earl of Liverpool .....	} Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
	} Secretary of State for the Department of War and the Colonies.

*NOT OF THE CABINET.*

Right Hon. Robert Saunders Dundas	} President of the Board of Controul for the Affairs of India.
Right Hon. George Rose .....	
Viscount Palmerston .....	} Vice-President of the Board of Trade and Treasurer of the Navy.
Lord Charles Somerset .....	
Right Hon. Charles Long .....	} Secretary at War.
Earl of Chichester .....	
Earl of Sandwich .....	} Joint Paymaster General of the Forces.
Richard Wharton, Esq. ....	
Charles Arbuthnot, Esq. ....	} Joint Postmaster General.
Sir William Grant .....	
Sir Vicary Gibbs .....	} Secretaries of the Treasury.
Sir Thomas Plomer .....	
	Master of the Rolls.
	Attorney-General.
	Solicitor-General.

PERSONS IN THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Duke of Richmond .....	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Manners .....	Lord High Chancellor.
W. Wellesley Pole .....	Chief Secretary.
Right Hon. John Foster .....	Chancellor of the Exchequer.



## PRICES OF STOCKS FOR 1810.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the course of each Month are set down in that Month.

1810.	Bank Stock.	5p.ct. red.	3p.ct. cons.	4p.ct. cons.	5p.ct. Navy.	5p.ct. 1797.	Long Ann.	India Stock	India Bonds.	S.Sea Stock	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Exch. Bills.	Omn.	Irish 3p.ct.	Imp. 3p.ct.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	{ 177½ 173 }	{ 69½ 68½ }	{ 70½ 68 }	{ 85½ 84 }	{ 102½ 99 }		{ 18½ 18½ }	{ 188 175½ }	{ 26 pr. 4 pr. }	{ 74½ 74 }	{ 69½ 68½ }	{ 68½ 67½ }	{ 13 pr. 5 pr. }	{ 3 pr. 2½ pr. }		{ 68½ 67½ }	22l. 15s.
Feb.	{ 276½ 275 }	{ 68½ 68½ }	{ 68½ 67½ }	{ 84½ 83½ }	{ 99½ 99½ }		{ 18½ 18½ }	{ 188 185½ }	{ 17 pr. 5 pr. }		{ 68½ 67½ }		{ 10 pr. 1 pr. }		{ 98½ 98½ }	{ 67½ 66½ }	22l. 15s.
March	{ 276½ 274 }	{ 68½ 66½ }	{ 69½ 67½ }	{ 84½ 83½ }	{ 99½ 97½ }		{ 18½ 18½ }	{ 186 184 }	{ 17 pr. 8 pr. }	{ 73½ 72½ }	{ 67½ 67½ }	{ 69 67½ }	{ 31 pr. 3 pr. }		{ 98 95½ }	{ 68½ 67½ }	24l. 6s.
April	{ 276 269 }	{ 69½ 67½ }	{ 69½ 68½ }	{ 85½ 83½ }	{ 99½ 99 }		{ 18½ 18½ }	{ 187 185½ }	{ 20 pr. 8 pr. }	{ 74½ 73½ }	{ 74½ 73½ }	{ 69½ 68½ }	{ 12 pr. 1 dis. }		{ 96½ 95½ }	{ 67½ 67½ }	24l. 6s.
May	{ 269½ 262½ }	{ 70½ 69½ }	{ 71½ 70½ }	{ 85½ 84½ }	{ 101½ 100½ }		{ 18½ 18½ }	{ 190½ 185 }	{ 25 pr. 16 pr. }	{ 75½ 74½ }	{ 69½ 69½ }	{ 70½ 70½ }	{ 10 pr. 4 pr. }	{ 2 pr. 1½ pr. }	{ 97½ 96½ }	{ 68½ 67½ }	24l. 6s.
June	{ 262½ 259½ }	{ 70½ 69½ }	{ 71½ 70 }	{ 85½ 84 }	{ 102 100½ }		{ 18½ 18½ }	{ 193 189½ }	{ 23 pr. 13 pr. }		{ 70 69½ }		{ 18 pr. 2 dis. }	{ 1½ pr. ½ pr. }	{ 97½ 97 }	{ 68½ 67 }	24l. 19s. 22l. 15s.
July	{ 260½ 258 }	{ 70½ 69 }	{ 71½ 68 }	{ 85½ 83½ }	{ 102 98 }	{ 100½ 100½ }	{ 18½ 18½ }	{ 183½ 178½ }	{ 22 pr. 10 pr. }		{ 70 67½ }	{ 69½ 68 }	{ 7 pr. 3 dis. }	{ 1 pr. 2½ dis. }	{ 97 96½ }	{ 68½ 66½ }	22l. 15s.
Aug.	{ 269 260½ }	{ 69½ 68½ }	{ 69½ 68½ }	{ 85½ 85 }	{ 99½ 90½ }	{ 9 16 }	{ 18½ 18½ }	{ 183 181 }	{ 27 pr. 21 pr. }	{ 74½ 74 }	{ 69½ 68½ }	{ 68½ 68½ }	{ 6 pr. 2 dis. }	{ 2½ pr. 2 dis. }	{ 97½ 97½ }	{ 67½ 67½ }	22l. 15s.
Sept.	{ 259 255 }	{ 68½ 67½ }	{ 68½ 65½ }	{ 85½ 82 }	{ 99½ 98 }		{ 18½ 18½ }	{ 180 180 }	{ 23 pr. 14 pr. }	{ 73½ 73½ }	{ 68½ 67½ }	{ 67½ 65½ }	{ 4 pr. 3 dis. }	{ 3½ dis. 6½ dis. }	{ 98 98 }	{ 67 64½ }	22l. 15s.
Oct.	{ 254 251 }	{ 65½ 65½ }	{ 66½ 64 }	{ 83½ 81½ }	{ 100½ 97 }		{ 18 17½ }	{ 182 174 }	{ 24 pr. 8 pr. }		{ 65½ 64½ }	{ 66½ 66½ }	{ 10 pr. 2 dis. }	{ 8½ dis. 5½ dis. }	{ 97½ 97½ }		22l. 15s.
Nov.	{ 254 245 }	{ 66½ 65½ }	{ 67½ 66½ }	{ 82½ 81½ }	{ 100½ 99½ }	{ 100 99½ }	{ 17½ 17½ }	{ 183½ 181 }	{ 27 pr. 24 pr. }	{ 72½ 71½ }	{ 66½ 65½ }	{ 67 66½ }	{ 12 pr. 7 pr. }	{ 6½ dis. 4½ dis. }	{ 97½ 97½ }	{ 65½ 64½ }	21l.
Dec.	{ 244½ 243 }	{ 66½ 65½ }	{ 67½ 66½ }	{ 82½ 81½ }	{ 100½ 100½ }	{ 100 100 }	{ 17½ 17½ }	{ 183½ 183½ }	{ 21 pr. 17 pr. }	{ 72½ 72½ }	{ 65½ 65½ }	{ 66½ 66½ }	{ 9 pr. 1 pr. }	{ 5½ dis. 4½ dis. }		{ 64½ 64½ }	21l. 8s.



TABLE OF THE NUMBER OF BANKRUPTCIES IN ENGLAND,

*From December 20, 1809, to December 20, 1810, inclusive.*

January	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
84	118	119	104	125	112	132	133	102	139	273	229

Total Number of Bankruptcies, 1670.



*General View of the Confederation of the Rhine, exhibiting the Extent, Population, and Revenue, of each of the States of which it is composed, and also its Contingent of Troops.*

STATES OF THE CONFEDERATION.	Extent in Geographical Square Miles.	POPULATION.	REVENUE.	Contingent of Troops to be furnished to France.
			£	
Dom. of the Prince Primate...	43	170,000	136,364	968
Kingdom of Bavaria.....	1,636	3,231,570	1,818,182	30,000
Ditto Wirtemberg .....	330	1,183,000	727,273	12,000
Ditto Saxony .....	723	2,085,476	1,272,727	20,000
Duchy of Warsaw .....	1,851	2,277,000	727,273	30,000
Kingdom of Westphalia ....	717	1,912,303	1,272,727	25,000
Grand Duchy of Baden ....	275	922,649	590,909	8,000
Ditto Berg .....	310	932,000	500,000	5,000
Ditto Hesse .....	206	560,000	290,909	4,000
Ditto Würzburg .....	96	280,000	218,182	2,000
Duchy of Nassau Using ....	65	166,000	154,145	1,680
Prin. of Nassau Weilburg....	40	105,000		
Ditto Hohenzollern Heching	6	14,000	5,454	97
Ditto Hohenzollern Sigmaring	10	39,000	17,273	193
Ditto Salm-Salm .....	20	37,000	13,636	323
Ditto Salm-Kyrburg.....	10	18,000	7,273	
Ditto Isenburg .....	12	42,000	22,727	291
Duchy of Arenberg.....	50	60,000	27,273	379
Principality of Lichtenstein ..	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	6,500	3,636	40
Ditto Leyen .....	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	5,000	3,091	29
Duchy of Saxe-Gotha .....	54	180,000	118,182	1,100
Ditto Saxe-Weimar .....	36	110,000	90,909	800
Ditto Saxe-Meinungen.....	18	40,000	31,818	300
Ditto Saxe-Hildburghausen..	11	33,000	13,636	200
Ditto Saxe-Coburg .....	19	60,000	36,364	400
Prin. of Anhalt-Bernburg....	16	35,200	31,818	240
Ditto Anhalt-Koethen .....	15	30,000	27,274	210
Ditto Anhalt-Dessau .....	17	52,000	40,000	350
Ditto Lippe-Detmold .....	25	70,500	22,727	500
Ditto Lippe-Schaumburgh ..	10	20,500	7,273	150
Duc. of Mecklenburg-Schwerin	226	328,636	163,636	1,900
Ditto Mecklenburg-Strelitz ..	48	70,000	48,182	400
Prin. of Reuss-Ebersdorf....	6	18,000	7,273	100
Ditto Reuss-Gratz .....	7	25,000	10,909	117
Ditto Reuss-Lobenstein ....	6	18,000	10,000	108
Ditto Reuss-Schleitz.....	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18,000	9,091	125
Ditto Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt	22	56,000	32,727	325
Ditto Schwarzburg-Sondershausen .....	23	53,000	31,818	325
Ditto Waldeck.....	22	48,000	31,818	400
Ditto Holstein Oldenburg....	97	160,000	78,182	800
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7,089<math>\frac{1}{2}</math></b>	<b>15,477,334</b>	<b>8,653,091</b>	<b>148,850</b>



TABLE OF THE PRICES OF MEAT, SUGAR, SALT, AND COALS, IN LONDON,  
From January to December 1810, inclusive.

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	per Stone of 8lb. to sink the offal.
Beef	s. 6 d. 4	s. 6 d. 6	s. 6 d. 4	s. 6 d. 0	s. 6 d. 6	s. 6 d. 4	s. 6 d. 0	s. 5 d. 4	s. 5 d. 4	s. 5 d. 0	s. 5 d. 8	s. 6 d. 0	
Mutton	s. 6 d. 6	s. 6 d. 8	s. 6 d. 6	s. 6 d. 4	s. 6 d. 8	s. 6 d. 6	s. 6 d. 0	s. 5 d. 8	s. 6 d. 4	s. 5 d. 6	s. 6 d. 0	s. 6 d. 0	
Pork	s. 7 d. 0	s. 8 d. 0	s. 7 d. 0	s. 6 d. 8	s. 6 d. 8	s. 6 d. 6	s. 6 d. 8	s. 7 d. 0	s. 7 d. 4	s. 6 d. 8	s. 6 d. 8	s. 7 d. 4	
Sugar	s. 49 d. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	s. 52 d. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	s. 53 d. 11	s. 50 d. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	s. 47 d. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	s. 47 d. 9	s. 47 d. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$	s. 48 d. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	s. 49 d. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	s. 47 d. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$	s. 44 d. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	s. 44 d. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	Cwt.
Salt	s. 20 d. 0	s. 20 d. 0	s. 20 d. 0	s. 20 d. 0	s. 20 d. 0	s. 20 d. 0	s. 20 d. 0	s. 20 d. 0	s. 20 d. 0	s. 20 d. 0	s. 20 d. 0	s. 20 d. 0	Bushel
Coals	s. 65 d. 0	s. 54 d. 0	s. 67 d. 0	s. 58 d. 6	s. 58 d. 3	s. 59 d. 0	s. 59 d. 6	s. 60 d. 9	s. 60 d. 7	s. 71 d. 9	s. 71 d. 9	s. 61 d. 6	Chald.

Price of the QUARTERN LOAF according to the Assize of bread in LONDON, for the Year 1810, taking the average of the four Assizes in each Month.

	s.	d.	s.	d.
January	1	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	5
February	1	0	1	5
March	1	2	1	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
April	1	2	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
May	1	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
June	1	5	1	3
July	1	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	5
August	1	0	1	5
September	1	2	1	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
October	1	2	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
November	1	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
December	1	5	1	3

Average Price during the Year 1 3 $\frac{1}{4}$  1 $\frac{3}{4}$  s. d.



# STATE PAPERS.

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## I. BRITISH.

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### 1. *His Majesty's Speeches at the opening and concluding the Session of Parliament.*

*At the opening of Parliament,  
Jan. 23, 1810.*

**M**Y Lords and Gentlemen,—His majesty commands us to express to you his deep regret that the exertions of the Emperor of Austria against the ambition and violence of France have proved unavailing, and that his imperial majesty has been compelled to abandon the contest, and to conclude a disadvantageous peace. Although the war was undertaken by that monarch without encouragement on the part of his majesty, every effort was made for the assistance of Austria which his majesty deemed consistent with the due support of his allies, and with the welfare and interest of his own dominions.---An attack upon the naval armaments and establishments in the Scheldt, afforded at once the prospect of destroying a growing force, which was daily becoming more formidable to the security of this country, and of diverting the exertions of France

from the important objects of reinforcing her armies on the Danube, and of controlling the spirit of resistance in the north of Germany. These considerations determined his majesty to employ his forces in an expedition to the Scheldt.---Although the principal ends of this expedition have not been attained, his majesty confidently hopes that advantages, materially affecting the security of his majesty's dominions in the further prosecution of the war, will be found to result from the demolition of the docks and arsenals at Flushing. This important object his majesty was enabled to accomplish, in consequence of the reduction of the island of Walcheren, by the valour of his fleets and armies.---His majesty has given directions that such documents and papers should be laid before you as he trusts will afford satisfactory information upon the subject of this expedition.---We have it in command to state to you that his majesty had uniformly notified to Sweden his majesty's decided wish, that in determining upon the question of peace or war with France, and other continental powers, she should be guided by considerations resulting from her own



own situation and interests. While his majesty therefore laments that Sweden should have found it necessary to purchase peace by considerable sacrifices, his majesty cannot complain that she has concluded it without his majesty's participation. It is his majesty's earnest wish that no event may occur to occasion the interruption of those relations of amity which it is the desire of his majesty, and the interest of both countries to preserve.---We have it further in command to communicate to you, that the efforts of his majesty for the protection of Portugal have been powerfully aided by the confidence which the prince-regent has reposed in his majesty, and by the co-operation of the local government, and of the people of that country. The expulsion of the French from Portugal, by his majesty's forces under Lieutenant-General Lord Viscount Wellington, and the glorious victory obtained by him at Talavera, contributed to check the progress of the French arms in the peninsula during the late campaign.---His majesty directs us to state that the Spanish government, in the name and by the authority of King Ferdinand the Seventh, has determined to assemble the general and extraordinary Cortes of the nation: his majesty trusts that this measure will give fresh animation and vigour to the councils and the arms of Spain, and successfully direct the energies and spirit of the Spanish people to the maintenance of their legitimate monarchy, and to the ultimate deliverance of their country.---The most important considerations of policy and good faith require, that as long as this great cause can be maintained with

a prospect of success, it should be supported, according to the nature and circumstances of the contest, by the strenuous and continued assistance of the power and resources of his majesty's dominions; and his majesty relies on the aid of his parliament in his anxious endeavours to frustrate the attempts of France against the independence of Spain and Portugal, and against the happiness and freedom of those loyal and resolute nations.---His majesty commands us to acquaint you, that the intercourse between his majesty's minister in America and the government of the United States has been suddenly and unexpectedly interrupted. His majesty sincerely regrets this event: he has however received the strongest assurances from the American minister resident at this court, that the United States are desirous of maintaining friendly relation between the two countries. This desire will be met by a corresponding disposition on the part of his majesty.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,---His majesty has directed us to inform you, that he has ordered the estimates for the current year to be laid before you: his majesty has directed them to be formed with all the attention to economy which the support of his allies and the security of his dominions will permit. And his majesty relies upon your zeal and loyalty to afford him such supplies as may be necessary for those essential objects.---He commands us to express how deeply he regrets the pressure upon his subjects, which the protracted continuance of the war renders inevitable.

My Lords and Gentlemen,---  
We



We are commanded by his majesty to express his hopes that you will resume the consideration of the state of the inferior clergy, and adopt such further measures upon this interesting subject as may appear to you to be proper.---We have it further in command to state to you that the accounts which will be laid before you of the trade and revenue of the country will be found highly satisfactory.---Whatever temporary and partial inconvenience may have resulted from the measures which were directed by France against those great sources of our prosperity and strength, those measures have wholly failed of producing any permanent or general effect.---The inveterate hostility of our enemy continues to be directed against this country with unabated animosity and violence. To guard the security of his majesty's dominions, and to defeat the designs which are meditated against us and our allies, will require the utmost efforts of vigilance, fortitude, and perseverance. In every difficulty and danger, his majesty confidently trusts that he shall derive the most effectual support, under the continued blessing of Divine Providence, from the wisdom of his parliament, the valour of his forces, and the spirit and determination of his people.

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*His Majesty's Speech at the conclusion of the Session.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,---His majesty has commanded us to acquaint you, that, as the public business is now concluded, he thinks it proper to put an end to the present session of parliament.

We are commanded by his majesty to express the satisfaction he derived from the reduction of the island of Guadaloupe by his majesty's arms; an event which for the first time in the history of the wars of Great Britain, has wrested from France all her possessions in that quarter of the world; and which, together with the subsequent capture of the only colonies in the West Indies which remained in the possession of the Dutch, has deprived his majesty's enemies of every port in those seas from which the interests of his majesty, or the commerce of his subjects, can be molested.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,---His majesty has commanded us to thank you for the liberal and ample supplies which you have granted for the services of the present year.

His majesty deeply regrets the necessary extent of the demands which those services have created; but we are commanded to express to you the consolation which he has derived from observing that the resources of the country, manifesting themselves by every mark of prosperity, by a revenue increasing in almost all its branches, and by a commerce extending itself in new channels, and with an increased vigour in proportion as the enemy has in vain attempted to destroy it, have enabled you to provide for the expenses of the year without imposing the burden of any new taxation on Great Britain; and that, while the taxes which have been necessarily resorted to for Ireland, have been imposed upon articles which will not interfere with the growing prosperity of that country, you have found it consistent with a  
due



due regard to its finances to diminish some of those burdens, and relax some of those regulations of revenue, which had been felt the most inconvenient in that part of the united kingdom.

His majesty further commands us to return you his thanks for the provision which you have enabled him to make for the establishment of his Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick.

My Lords and Gentlemen, — His majesty has directed us to acquaint you, that Portugal, rescued from the oppression of the enemy, by the powerful assistance of his majesty's arms, has exerted herself with vigour and energy in making every preparation for repelling, with the continued aid of his majesty's forces, any renewed attack on the part of the enemy; and that in Spain, notwithstanding the reverses which have been experienced, the spirit of resistance against France still continues unsubdued and unabated: and his majesty commands us to assure you of his firm and unaltered conviction, that not only the honour of his throne, but the best interests of his dominions, require his most strenuous and persevering assistance to the glorious efforts of those loyal nations.

His majesty has commanded us to recommend to you, upon your return to your respective counties, to use your best exertions to promote that spirit of order and obedience to the laws, and that general concord amongst all classes of his majesty's subjects, which can alone give full effect to his majesty's paternal care for the welfare and happiness of his people. His majesty has the fullest reliance upon

the affections of his subjects, whose loyalty and attachment have hitherto supported him through that long and eventful period during which it has pleased Divine Providence to commit the interests of these dominions to his charge. His majesty feels that the preservation of domestic peace and tranquillity, under the protection of the law, and obedience to its authority, is amongst the most important duties he owes to his people.

His majesty commands us to assure you, that he will not be wanting in the discharge of that duty; and his majesty will always rely with confidence on the continued support of his loyal subjects, to enable him to resist with success the designs of foreign enemies, and to transmit unimpaired to posterity the blessings of the British constitution.

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## II. *Earl of Chatham's Memorial and Sir Richard Strachan's Reply on the Expedition to the Scheldt.* (Extracts.)

1. *Earl of Chatham's Memorial: dated October 15, 1809. Presented to his Majesty, February 14, 1810.*

In submitting to your majesty a statement of my proceedings in the execution of the service your majesty was graciously pleased to confide to me, and of the events which occurred in the course of it, it is not my intention to trouble your majesty with any further details of the earlier parts of our operations, but to bring under your majesty's view the consideration of the two following points, as most immediately



ately applying to the conduct and final result of the expedition to the Scheldt. 1st. The ground upon which, after the army was at length assembled near Batz, a landing in prosecution of the ulterior objects of the expedition was not deemed advisable: 2dly. Why that army was not sooner there assembled, in readiness to commence further operations.---With respect to the former position, I am inclined to think that it is so clear and evident, that no further operations could at that time, and in the then sickly state of the army, have been undertaken with any prospect of success; that it would be unnecessarily trespassing on your majesty to enter into much more detail on this point than has been already brought before your majesty, in my dispatch of the 29th of August; and the chief object of this paper will be directed to show to your majesty, that the second point, namely, Why the army was not brought up sooner to the destination from whence its ulterior objects were to commence, is purely a naval consideration, and that the delay did in no shape rest with me, or depend upon any arrangements in which the army was concerned; every facility, on the contrary, having been afforded by their movements to the speedy progress of the armament.---In the first place, it is to be remarked, that the occupation of Walcheren, which by some persons it had been thought possible to leave behind us, and the reduction of Flushing, which it had once been proposed only to mask, were deemed indispensable to the security of the fleet, in case of disaster; and accordingly a considerable separate force was allotted to this service; and, in this view,

it was besides distinctly agreed upon, that a vigorous attack by the navy upon the sea front should be made at the same time that the troops, after effecting their landing, advanced to invest Flushing; it being hoped that by a powerful co-operation from the sea, at the moment the troops presented themselves before the place, the labour and delay of a regular siege might have been avoided, and a considerable proportion of the force allotted to this service set at liberty to follow the army up the Scheldt. How far this expectation was fulfilled, or whether the assurance given that the whole of the armament (the part to be landed at Walcheren excepted) should be at once transported up the Scheldt, in prosecution of the ultimate objects of the expedition, was carried into effect, or was wholly disappointed, the information already before your majesty will have in a great measure shown, and which it will be my duty to bring more particularly to your majesty's view, when I detail the subsequent course of our proceedings.---From what cause this failure ensued, whether it arose from insufficient arrangements on the part of the admiral, or was the unavoidable result of difficulties inherent in the nature of the expedition itself, it is not for me, considering it entirely as a naval question, to presume to offer any opinion upon to your majesty.---Before, however, I pursue further the details of the proceedings of the army, governed as they necessarily were (until a footing should be gained on the continent) by the movements of the navy, I must for a moment refer to two separate operations; the one under

Lieutenant-



Lieutenant-General Lord Huntley and Commodore Owen, and the other under Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope and Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Keats; but both directed to assist and ensure a rapid progress up the Scheldt, had the admiral found it practicable in other respects. With respect to the former, which was destined to destroy the Cadsand batteries, and particularly that of Breskens, had it been carried at once into effect, and that the admiral could have availed himself of it, to take the ships up the West Scheldt by the Weeling passage, it would have been of the utmost advantage: but it was certainly rather fortunate it did not take place at a later period, as after all the transports, store-ships, &c. were ordered into the Veere Gat, and the plan of running at once up the West Scheldt by the Weeling channel seemed abandoned, the object of destroying the Cadsand batteries ceased, and a landing there would only have been an unnecessary risk, and the very inconvenient separation of our force, and, of course, occasion great delay in collecting it for ulterior operations. It must not, however, be forgotten, that the difficulties here turned out to be much greater than had been at all foreseen before we sailed.---When it was found that Lord Huntley's division could neither land nor proceed by the Weeling passage up the Scheldt, as I had intended they should, it was determined to withdraw them; but from the boisterous state of the weather, it was some days before this could be effected. As soon as it was accomplished, they were passed over to South Beveland.---With respect to Sir John Hope's

operation, it was more prosperous. It was conceived that, by landing on the north side of South Beveland, the island might be possessed, and all the batteries taken in reverse, and thereby the position of the French fleet, if they ventured to remain near Flushing, would be, as if it were, turned, and their retreat rendered more difficult, while the attack on them by our ships would have been much facilitated; and for this object the division of Sir John Hope rather preceded, in sailing from the Downs, the rest of the fleet. This division was landed near Ter-Goes, from whence they swept all the batteries in the island that could impede the progress of our ships up the West Scheldt, and possessed themselves, on the 2d of August, of the important post of Batz, to which it had been promised the army should at once have been brought up.---Sir John Hope remained in possession of this post, though not without being twice attacked by the enemy's flotilla, for nine days before any of the gun-boats under Captain Sir Home Popham were moved up the Scheldt to his support.---Your majesty will be pleased to recollect, that the troops which sailed from Portsmouth, under Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote, were destined for the service of Walcheren, and had been considered as sufficient for that object, according to the intelligence received, and the supposed strength of the enemy; though at the same time certainly relying for the first efforts against Flushing on the promised co-operation of the navy, and on their establishing, as was held out in the first instance, a naval blockade, except on the side of Veer and Rammekins. Unfortunately,



unately, however, this did not take place; and for several nights after the army was before Flushing, the enemy succeeded in throwing from the opposite coast, probably from the canal of Ghent, considerable reinforcements into the place, which enabled him constantly to annoy our out-posts and working parties, and finally to attempt a sally in force, though happily, from the valour of your majesty's troops, without success. I have already stated that Rammekins surrendered on the evening of the 3d of August. Immediately upon this event, feeling, as I did, great uneasiness at the delay which had already taken place, and the departure from the original plan, I wrote a letter to the admiral, then at Ter Veer, expressing my hope that the ships would now be able to enter the West Scheldt by the Sloe passage, and that no time should be lost in pressing forward as speedily as possible our further operations; and I requested at the same time that he would communicate to me the extent of naval co-operation he could afford, as well for the future blockade of Flushing, as with a view to protecting the coast of South Beveland, and watching the passages from the Meuse to the East Scheldt, as this consideration would govern very much the extent of force I must leave in South Beveland, when the army advanced. To this letter he did not reply fully till the 8th of August; but I had a note from him on the 5th, assuring me the transports should be brought forward without delay; and I had also a very long conversation with him on the morning of the 6th, on the arrangements to be taken for our further opera-

tions; when I urged, in the strongest manner, the necessity of not losing a moment in bringing up the cavalry and ordnance ships, transports, store ships, victuallers, &c. in order that the armament might proceed without delay to its destination; and I added my hopes, that they would receive the protection of the ships of war, none of which had yet entered the West Scheldt. The frigates, however, did not pass Flushing till the evening of the eleventh, and the line of battle ships only passed to the anchorage above Flushing on the fourteenth, the second day of the bombardment. These ships began to proceed up the river on the eighteenth, and arrived on the nineteenth; one division as high as the bay below Waerden, the other off the Hanswent, where they remained; the *Courageux* passed above Batz; the cavalry ships only got through the Sloe passage into the West Scheldt from the twentieth to the twenty-third, and arrived off Batz on the twenty-second and twenty-fourth; the ordnance ships and store ships passed through from the twenty-second to the twenty-third, and arrived at their destination off Batz on the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth; the transports for Lieutenant General Grosvenor's division only came up to receive them on the nineteenth, on which day they embarked; and those for Major General Graham's division, on the twentieth and twenty-first; and they arrived off Batz on the twenty-fourth. The corps of Brigadier General Rottenburgh, and the light battalions of the German legion, proceeded to join the Earl of Rosslyn's division in South Beveland. From this statement your majesty will



will see, that notwithstanding every effort on my part with the admiral, the armament was not assembled at the point of its destination till the twenty-fifth, and of course that the means of commencing operations sooner against Antwerp were never in my power. It now became at this advanced period my duty to consider very seriously the expediency of landing the army on the continent. On comparing all the intelligence obtained as to the strength of the enemy, it appeared to be such as to leave (as stated in my dispatch of the twenty-ninth of August) no reasonable prospect of success to the force under my command, after accomplishing the preliminary operations of reducing Fort Lillo as well as Liefkenshoek, on the opposite side of Antwerp, without the possession of which the destruction of the ships and arsenals of the enemy could not be effected; and in addition to this, the sickness which had begun to attack the army about the twentieth, and which was hourly increasing to an alarming extent, created the most serious apprehensions in the minds of the medical men, as to its further progress, at that unhealthy season, and which fatal experience has since shown to have been too well founded. Your majesty will not be surprised if, under these circumstances, I paused in requiring the admiral to put the army on shore. That a landing might have been made, and that any force which had been opposed to us in the field would have yielded to the superior valour of British troops, I have no doubt: but then, any such success could have been of no avail towards the attainment of the ultimate object; and there was still less chance that

the enemy would have given us the opportunity. Secure in his fortress, he had a surer game to play; for if ever the army, divided as it must necessarily have been in order to occupy both banks of the river, exposed to the effect of inundation on every side, and with all its communications liable to be cut off, while the force of the enemy was daily and hourly increasing, had once sat down before Antwerp, it is unnecessary for me to point out to your majesty how critical must in a short time have been their situation. But when, added to this, sickness to an alarming extent had begun to spread itself among the troops, and the certain and fatal progress of which, at that season, was but too well ascertained, it appeared to me that all further advance could only tend to commit irretrievably the safety of the army which your majesty had confided to me, and which every principle of military duty, as well as the direct tenour of my instructions, alike forbade.

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2. *Sir Richard Strachan's reply to Earl Chatham's statement,*

Contains many pointed observations, general charges of inaccuracy, and a refutation of the insinuations both against the gallant admiral and the navy, contained in his lordship's statement. After the first point to which his Majesty's attention was called, namely, "that after the army was assembled near Batz, a landing in prosecution of the ulterior objects of the expedition was not deemed adviseable," Sir Richard declines making any remark, because the reasons which



are said to have rendered it "so clear and evident," were not such as he was competent to appreciate. Upon the second point, Why the army was not sooner assembled at Batz, to recommence further operations, the gallant admiral enters into a long, and we think, satisfactory explanation. He says that the original determination of landing in Zoutland Bay was laid aside while at Deal, and another plan for landing on Domburgh Beach adopted; but in consequence of a strong westerly wind, the landing there was impossible, and it became necessary to take shelter in the Roompot and Veergat, where the constant succession of gales for many days made it impossible, independently of other obstacles, to recur to the original intention of entering the western mouth of the Scheldt. The disembarkation was ultimately effected. Sir Richard then proceeds: "When, therefore, Lord Chatham contends in his statement, that the second point, namely, 'why the army was not *brought up sooner* to the destination from whence all its operations were to commence, is purely a naval consideration,' his position is certainly true in words, but as certainly incorrect in its implied meaning. It is obvious that the army might have marched to Batz in the course of a few days; but it is also obvious that it could not be conveyed on board a fleet of 400 transports, besides frigates, sloops, and flotilla, through a very intricate channel, without some delay. The difficulty of conducting such a fleet at all through the mazes of such a navigation, can only be appreciated by professional men; it was very greatly increased by an adverse wind,

blowing for some time with such violence as to render the expedient of warping (the only means of proceeding) totally impracticable; such obstacles to our progress were only to be overcome by great exertions and perseverance, by a considerable, but not, as I trust, an unnecessary expenditure of labour and time." The gallant admiral totally denies the assertion that an agreement was entered into for a simultaneous attack by sea and land upon Flushing, for the purpose of avoiding the delay of a regular siege: it was impossible, he says, for such an agreement to have been made; as, under the well-ascertained circumstances of the garrison, it was too desperate an enterprise to be entertained. He thinks, however, that if the plan he had suggested had been adopted, namely, to land the cavalry on South Beveland, and select a limited number of transports—that a delay of only a few days would have resulted from the adverse accident which gave a different course to the direction of our operations. The first part of the flotilla which got through the Slough were applied to the cutting off the communication between Cadsand and Flushing. It was not until the 7th of August that the sea blockade of Flushing could be established, owing to the adverse winds; and all the other parts of the naval service were expedited as soon as the various difficulties could be overcome. Sir Richard then concludes: "From this period I considered myself bound implicitly to accede to the wishes of the commander-in-chief. With him alone was there an option between a march of thirty-six hours and a voyage of indefinite length.

I trust



I trust that it was owing to no defect of zeal on my part, and I am sure it was owing to no want of exertion on the part of the many excellent naval officers whom I have the honour to command, that the progress of a fleet which it was necessary to warp, or, in less technical language, to haul by human labour, through the windings of a most intricate channel, and often directly in the teeth of the wind, appeared so tardy, that Lord Chatham 'saw no movement making to push forward a single vessel to the West Scheldt.' The exertions of the naval officers and men were not rendered less irksome by the persuasion that the labour which, though incessant, often proved unavailing, might have been spared to them at the expence of a short march across the island of South Beveland. To impute to me or to the navy, under the name of delay, the loss of time which was passed by me in constant solicitude, and by the men in unremitting toil, is not what I should have expected from Lord Chatham. It would have been more agreeable to myself to have offered to their Lordships a simple journal of the daily transactions of the fleet, as that course would have afforded me that of paying a just tribute of gratitude to the numerous, able, and zealous officers, by whom I was aided in the different branches of the service under my directions, and who may possibly consider themselves as unjustly subject, together with myself, to some imputation from the marked, and perhaps, invidious accuracy, with which the particular days of arrival of diffe-

rent divisions are specified in Lord Chatham's statement. But I am convinced that it was not the intention of his Lordship, in collecting such a multitude of dates, to attribute any blame to those officers. He has closed his report by pointing me out as the only object of his animadversions. He leaves me to account for the difficulties which prevented the investment of Flushing, as well as to show the obstacles which presented themselves to the early progress of the armament up the West Scheldt. He was not aware, it seems, that the first point was rendered impossible by the state of the winds; he was not even aware that the circumstances of his being blown into the East Scheldt, had impeded his progress up the West Scheldt. Concerning Lord Chatham's opinions, I have now ceased to be solicitous: but I am, and ever shall be sincerely anxious, that your Lordships should not see cause to regret the confidence with which you have been pleased to honour me upon this occasion."

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III. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the proceedings concerning Sir Francis Burdett's arrest.\**

"It appears to your committee, after referring to the order of the house on the fifth day of April last, for the commitment of Sir Francis Burdett to the Tower; the warrants of the speaker for that purpose; the letter of Sir Francis Burdett to the speaker, dated the seventeenth day of April last; the report and examination of the serjeant-at-arms,

F f 4

touching

\* For other particulars connected with this affair, *vide supra*, JURISPRUDENCE, 3. *Liberty of the Subject*, p. 344.



touching his proceedings in the execution of such warrants; the notices of the speaker referred to your committee; the demand made upon the serjeant-at-arms of a copy of the warrant under which he arrested Sir Francis Burdett; the writ served upon the serjeant, and the summons served upon the speaker, and the notice of declaration filed against the serjeant; which said notices, demand, writ, and summons, are all at the suit or on behalf of the said Sir Francis Burdett, and all bear the name of the same solicitor, John Ellis:—That the said proceedings have been brought against the speaker and the serjeant on account of what was done by them respectively in obedience to the order of the house; and for the purpose of bringing into question, before a court of law, the legality of the proceedings of the house in ordering the commitment of Sir Francis Burdett, and of the conduct of the speaker and the serjeant, in obedience to that order.

I. Your committee, not in consequence of any doubt upon the question so intended to be raised, but for the purpose of collecting into one view such precedents of the proceedings of the house, upon cases of breach of privilege, as might afford light upon this important subject, have in the first place examined the journals, with relation to the practice of the house in commitment of persons, whether members or others, for breaches of privilege, by offensive words or writings derogatory to the honour and character of the house, or of any of its members; and they have found numerous instances, in the history of parliament, so far as the journals extend, of the frequent,

uniform, and uninterrupted practice of the House of Commons to commit to different custodies, persons whom they have adjudged guilty of a breach of their privileges by so offending.

The statement of these precedents, which establish the law of parliament upon this point by the usage of parliament; the utility of such law; and the necessity which exists for its continuance, in order to maintain the dignity and independence of the House of Commons; its analogy to the acknowledged powers of courts of justice, and the recognition of such rights in various instances, by legal authorities, by judicial decisions, and by the other branch of the legislature; as well as the invariable assertion and maintenance of it by the House of Commons, are topics which may be reserved for a further report. And although there are some instances in which the House has thought fit to direct prosecutions for such offences, yet the committee confidently state, that the more frequent practice of the House, at all times, has been to vindicate its own privileges by its own authority.

II. The subject which appears to your committee to press most urgently for an immediate report, is the state of the law and the practice of the House in cases either of criminal prosecution or civil action against any of its members, for any thing spoken or done in the House of Commons; or for any proceeding against any of its officers, or any other persons acting under its authority,

The principal instances to be found under this head arose out of those proceedings which, in the time of Charles the First, Charles the

Second,



Second, and James the Second, were instituted by the officers of the crown, in derogation of the rights and privileges of the Commons of England. Those proceedings were resisted and resented by the House of Commons; were condemned by the whole legislature, as utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes, and freedom of this realm; and led directly to the declaration of the bill of rights, "That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament;" and your committee have no hesitation in stating, that this article in the bill of rights extends as clearly to actions of indictments brought, or prosecutions by individuals, as to informations or other proceedings directly instituted by the authority of the crown.

The law of parliament on this subject, so far as relates to words spoken in parliament, was legislatively declared in a statute to be found in the parliament roll of the fourth of Henry VIII. By that act, the rights and privileges of free speech in parliament are established, and a special action is given in favour of the party injured by any action brought against him for words spoken in parliament. And from this statute it appears that parliament, at that time, when the case occurred, which seemed to show the expediency of legislative provision to give fuller force and protection to its privileges, made it the subject of such provisions.

In the fifth of Charles I. an information was filed against Sir J. Elliot, Denzel Holles, Esq. and Benjamin Valentine, for their

speeches and conduct in the House of Commons; judgment was given against them in the King's Bench; they were sentenced to imprisonment, and were fined. In the parliament which met in 1640, the House of Commons, after a report made in the state of the cases of Mr. Holles, and the rest of the imprisoned members, in the third of Charles, came to several resolutions, by which they resolved, that these proceedings were against the law and privilege of parliament; and condemned the authors and actors in them as persons guilty of a breach of the privilege of parliament.

In the reign of Charles II. these proceedings were again taken into consideration, and the House of Commons came to several resolutions. On the twelfth of November, 1667, they resolved, That the act of parliament in the fourth year of the reign of Henry VIII. above referred to, is a declaratory law of the ancient and necessary rights and privileges of parliament. On the twenty-third of November, 1667, they resolved, That the judgment above referred to against Sir J. Elliot, D. Holles, and B. Valentine, Esqrs. in the King's Bench, was an illegal judgment, and on the seventh of December, 1667, they desired the concurrence of the Lords. The Lords, on the twelfth of December, agreed with the Commons in these votes.

Your committee next refer to the case of Sir William Williams; the detail of which they proceed to insert from the report of a former committee of this house.

"The case of Sir William Williams, against whom, after the dissolution



solution of the parliament held at Oxford, an information was brought by the attorney-general, in the King's Bench, in Trin. term, 36 Car. II. for a misdemeanour, for having printed the information against Thomas Dangerfield, which he had ordered to be printed when he was speaker, by order of the house. Judgment passed against him on this information, in the second year of King James the Second. This proceeding the convention parliament deemed so great a grievance, and so high an infringement of the rights of parliament, that it appears to your committee to be the principal if not the sole object of the first part of the eighth head of the means used by King James to subvert the laws and liberties of this kingdom, as set forth in the declaration of the two houses; which will appear evident from the account given in the Journal, eight of February, 1688, of the forming of that declaration, the eighth head of which was at first conceived in these words: *videlicet*, 'By causing informations to be brought and prosecuted in the Court of King's Bench, for matters and causes cognizable only in parliament, and by divers other illegal and arbitrary courses.'"

Eleventh of February, 1688.—“To this article the Lords disagreed; and gave for a reason, because they do not fully apprehend what is meant by it, nor what instances there have been of it; which therefore they desire may be explained, if the house should think fit to insist further on it.”

Twelfth of February, 1688.—“The house disagree with the Lords in their amendment of leaving out

the eighth article. But in respect to the liberty given by the Lords in explaining that matter, Resolved, ‘That the words do stand in this manner; By prosecutions in the Court of King's Bench for matters and causes cognizable only in parliament, and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses.’ By which amendment, your committee observes, that the house adapted the article more correctly to the case they had in view; for the information was filed in King Charles the Second's time; but the prosecution was carried on, and judgment obtained, in the second year of King James.”

“That the meaning of the house should be made more evident to the Lords, the house ordered, ‘That Sir William Williams be added to the managers of the conference;’ and Sir William Williams the same day reports the conference with the Lords; and, ‘That their Lordships had adopted the article in the words as amended by the Commons.’ And corresponding to this article of grievance is the assertion of the right of the subject, in the ninth article of the declaratory part of the bill of rights; viz. That the freedom of debates or proceedings in parliament might not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament.”

“To which may be added, the latter part of the sixth resolution of the exception to be made in the bill of indemnity, Journal vol. x. page 146, wherein after reciting the surrender of charters, and the violating of rights and freedoms of elections, &c. it proceeds in these words: ‘And the questioning the proceedings of parliament, out of parliament,



parliament, by declarations, informations, or otherwise, are crimes for which some persons may be justly excepted out of the bill of indemnity.' ”

On the eleventh of June, 1689, the house ordered, “ That the records of the Court of King’s Bench, relating to the proceedings against William Williams, Esq. now Sir William Williams, Knt. and Bart. late speaker of this house, be brought into this house, by the custos brevium of the said court, on Thursday morning next.

On the twelfth of July “ The record was read ; and the house thereupon resolved, That the judgment given in the Court of King’s Bench, in Easter term 2 Jac. 2di, against William Williams, Esq. Speaker of the House of Commons in the parliament held at Westminster the twenty-fifth of October, thirty-second Car. 2di, for matter done by order of the House of Commons, and as speaker thereof, is an illegal judgment, and against the freedom of parliament.

“ Resolved, That a bill be brought in to reverse the said judgment.”

“ This bill was twice read, but went no further in that session.’ A similar bill was in the following session ordered to be brought in ; and a third bill passed the Commons in 1695, and was sent up to the House of Lords, but did not proceed there to a second reading.

It appears further, that on the fourth of June, 1689, “ A petition of John Topham, Esq. was read, setting forth, that he, being a serjeant-at-arms, and attending the house in the years 1679 and 1680, when several orders were made, and

directed to the petitioner, for the taking into his custody the several persons of Sir Charles Neale, &c. and others, for several misdemeanours by them committed, in breach of the privilege of the house ; and after that the Commons were dissolved, the said persons being resolved to ruin the petitioner, did, in Hilary term, the thirty-third or thirty-fourth of King Charles, sue the petitioner in the King’s Bench in several actions of trespass, battery, and false imprisonment, for taking and detaining them as aforesaid : to which actions the petitioner pleaded to the jurisdiction of the court the said several orders ; but such his plea was over-ruled ; the then judges ruling the petitioner to plead in chief, and thereupon he pleaded the orders in bar to the actions ; notwithstanding which plea and orders, the then judges gave judgment against him, &c.”

“ Upon the report from the committee of privileges and elections, to whom the petition of J. Topham was referred, the house resolved, “ That this house doth agree with the committee, that the judgment given by the Court of King’s Bench, Easter term, thirty-fourth Car. II. regis, upon the plea of John Topham, at the suit of John Jay, to the jurisdiction of that court ; and also the judgments given against the said Mr. Topham, at the suit of Samuel Verdun, &c. are illegal, and a violation of the privileges of parliament, and pernicious to the rights of parliament.” Whereupon it was ordered, “ That Sir Francis Pemberton, Sir Thomas Jones, and Sir Francis Wythens do attend this house on Wednesday morning next.”

“ In



“ In consequence of this order, Sir Francis Pemberton and Sir Thomas Jones, who had been two of the Judges of the Court of King’s Bench, at the time when the judgment was passed, were heard in their defence; and afterwards committed to the serjeant-at-arms, for their breach of privileges of this house, by giving judgment to overrule the plea to the jurisdiction of the court of King’s Bench.”

Your Committee think it proper to state, That Sir Francis Pemberton and Sir Thomas Jones, in defending themselves at the bar of this house for their conduct in overruling the plea to their jurisdiction in the actions of *Jay v. Topham*, &c. defended the judgment they had given, by resting upon the nature of the pleading, and not by denying the jurisdiction or authority of this house; and Sir Francis Pemberton expressly admitted, that, for any thing transacted in this house, no other court had any jurisdiction to hear and determine it

Your committee in the next place think it expedient to state to the house, that there are various instances in which persons committed by the House of Commons have been brought up by habeas corpus before the judges and courts of common law; and in these cases, upon its appearing by the return to the habeas corpus, that they were committed under the speaker’s warrant, they have been invariably remanded.

III. Having stated these instances of the manner in which the acts and commitments of this house have been brought into judgment in other courts, and the consequences of such proceedings, your com-

mittee further think it proper, and in some degree connected with this subject, to advert to the course which was adopted for staying proceedings in suits brought against members and their servants, while they were protected from such suits during the sitting of parliament.

The roll of parliament, eighth of Edward II. affords the earliest trace which your committee has found upon this subject. It is a writ from the king, confirmatory of the privilege of being free from suits in time of parliament, and is in the following words:

“ *Rex mandavit justiciariis suis ad assisas, jurat. &c. capiend’ assignat: quod supersedeant captioni eorundum ubi comites barones et alii summonati ad parl. regis sunt partes quamdiu dictum parliamentum duraverit.*”

There have been various modes of proceeding to enforce this privilege. In *Dewes’s Journal*, p. 436, thirty-first of Elizabeth, 1588---1589, Friday, the twenty-first of February, your committee find the following entry:---“ Upon a motion made by Mr. Harris, that divers members of this house having writs of *nisi prius* brought against them, to be tried at the assize in sundry places of this realm, to be holden and kept in the circuits of this present vacation, and that writs of *supersedeas* might be awarded in those cases in respect of the privilege of this house due and appertaining to the members of the same; it is agreed, that those of this house which shall have occasion to require such benefit of privilege in that behalf, may repair unto Mr. Speaker, to declare unto him the state of their cases, and that he, upon his discretion (if the cases shall so require)



quire) may direct the warrant of this house to the Lord Chancellor of England, for the awarding of such writs of supersedeas accordingly."

But the house used to stay also proceedings by its own authority; sometimes sending the serjeant-at-arms to deliver the person arrested out of custody; and sometimes by letter from the speaker to the judges before whom the cause was to be tried. Of this latter mode of proceeding, your committee find many instances previous to the third of Charles I. Your committee find a decision against the authority of such a letter in the Court of King's Bench, which is reported in the margin of Dyer's Reports, p. 60, and in Latch, pp. 48 and 150. And shortly after the refusal by the Court of King's Bench to notice this letter from the speaker, the parliament was dissolved. There are, however, many other instances of this course of proceeding after the Restoration; and in the instance of Lord Newburgh (twenty-third of February, 1669) the house ordered the proceedings to outlawry to be staid during the sessions, and the record of the exigents to be vacated and taken off the file.

The last instance which your committee find of such letters having been written, occurs in the Lord Bulkeley's case in 1691, in which the speaker is directed to write a letter to the prothonotary that he do not make out, and to the sheriff of the county of Pembroke that he do not execute, any writ, whereby the Lord Bulkeley's possessions may be disturbed, until Mr. Speaker shall have examined and reported the matter to the house, and this house take further

order thereon. By the twelfth and thirteenth of William III. c. 3, this privilege was curtailed; and further by statute two and three of Anne, c. 18,—eleventh of George II. c. 24,—tenth of George III. c. 50.

Lord Chief Justice De Grey says, in Crosby's case, "If a member was arrested before the twelfth and thirteenth of W. III. the method in Westminster-Hall was to discharge him by writ of privilege, under the great seal, which was in the nature of a supersedeas to the proceeding. The statute of William has now altered this, and there is no necessity to plead the privileges of a member of parliament." All these acts merely apply to proceedings against members in respect of their debts and action as individuals, and not in respect of their conduct as members of parliament; and therefore they do not in any way abridge the ancient law and privilege of parliament, so far as they respect the freedom and conduct of members of parliament as such, or the protection which the house may give to persons acting under its authority.

IV. Upon the whole it appears to your committee, that the bringing these actions against the speaker and the serjeant, for acts done in obedience to the orders of this house, is a breach of the privilege of this house.

And it appears, that in the several instances of actions commenced in breach of the privileges of this house, the house has proceeded by commitment, not only against the party, but against the solicitor and other persons concerned in bringing such actions; but your committee think it right to observe, that the commitment of such party, solicitor,

or



or other persons, would not necessarily stop the proceedings in such action.

That as the particular ground of action does not necessarily appear upon the writ or upon the declaration, the court, before which such action is brought, cannot stay the suit, or give judgment against the plaintiff, till it is informed, by due course of legal proceeding, that such action is brought for a thing done by order of the house.

And it therefore appears to your committee, That even though the house should think fit to commit the solicitor or other person concerned in commencing these actions, yet it will still be expedient that the house should give leave to the speaker and the serjeant to appear to the actions, and to plead to the same; for the purpose of bringing under the knowledge of the court the authority under which they acted: and if the house should agree with that opinion, your committee submits to the house, whether it would not be proper that directions should be given by this house for defending the speaker and the serjeant against the said actions.

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*Extract of the Fifth Report of a Committee of the House of Commons on Public Expenditure.*

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[Ordered by Hon. House of Commons to be printed, April 18, 1810.]

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Being informed that a considerable default had been discovered in the office of Paymaster of Marines, the committee directed their first inquiries to the nature of the regulations under which that department is conducted; with a view to ascer-

tain whether those regulations are insufficient in themselves, or ill adapted to the service, or whether there has been a culpable or negligent departure from them.

The paymaster whose duty is confined to the payment of the marines while on shore, presents monthly accounts to the Admiralty, stating his receipt and expenditure during the last month, with an estimate of the probable demands upon him for the current month, together with a statement of the balances remaining in his hands on the first and last days of the preceding month; in consequence of which application, an order is forwarded to the Navy Office, accompanied by a copy of the monthly account, directing an imprest to be issued by the Treasurer of the Navy, who is the general banker, as the Navy Office is the general office of account, for every branch of naval service. A statement of the balances in the paymaster's hands included in the monthly account, is transmitted with the order for each imprest to the Navy Office.

This statement of the balances in these monthly accounts affords, in appearance, a secure and constant guard against any undue accumulation of money in the hands of the paymaster; but this appearance is delusive: for these accounts being necessarily *unaccompanied with vouchers*, do not admit of any effectual check, until the delivery, at a subsequent period, of the general annual account. The consequence of which has been, that they have unfortunately produced the effect of preventing rather than forwarding any useful examination into the real state of the paymaster's balance; and seem to have preclud-

ed



ed all suspicion, either at the Admiralty or Navy Office, of any improper accumulation of money in his hands.

In the printed regulations and instructions relative to the royal marine forces while on shore, the seventh article directs "that the paymaster is to pass an account with the Commissioners of the Navy at the end of every year; he is to deliver a general account of all money received and paid within that time." If it was the duty of the paymaster to pass, it became the duty of the Commissioners of the Navy to examine; and your committee cannot view without great dissatisfaction the delay which has prevailed in the delivery of the general annual accounts; the causes of which will be noticed hereafter.

The practice of the office with respect to the accounts of the Paymaster of Marines, appears to have been this: The monthly accounts already alluded to, which are transmitted by the Admiralty to the Navy Office, receive no particular examination, and indeed, do not admit of being checked, as before stated, except in the articles of imprest and balances brought over from the preceding month; but an examination of these items alone would obviously not ascertain the correctness of the balance remaining.

The general annual account when delivered is examined with the imprest ledger on the one side, and with the accountant's vouchers on the other, by one or more of the clerks in the office of bills and accounts; by them the balance stated by the paymaster is confirmed or corrected. A statement is then made out by the person who has

examined the account, of the disbursements only, detailing the nature of them and of the vouchers, with observations on any irregularity in either, on the authority under which the payments were made, or on any other circumstance deserving notice. The statement so made out by the examining clerk should be checked by the chief clerk, and is then submitted to the Committee of Accounts; and it is their duty after due consideration, to direct the sums disbursed and properly vouched to be allowed towards clearing such imprest as may be standing out against the accountant. To what sum this imprest may amount, is not however brought under the notice either of the Committee of Accounts or the Board (unless specially called for) the statement itself *not containing the imprest, or the balance remaining*; and the original annual account never undergoing their revision. And here your committee cannot but express their surprise, that the general practice of the office should have sanctioned so extraordinary an omission in the statement of any account, as that of the sum owing by the accountant to the public: and that in this particular instance the examining clerks should not have deemed it their duty to bring under the immediate notice of that Committee, an article of such magnitude and importance. They trust this practice has been at length effectually corrected by a minute of the Navy Board, dated the seventeenth of January, 1810. In other respects it appears to your Committee, from the inspection of many of these statements which have been laid before them, that the disbursements in the paymaster's account have



have received an attentive and accurate investigation: and it further appears from a document produced by the Navy Board, that *few of the accounts in the office of Bills and Accounts are in arrear, and none greatly so; and that the balances of none of them are so large as to excite suspicion.*

The Honourable George Villiers was appointed Paymaster of Marines by the Board of Admiralty, the nineteenth of March, 1792, and re-appointed as Paymaster and Inspector, the ninth of May, 1803; with particular directions as to the mode in which his department was to be conducted, enjoining him to make frequent visits to the different divisions and stations of Marines, from the want or neglect of which, great abuses had prevailed. His

salary was raised by that warrant to £1000 clear of all deductions, with an allowance of £550 for his clerks, £190 for house-rent, &c. and a further allowance for travelling expences actually incurred. No examination as to the state of his accounts, which remained unsettled for seven years at the period of this re-appointment, appears to have taken place, nor was the amount of his balance known or inquired into; which is now ascertained to have been, at the end of 1802, £177,847.

His accounts, which had been passed with tolerable regularity and expedition in 1794 and 5, fell into great arrear in the subsequent years, both as to the time of delivery and the settlement of them.

*Mr. Villiers's Account.*

Dates.	Received.	Passed.	Balance due from Mr. V.
Jan. 10 to Dec. 31 1792..	20th Sept. 1793..	31st Dec. 1794..	£13,458 13 0
For the year ..... 1793..	Not known ....	Ditto .....	59,317 15 9
— ..... 1794..	28th July, 1795..	31st Dec. 1795..	33,540 11 6
— ..... 1795..	26th April, 1797..	9th Dec. 1802 ..	26,142 1 5½
— ..... 1796..	Not known ....	4th Nov. 1805 ..	65,150 8 6
— ..... 1797..	7th July, 1805..	6th July, 1806 ..	74,124 18 4
— ..... 1798..	Not known ....	6th Dec. 1806 ..	111,665 2 3
— ..... 1799..	23d Dec. 1806..	20th April 1807..	95,393 10 6½
— ..... 1800..	22d Aug. 1807..	24th Oct. 1808 ..	129,113 15 5¼
— ..... 1801..	24th Oct. 1808..	24th April, 1809..	166,298 11 7
— ..... 1802..	21st Feb. 1809..	24th July, 1809..	177,847 9 8½
— ..... 1803..	11th April, 1809..	Ditto .....	256,539 7 8
— ..... 1804..	14th Aug. 1809..	6th Oct. ....	285,038 15 4¾

From the time that annual accounts ceased to be delivered with punctuality, additional opportunities were afforded for an improper accumulation of money in his hands, the increase of which became almost continually progressive; and

the Commissioners of the Navy, whose duty it was to call for and enforce the regular production of those accounts, neglected to do so.

It is however in evidence before your Committee, that the late Comptroller of the Navy frequently represented



presented to Mr. G. Villiers, that his accounts ought to be more regularly delivered in, and received assurances from him that they should be so; at the same time Mr. Villiers stated the necessity of having the imprests made to him in full, when the pressure of the public service, about the year 1798, made it expedient to pay only in part; and the comptroller was led to believe from his conversations with Mr. G. Villiers, that there was no balance of public money at that time in the accountant's hands.

It is to be remarked with great regret that the inefficient state of the Navy Office, for a period of no less than eleven years, is given as an excuse or palliation for this omission on the part of the Board; and some of the new regulations adopted under an order in council of June the eighth, 1796, *at the recommendation of the commissioners of inquiry*, are alledged as a principal cause of the defective state of this office.

The strongest representations from the Navy Office to the Admiralty were made on this subject, at different times from 1800 to 1807; one great and obvious inconvenience was pointed out as arising from making the chief clerk in the office of bills and accounts, secretary to the committee of accounts (which was recently formed of three members of the Board, agreeably to the directions of that order in council) while the same person had the superintendence also of the foreign accounts; this inconvenience the Navy Board endeavoured to remedy by some official arrangements, which diminished but did not remove the evil; and it continued to be felt, until the duties of

these separate departments were allotted to *three distinct officers*.

The hardships suffered by the clerks in general from the low state of their salaries and the abolition of fees, the consequent inactivity and langour which prevailed in the different departments, and the difficulty of carrying on the business, are enumerated in this correspondence; but the actual evils from the accounts not being passed are not perhaps set forth with sufficient force, or with those details which were calculated to impress the Admiralty with a due sense of them. Your committee however cannot but remark the neglect with which these representations were treated. No answer whatever appears to have been made to them before June, 1806, and no remedy was applied by the Admiralty until November, 1807, to a case which involved the efficiency of this great and most important office of account.

The balance exhibited in Mr. G. Villiers's monthly account immediately subsequent to the thirty-first of December, 1802, when the balance was 177,847*l.* amounts to no more than 2,255*l.*; and after the thirty-first of December, 1803, when the balance on the settlement of the general account for that year proved to be 256,539*l.* the balance to which his name was subscribed amounted only to 12,055*l.*

Your committee, notwithstanding some pains taken to discover the method by which these monthly balances were made to exhibit so fallacious a view of the whole sum actually in the accountant's hands at any given time, have not been able to satisfy themselves as to the particular mode by which the real balance was kept out of sight. It



was suggested by one of the late marine clerks, that such parts of the imprests as were not received within the current month, were never subsequently brought to account; but with the exception of 1000*l.* (drawn out on the tenth of July, 1799) there is certainly no foundation for this suspicion; and it seems probable, that the generality of the statements of expenditure in the monthly accounts, unaccompanied as they necessarily were by any vouchers, may have served as a cover for large sums of money, which in fact never may have been applied to the public service.

Not deeming it essential to pursue this part of the subject further, your committee applied themselves to ascertain what steps had been taken on the discovery of these deficiencies to secure the public from loss; and they find that extents were issued to the whole amount of the accountant's property; which however falls far short of the amount for which Mr. G. Villiers appears to be responsible to the public, unless there should be articles of discharge unknown to your committee or to the Navy Office, in the present unsettled state of his accounts.

The debt for which the extent was issued is 264,507*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* the value of the landed property is estimated at 93,507*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*—There is also 21,619*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* three per cent. consols, and the security given on his first taking of the office, which was for 10,000*l.* The bond executed in 1792 is however not forthcoming; and there is reason to think that no bond was executed on his subsequent re-appointment in 1803; although it was

made a condition of his holding the office, that he should give security in the sum of 10,000*l.* without reference to the security taken in 1792.

Your committee cannot avoid observing upon it as an omission of duty in the Board of Admiralty, by whom he was re-appointed, not to have taken a second bond; and the loss of the first, which remained in the Admiralty about the year 1806, shows a culpable carelessness as to the custody of such important instruments. Securities ought to be taken more frequently than has hitherto been the usage, from all officers in every department who hold situations connected with the receipt or expenditure of public money; and your committee recommend that regulations should be established to that effect, under the directions of his majesty in council or of the commissioners of the treasury.

Large issues continued necessarily to be made between the end of 1804, and the time when the late paymaster quitted his office, amounting to 2,085,892*l.*; but though this sum swells most considerably the balance of money to be accounted for, calculations which have been formed in the Navy Office lead that board to conjecture that the whole of it has been applied to the service for which it was imprested.

*Money paid on the Royal Marine Service, between the first of January, 1805, to the latest period to which the same is made up.*

From Jan. the 1st  
to Dec. 31st

1805..... 339,001 2 1½

The



The account of this year appears to be closed, but not examined by the late paymaster.

From Jan. 1st. to Dec. 31st 1806. .339,792 13 3

The contingent expence of this year is not made out, nor included in this sum.

From Jan. 1st to Dec. 31st 1807. .337,599 14 6½

The contingent expence, and salaries, paid in this year, are not made out, nor included in this sum.

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£ 1,016,393 9 11¼

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By the books of the late paymaster the accounts for 1808 appear very imperfect, and those for 1809 are not begun to be made out.

The whole amount of balances in the hands of sub-accountants, transferred by Mr. Villiers to the present paymaster, when he succeeded him, was no more than 20,146l. of which 8258l. was drawn for, or due for service performed.

The sub-accountants were the deputy paymasters of the four divisions of marines, seven inspecting field officers connected with the recruiting service, and more than one hundred recruiting officers.

In the course of these investigations it became a matter of consideration, how far the continuance of the office of paymaster of marines may be necessary for conducting this branch of the public ser-

vice, your committee bearing in mind, that all useless offices ought to be suppressed, and that every additional channel through which public money flows, affords an additional hazard of the misapplication, detention, or loss of a part of it.

Recent experience in the cases of the acts for regulating the offices of Treasurer of the Navy (25 Geo. III. c. 31.) and Treasurer of the Ordnance (46 Geo. III. c. 45.) induces a reasonable mistrust as to the efficacy of all legislative provisions and directions; in cases where the temptations to a contrary practice are great, the means of evasion have not been found impracticable.

The commissioners on fees, &c. (in 1787) in their third report, pp. 104 and 5, referred to, and printed in the proceedings in consequence of the finance reports, G. 11. pronounced an opinion as to the inutility of this office, which, "besides being an unnecessary expence, tends to multiply accounts, and disperse the public money; as there will always be a balance left in the hands of each officer to whom any portion of it is issued;" they continue, that, "this office ought, in their opinion, to be carried on in the office of the Treasurer of the Navy, not only as being a branch of the pay of the navy, but that the officers may be contiguous to check the pay of the marines on ship board, the debts due from those who embark, and for other purposes."

There was at that time an agent as well as a paymaster, the former of whom acted as deputy, and transacted almost the whole of the business, and the commissioners recommended the continuance of the efficient



person in the office, with a salary of 600*l.* and the discontinuance of the paymaster; but the Board of Admiralty, deeming it more expedient to reverse the suggested improvement, abolished the first, and continued the second; the great diligence and regularity of Mr. G. Villiers, who was represented in the report from the Admiralty of August 1799, G. 11. as an able and attentive officer, by whom, since his appointment in 1792, the business of nearly the whole of the marine department had been conducted, being given as a reason for disregarding this recommendation of the commissioners. The removal of the agent, after a service of twenty-eight years in the marine department, was attended with an annual expence in the nature of a compensation, paid out of the marine poundage and stoppages, and directed to be inserted in the paymaster's annual account.

The committee examined several persons of experience as to the propriety of abolishing this office. [Sir A. Snape Hammond, late comptroller of the navy, thought the office of no advantage. Sir T. Thompson gave the same opinion less decisively. Mr. Rose, treasurer of the navy, thought the payments could be made at his office, together with the widows' pensions.]

The present paymaster of the navy, Mr. Smith, did not point out any objection to placing the officers now in the Marine Pay Office under the controul of the Treasurer of the Navy; who being in the course of paying about 120,000 seamen, could, in his opinion, without much inconvenience, pay 30,000 marines.

Captain Varlo, one of the four deputy paymasters, concurred in

the same view of the proposed alteration.

Captain Kempster, an agent for several officers of marines; conceived it to be essential, that either the paymaster or agent should be retained, and that it would have been much better if the latter had been continued, and the former suppressed.

Your committee therefore do not hesitate in recommending to the house, that this office should be forthwith suppressed; and that the business should be transacted in the office of the Treasurer of the Navy, under whose direction drafts may be prepared of such regulations, and an estimate of such an establishment as may be necessary for that purpose, which ought to be submitted to, and approved by the commissioners of the treasury.

It may derive consideration, whether some of the houses in Somerset Place, as they become vacant, may not be applied to the extension of such offices as are at present cramped for want of room. Your committee being of opinion, that official houses are (except in some special cases) an improvident mode of adding to salaries, or of paying public servants, inasmuch as the charges upon the public, for building in the first instance, and for continual repairs afterwards, are out of all proportion to the benefit or accommodation which is derived to the officers who inhabit them.

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The discovery of Mr. G. Villiers's default, led to the detection of another of very inferior amount, but arising principally from the same causes, in the conductor's department under the Treasurer of the Navy.

The



The business of the conductor is to pay all contingent and incidental expences incurred in the Treasurer's office (amounting annually to 13,000 or 14,000*l.*) for which purpose money is imprested to him from time to time from the Navy Board, on the authority of letters from the Paymaster of the Navy, stating that the balance stands according to the certificate of the conductor, which is enclosed in each letter.

It is the duty of the Paymaster of the Navy to examine and certify to the Navy Board, the conductor's half-yearly account, retaining the vouchers in his own office. These half-yearly accounts do not exhibit the money imprested to the conductor, nor the balance due from him. The particulars of money imprested are kept in the books of the Navy Board; but the applications for imprests pass through the paymaster's hands, who keeps no account of those imprests; nor did he conceive that it was his duty to compare the sums advanced to the conductor with the sums expended by him.

The commissioners of the navy pronounced, after full deliberation, that the conductor was not an accountant with their board for money received, as they had no controul over it; and as it was totally out of their power to ascertain, whether the balances stated in his application for money were correct, unless they were in possession of his accounts, and of the vouchers for his payments up to the date of his application.

Mr. Charles Barrow (the late conductor) was responsible for the balance of 3713*l.* at the end of

1808, which was increased to 5689*l.* in January 1810.

An extent has been issued against him for the sum due, but there is no probability that more than 500*l.* will be recovered. No security was taken for the due discharge of his duty, nor has it been usual to require it in that department. A case has been laid before the crown lawyers for their opinion as to prosecuting him criminally.

A mode of effectual check, with regard to the future balances, has been provided; and security has been taken in the sum of 2000*l.* from the successor of Mr. Barrow, in pursuance of a minute of the treasurer, dated the twelfth of March, 1810.

\* \* \* \* \*

The incidental and contingent expenditure within any office ought unquestionably to undergo a strict examination, in the first instance, by the superiors in that department; but its final audit and allowance ought not to rest there: as *no office whatever should be suffered to remain responsible only to itself*; and for this reason, as well as for those which are before stated with reference to passing the paymaster's annual accounts, your committee consider that the practice, which was established by the order in council, the ninth of August, 1806, "By which the Navy Board, to whose examination and controul the contingent expences were formerly subject, are directed to allow them on the certificate of the paymaster." (fourth report commissioners on fees, p. 136.) ought to be discontinued; and that the vouchers themselves should be transmitted together with each half-yearly account,



for final examination by the Navy Board.

\* \* \* \* \*

A default, to the amount of 93,926l. in the account of the treasurer of the ordnance, would naturally have found a place in the present report, if it had not undergone the investigation of the commissioners of military enquiry, who have lately presented in their twelfth report, an ample and distinct detail upon this subject. Your committee however desire, in passing, to call again the attention of the house to the practical inefficiency of the late act for the regulation of this office, and to enforce the observations of the commissioners "that upon the second appointment of Mr. Hunt in 1807, the not taking any security from him," was a great omission of duty.

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#### *Abstract of the Bullion Report.*

Your committee have found that the price of gold bullion, which, by the regulations of his Majesty's mint, is 3l. 17s. 10½d. per ounce of standard fineness, was, during the years 1806, 1807, and 1808, as high as 4l. in the market. Towards the end of 1808 it began to advance very rapidly, and continued very high during the whole year 1809; the market price of standard gold in bars fluctuating from 4l. 9s. to 4l. 12s. per oz. The market price at 4l. 10s. is about 15½ per cent. above the mint price.

It appeared to your committee, that it might be of use, in judging of the cause of this high price of gold bullion, to be informed also of the prices of silver during the

same period. The price of standard silver in his Majesty's mint is 5s. 2s. per ounce; at this standard price, the value of a Spanish dollar is 4s. 4d. or, which comes to the same thing, Spanish dollars are, at that standard price, worth 4s. 11½d. per ounce. It is stated in Wettenhall's Tables, that throughout the year 1809, the price of new dollars fluctuated from 5s. 5d. to 5s. 7d. per ounce, or from 10 to 13 per cent. above the mint price of standard silver. In the course of the last month, new dollars have been quoted as high as 5s. 8d. per ounce, or more than 15 per cent. above the mint price.

Your committee have likewise found, that towards the end of the year 1808, the exchanges with the continent became very unfavourable to this country, and continued still more unfavourable through the whole of 1809, and the three first months of the present year.

Hamburgh, Amsterdam, and Paris, are the principal places with which the exchanges are established at present. During the last six months of 1809, and the three first months of the present year, the exchanges on Hamburgh and Amsterdam were depressed as low as from 16 to 20 per cent. below par; and that on Paris still lower.

So extraordinary a rise in the market price of gold in this country, coupled with so remarkable a depression of our exchanges with the continent, very clearly, in the judgment of your committee, pointed to something in the state of our own domestic currency as the cause of both appearances. But, before they adopted that conclusion, which seemed agreeable to all



all former reasonings and experience, they thought it proper to enquire more particularly into the circumstances connected with each of those two facts; and to hear, from persons of commercial practice and detail, what explanations they had to offer of so unusual a state of things.

It will be found by the evidence, that the high price of gold is ascribed, by most of the witnesses, entirely to an alledged scarcity of that article, arising out of an unusual demand for it upon the continent of Europe. This unusual demand for gold upon the continent is described by some of them as being chiefly for the use of the French armies, though increased also by that state of alarm, and failure of confidence, which leads to the practice of hoarding.

Your committee are of opinion, that, in the sound and natural state of the British currency, the foundation of which is gold, no increased demand for gold from other parts of the world, however great, or from whatever causes arising, cannot have the effect of producing here, for a considerable period of time, a material rise in the market price of gold. But, before they proceed to explain the grounds of that general opinion, they wish to state some other reasons, which alone would have led them to doubt whether, in point of fact, such a demand for gold as is alledged, has operated in the manner supposed.

If there were an unusual demand for gold upon the continent, such as could influence its market price in this country, it would of course influence also, and indeed in the first instance, its price in the continental markets; and it was to be expected

that those who ascribed the high price here to a great demand abroad, would have been prepared to state that there was a corresponding high price abroad. Your committee did not find that they grounded their inference upon any such information; and so far as your committee have been enabled to ascertain, it does not appear that during the period when the price of gold bullion was rising here, as valued on our paper, there was any corresponding rise in the price of gold bullion in the market of the continent, as valued in their respective currencies.

With respect to the alledged demand for gold upon the continent for the supply of the French armies, your committee must further observe, that, if the wants of the military chest have been latterly much increased, the general supply of Europe with gold has been augmented by all the quantity which this great commercial country has spared in consequence of the substitution of another medium of circulation. And your committee cannot omit remarking, that though the circumstances which might occasion such an increased demand may recently have existed in greater force than at former periods, yet in the former wars and convulsions of the continent, they must have existed in such a degree as to produce some effect.

The two most remarkable periods prior to the present, when the market price of gold in this country has exceeded our mint price, were in the reign of King William, when the silver coin was very much worn below its standard, and in the early part of his present majesty's reign, when the gold coin was very much worn below its standard. In both



those periods, the excess of the market price of gold above its mint price was found to be owing to the bad state of the currency; and in both instances, the reformation of the currency effectually lowered the market price of gold to the level of the mint price. During the whole of the years 1796 and 1797, in which there was such a scarcity of gold, occasioned by the great demands of the country bankers in order to increase their deposits, the market price of gold never rose above the mint price.

Your committee have still further to remark upon this point, that the evidence laid before them has led them to entertain much doubt of the alledged fact, that a scarcity of gold bullion has been recently experienced in this country. That guineas have disappeared from the circulation, there can be no question; but that does not prove a scarcity of bullion, any more than the high price proves that scarcity. If gold is rendered dear by any other cause than scarcity, those who cannot purchase it without paying the high price, will be very apt to conclude that it is scarce. A very extensive home dealer who was examined, and who spoke very much of the scarcity of gold, acknowledged that he found no difficulty in getting any quantity he wanted, if he was willing to pay the price for it. And it appears to your committee, that, though in the course of the last year there have been large exportations of gold to the continent, there have been also very considerable importations of it into this country from South America, chiefly through the West Indies.

It is important also to observe, that the rise in the market price of

silver in this country, which has nearly corresponded to that of the market price of gold, cannot in any degree be ascribed to a scarcity of silver. The importations of silver have of late years been unusually large, while the usual drain for India and China has been stopped.

Since the suspension of cash payments in 1797, it is certain, that, even if gold is still our measure of value and standard of prices, it has been exposed to a new cause of variation, from the possible excess of that paper which is not convertible into gold at will; and the limit of this new variation is as indefinite as the excess to which that paper will be issued. It may indeed be doubted, whether, since the new system of Bank of England payments has been fully established, gold has in truth continued to be our measure of value; and whether we have any other standard of prices than that circulating medium, issued primarily by the Bank of England and in a secondary manner by the country banks, the variations of which in relative value may be as indefinite as the possible excess of that circulating medium. But whether our present measure of value, and standard of prices, be this paper currency thus variable in its relative value, or continues still to be gold, but gold rendered more variable than it was before in consequence of being interchangeable for a paper currency which is not at will convertible into gold, it is, in either case, most desirable for the public that our circulating medium should again be conformed, as speedily as circumstances will permit, to its real and legal standard, gold bullion.

If the gold coin of the country were



were at any time to become very much worn and lessened in weight, or if it should suffer a debasement of its standard, it is evident that there would be a proportionable rise of the market price of gold bullion above its mint price: for the mint price is the sum in coin, which is equivalent in intrinsic value to a given quantity, an ounce for example, of the metal in bullion; and if the intrinsic value of that sum of coin be lessened, it is equivalent to a less quantity of bullion than before. The same rise of the market price of gold above its mint price will take place if the local currency of this particular country, being no longer convertible into gold, should at any time be issued to excess. That excess cannot be exported to other countries, and not being convertible into specie, it is not necessarily returned upon those who issued it; it remains in the channel of circulation, and is gradually absorbed by increasing the prices of all commodities. An increase in the quantity of the local currency of a particular country, will raise prices in that country exactly in the same manner as an increase in the general supply of precious metals raises prices all over the world. By means of the increase of quantity, the value of a portion of that circulating medium, in exchange for other commodities, is lowered; in other words, the money prices of all other commodities are raised, and that of bullion with the rest. In this manner, an excess of the local currency of a particular country will occasion a rise of the market price of gold above its mint price. It is no less evident, that, in the event of the prices of commodities being raised

in one country by an augmentation in the circulating medium, while no similar augmentation in the circulating medium of a neighbouring country has led to a similar rise of prices, the currencies of those two countries will no longer continue to bear the same relative value to each other as before. The intrinsic value of a given portion of the one currency being lessened, while that of the other remains unaltered, the exchange will be computed between those two countries to the disadvantage of the former.

In this manner, a general rise of all prices, a rise in the market price of gold, and a fall of the foreign exchanges, will be the effect of an excessive quantity of circulating medium in a country which has adopted a currency, not exportable to other countries, or not convertible at will into a coin which is exportable.

It appears to your committee to have been long settled and understood as a principle, that the difference of exchange resulting from the state of trade and payments between two countries is limited by the expence of conveying and insuring the precious metals from one country to the other: at least, that it cannot for any considerable length of time exceed that limit. The real difference of exchange, resulting from the state of trade and payments, never can fall lower than the amount of such expence of carriage, including the insurance. The truth of this position is so plain, and it is so uniformly agreed to by all the practical authorities, both commercial and political, that your committee will assume it as indisputable.

Your committee are disposed to think



think from the result of the whole evidence, contradictory as it is, that the circumstances of the trade of this country, in the course of the last year, were such as to occasion a real fall of our exchanges with the continent to a certain extent, and perhaps at one period almost as low as the limit fixed by the expence of remitting gold from hence to the respective markets. And your committee is inclined to this opinion, both by what is stated regarding the excess of imports from the continent above the exports, though that is the part of the subject which is left most in doubt: and also by what is stated respecting the mode in which the payments in our trade have been latterly effected, an advance being paid upon the imports from the continent of Europe, and a long credit being given upon the exports to other parts of the world.

Your committee, observing how entirely the present depression of our exchange with Europe is referred by many persons to a great excess

of our imports above our exports, have called for an account of the actual value of those for the last five years; and Mr. Irving, the inspector-general of customs, has accordingly furnished the most accurate estimate of both that he has been enabled to form. He has also endeavoured to forward the object of the committee, by calculating how much should be deducted from the value of goods imported, on account of articles in return for which nothing is exported. These deductions consist of the produce of fisheries, and of imports from the East and West Indies, which are of the nature of rents, profits, and capital, remitted to proprietors in this country. The balance of trade in favour of this country, upon the face of the account thus made up, was

	£
In 1805 about	- 6,616,000
1806	- - - 10,437,000
1807	- - - 5,866,000
1808	- - - 12,481,000
1809	- - - 14,834,000

*The following is an Account of the official Value of our Imports and Exports with the Continent of Europe alone, in each of the last five Years:*

	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.	Balance in favour of Great Britain reckoned in official Value.
	£	£	£
1805 - -	10,008,649	15,465,430	5,456,781
1806 - -	8,197,256	13,216,386	5,019,130
1807 - -	7,973,510	12,689,590	4,716,000
1808 - -	4,210,671	11,280,490	7,069,819
1809 - -	9,551,857	23,722,615	14,170,758



The balances with Europe alone in favour of Great Britain, as exhibited in this imperfect statement, are not far from corresponding with the general and more accurate balances before given. The favourable balance of 1809, with Europe alone, if computed according to the actual value, would be much more considerable than the value of the same year, in the former general statement.

A favourable balance of trade on the face of the account of exports and imports, presented annually to parliament, is a very probable consequence of large drafts on government for foreign expenditure; an augmentation of exports, and a diminution of imports, being promoted, and even enforced, by the means of such drafts. For if the supply of bills drawn abroad, either by the agents of government, or by individuals, is disproportionate to the demand, the price of them in foreign money falls, until it is so low as to invite purchasers; and the purchasers, who are generally foreigners, not wishing to transfer their property permanently to England, have a reference to the terms on which the bills on England will purchase those British commodities which are in demand, either in their own country, or in intermediate places, with which the account may be adjusted. Thus, the price of the bills being regulated in some degree by that of British commodities, and continuing to fall till it becomes so low as to be likely to afford a profit on the purchase and exportation of these commodities, an actual exportation nearly proportionate to the amount of the bills drawn can scarcely fail to take place. It follows, that there can-

not be, for any long period, either a highly favourable or unfavourable balance of trade; for the balance no sooner affects the price of bills, than the price of bills, by its re-action on the state of trade, promotes an equalization of commercial exports and imports. Your committee have here considered cash and bullion as forming a part of the general mass of export or imported articles, and as transferred according to the state both of the supply and the demand; forming, however, under certain circumstances, and especially in the case of great fluctuations in the general commerce, a peculiarly commodious remittance.

From the foregoing reasonings relative to the state of the exchanges, your committee find it difficult to resist an inference that a portion at least of the great fall which the exchanges lately suffered, must have resulted not from the state of trade, but from a change in the relative value of our domestic currency. But when this deduction is joined with that which your committee have stated, respecting the change in the market price of gold, that inference appears to be demonstrated.

In consequence of the opinion which your committee entertain; that, in the present artificial condition of the circulating medium of this country, it is most important to watch the foreign exchanges and the market price of gold, your committee were desirous to learn, whether the directors of the Bank of England held the same opinion, and derived from it a practical rule for the controul of their circulation; and particularly whether, in the course of the last year, the great depression



depression of the exchanges, and the great rise in the price of gold, had suggested to the directors any suspicion of the currency of the country being excessive.

*Mr. Whitmore*, the late governor of the bank, stated to the committee, that, in regulating the general amount of the loans and discounts, he did "not advert to the circumstance of the exchanges; it appearing, upon a reference to the amount of our notes in circulation, and the course of exchange, that they frequently have no connection." He afterwards said, "My opinion is, I do not know whether it is that of the bank, that the amount of our paper circulation has no reference at all to the state of the exchange." And on a subsequent day, *Mr. Whitmore* stated, that "The present unfavourable state of exchange has no influence upon the amount of their issues, the bank having acted precisely in the same way as they did before." He was likewise asked, Whether, in regulating the amount of their circulation, the bank ever adverted to the difference between the market and mint price of gold? and having desired to have time to consider that question, *Mr. Whitmore*, on a subsequent day, answered it in the following terms, which suggested these further questions:—

"In taking into consideration the amount of your notes out in circulation, and in limiting the extent of your discounts to merchants, do you advert to the difference, when such exists, between the market and the mint price of gold?—We do advert to that, inasmuch as we do not discount at any time for those persons who we know, or have good

reason to suppose, export the gold.

"Do you not advert to it any farther than by refusing discounts to such persons?—We do advert to it, inasmuch as whenever any director thinks it bears upon the question of our discounts, and presses to bring forward the discussion.

"The market price of gold having, in the course of the last year, risen as high as 4*l.* 10*s.* or 4*l.* 12*s.* has that circumstance been taken into consideration by you, so as to have had any effect in diminishing or enlarging the amount of the outstanding demands?—It has not been taken into consideration by me in that view."

*Mr. Pearse*, now governor of the bank, agreed with *Mr. Whitmore* in this account of the practice of the bank, and expressed his full concurrence in the same opinion.

*Mr. Pearse*.—"In considering this subject, with reference to the manner in which bank-notes are issued, resulting from the applications made for discounts to supply the necessary want of bank-notes, by which their issue in amount is so controuled that it can never amount to an excess, I cannot see how the amount of bank-notes issued can operate upon the price of bullion, or the state of the exchanges, and therefore I am individually of opinion that the price of bullion, or the state of the exchanges, can never be a reason for lessening the amount of bank-notes to be issued, always understanding the controul which I have already described.

"Is the governor of the bank of the same opinion which has now been expressed by the deputy-governor?"

*Mr.*



*Mr. Whitmore.*—"I am so much of the same opinion, that I never think it necessary to advert to the price of gold, or the state of the exchange, on the days on which we make our advances.

"Do you advert to these two circumstances with a view to regulate the general amount of your advances?—I do not advert to it with a view to our general advances, conceiving it not to bear upon the question."

And *Mr. Harman*, another bank director, expressed his opinion in these terms: "I must very materially alter my opinions, before I can suppose that the exchanges will be influenced by any modifications of our paper currency."

The committee cannot refrain from expressing it to be their opinion, after a very deliberate consideration of this part of the subject, that it is a great practical error to suppose that the exchanges with foreign countries, and the price of bullion, are not liable to be affected by the amount of a paper currency, which is issued without the condition of payment in specie at the will of the holder. That the exchanges will be lowered, and the price of bullion raised, by an issue of such paper to excess, is not only established as a principle by the most eminent authorities upon commerce and finance, but its practical truth has been illustrated by the history of almost every state in modern times which has used a paper currency; and in all those countries, this principle has finally been resorted to by their statesmen, as the best criterion to judge by, whether such currency was or was not excessive.

In the instances which are most

familiar in the history of foreign countries, the excess of paper has been usually accompanied by another circumstance, which has no place in our situation at present—a want of confidence in the sufficiency of those funds upon which the paper had been issued. Where these two circumstances, excess and want of confidence, are conjoined, they will co-operate and produce their effect much more rapidly than when it is the result of the excess only of a paper of perfectly good credit; and in both cases, an effect of the same sort will be produced upon the foreign exchanges, and upon the price of bullion. The most remarkable examples of the former kind are to be found in the history of the paper currencies of the British Colonies in North America, in the early part of the last century, and in that of the assignats of the French Republic; to which the committee have been enabled to add another, scarcely less remarkable, from the money speculations of the Austrian government in the last campaign. The present state of the currency of Portugal affords, also, an instance of the same kind.

It was a necessary consequence of the suspension of cash payments, to exempt the bank from that drain of gold which, in former times, was sure to result from an unfavourable exchange and a high price of bullion. And the directors, released from all fears of such a drain, and no longer feeling any inconvenience from such a state of things, have not been prompted to restore the exchanges and the price of gold to their proper level by a reduction of their advances and issues. The directors, in former times, did not perhaps



perhaps perceive and acknowledge the principle more distinctly than those of the present day, but they felt the inconvenience, and obeyed its impulse; which practically established a check and limitation to the issue of paper. In the present times, the inconvenience is not felt; and the check, accordingly, is no longer in force. But your committee beg leave to report it to the house as their most clear opinion, that so long as the suspension of cash payments is permitted to subsist, the price of gold bullion and the general course of exchange with foreign countries, taken for any considerable period of time, form the best general criterion from which any inference can be drawn as to the sufficiency or excess of paper currency in circulation; and that the Bank of England cannot safely regulate the amount of its issues, without having reference to the criterion presented by these two circumstances. And upon a review of all the facts and reasonings which have already been stated, your committee are further of opinion, that, although the commercial state of this country, and the political state of the continent, may have had some influence on the high price of gold bullion and the unfavourable course of exchange with foreign countries, this price, and this depreciation, are also to be ascribed to the want of a permanent check, and a sufficient limitation of the paper currency in this country.

In connection with the general subject of this part of their report, the policy of the Bank of England respecting the amount of their circulation, your committee have now to call the attention of the house

to another topic, which was brought under their notice in the course of their enquiry, and which, in their judgment, demands the most serious consideration. The bank directors, as well as some of the merchants who have been examined, shewed a great anxiety to state to your committee a doctrine, of the truth of which they professed themselves to be most thoroughly convinced, that there can be no possible excess in the issue of Bank of England paper, so long as the advances in which it is issued are made upon the principles which at present guide the conduct of the directors; that is, so long as the discount of mercantile bills is confined to paper of undoubted solidity, arising out of real commercial transactions, and payable at short and fixed periods. That the discounts should be made only upon bills growing out of real commercial transactions, and falling due in a fixed and short period, are sound and well-established principles. But that, while the bank is restrained from paying in specie, there need be no other limit to the issue of their paper than what is fixed by such rules of discount, and that during the suspension of cash payments the discount of good bills falling due at short periods cannot lead to any excess in the amount of bank paper in circulation, appears to your committee to be a doctrine wholly erroneous in principle, and pregnant with dangerous consequences in practice.

But before your committee proceed to make such observations upon this theory as it appears to them to deserve, they think it right to shew from the evidence, to what extent it is entertained by some of those



those individuals who have been at the head of the affairs of the bank. The opinions held by those individuals are likely to have an important practical influence; and appeared to your committee, moreover, the best evidence of what has constituted the actual policy of that establishment in its corporate capacity.

*Mr. Whitmore*, the late governor of the bank, expressly states, "The bank never force a note in circulation, and there will not remain a note in circulation more than the immediate wants of the public require; for no banker, I presume, will keep a larger stock of bank-notes by him than his immediate payments require, as he can at all times procure them." The reason here assigned is more particularly explained by *Mr. Whitmore*, when he says, "The bank-notes would revert to us if there was a redundancy in circulation, as no one would pay interest for a bank-note that he did not want to make use of." *Mr. Whitmore* further states, "The criterion by which I judge of the exact proportion to be maintained between the occasions of the public, and the issues of the bank, is by avoiding as much as possible to discount what does not appear to be legitimate mercantile paper." And further, when asked, What measure the court of directors has to judge by, whether the quantity of bank-notes out in circulation is at any time excessive? *Mr. Whitmore* states, that their measure of the security or abundance of bank-notes is certainly by the greater or less application that is made to them for the discount of good paper.

*Mr. Pearse*, late deputy-gover-

nor, and now governor of the bank, stated very distinctly his concurrence in opinion with *Mr. Whitmore* upon this particular point. He referred "to the manner in which bank-notes are issued, resulting from the applications made for discounts to supply the necessary want of bank-notes, by which their issue in amount is so controuled, that it can never amount to an excess." He considers "the amount of the bank-notes in circulation as being controuled by the occasions of the public, for internal purposes;" and that "from the manner in which the issue of bank-notes is controuled, the public will never call for more than is absolutely necessary for their wants."

Another director of the bank, *Mr. Harman*, being asked, If he thought that the sum total of discounts applied for, even though the accommodation afforded should be on the security of good bills to safe persons, might be such as to produce some excess in the quantity of the bank issues, if fully complied with? He answered, "I think if we discount only for solid persons, and such paper as is for real *bona fide* transactions, we cannot materially err." And he afterwards states, that what he should consider as the test of a superabundance would be, "money being more plentiful in the market."

It is material to observe, that both *Mr. Whitmore* and *Mr. Pearse* state that "the bank does not comply with the whole demand upon them for discounts, and that they are never induced, by a view to their own profit, to push their issues beyond what they deem consistent with the public interest."

Another very important part of  
the



the evidence of these gentlemen upon the point, is contained in the following extract :

“ Is it your opinion that the same security would exist against any excess in the issues of the bank, if the rate of the discount were reduced from 5l. to 4l. per cent.?”

Answer.---The security of an excess of issue would be, I conceive, precisely the same.” *Mr. Pearse*.---“ I concur in that answer.”

“ If it were reduced to 3l. per cent.?”---*Mr. Whitmore*, “ I conceive there would be no difference, if our practice remained the same as now, of not forcing a note into circulation.” *Mr. Pearse*.---“ I concur in that answer.”

Your committee cannot help again calling the attention of the house to the view which this evidence presents, of the consequences which have resulted from the peculiar situation in which the Bank of England was placed by the suspension of cash payments. So long as the paper of the bank was convertible into specie at the will of the holder, it was enough, both for the safety of the bank and for the public interest in what regarded its circulating medium, that the directors attended only to the character and quality of the bills discounted, as real ones, and payable at fixed and short periods. They could not much exceed the proper bounds in respect of the quantity and amount of bills discounted, so as thereby to produce an excess of their paper in circulation, without quickly finding that the surplus returned upon themselves in demand for specie. The private interest of the bank to guard themselves against a continued demand of that nature, was a sufficient protection for the public

against any such excess of bank paper, as would occasion a material fall in the relative value of the circulating medium.

The restriction of cash-payments, as has already been shewn, having rendered the same preventive policy no longer necessary to the bank, has removed that check upon its issues which was the public security against an excess. When the bank directors were no longer exposed to the inconvenience of a drain upon them for gold, they naturally felt that they had no such inconvenience to guard against by a more restrained system of discounts and advances; and it was very natural for them to pursue as before (but without that sort of guard and limitation, which was now become unnecessary to their own security) the same liberal and prudent system of commercial advances from which the prosperity of their own establishment had resulted, as well as in a great degree the commercial prosperity of the whole country. It was natural for the bank directors to believe, that nothing but benefit could accrue to the public at large, while they saw the growth of bank profits go hand in hand with the accommodations granted to the merchants. It was hardly to be expected of the directors of the bank, that they should be fully aware of the consequences that might result from their pursuing, after the suspension of cash payments, the same system which they had found a safe one before. To watch the operation of so new a law, and to provide against the injury which might result from it to the public interests, was the province, not so much of the bank as of the legislature; and, in the opinion



nion of your committee, there is no room to regret that this house has not taken earlier notice of all the consequences of that law.

By far the most important of those consequences is, that while the convertibility into specie no longer exists as a check to an over issue of paper, the bank directors have not perceived that the removal of that check rendered it possible that such an excess might be issued by the discount of perfectly good bills. So far from perceiving this, your committee have shewn that they maintain the contrary doctrine with the utmost confidence, however it may be qualified occasionally by some of their expressions. That this doctrine is a very fallacious one, your committee cannot entertain a doubt. The fallacy, upon which it is founded, lies in not distinguishing between an advance of capital to merchants, and an addition of supply of currency to the general mass of circulating medium. If the advance of capital only is considered, as made to those who are ready to employ it in judicious and productive undertakings, it is evident there need be no other limit to the total amount of advances than what the means of the lender, and his prudence in the selection of borrowers may impose. But, in the present situation of the bank, intrusted as it is with the functions of supplying the public with that paper currency which forms the basis of our circulation, and at the same time not subjected to the liability of converting the paper into specie, every advance which it makes of capital to the merchants in the shape of discount, becomes an addition also to the mass of circulating medium. In

the first instance, when the advance is made by notes paid in discount of a bill, it is undoubtedly so much capital, so much power of making purchases, placed in the hands of the merchant who receives the notes: and if those hands are safe, the operation is so far, and in this its first step, useful and productive to the public. But as soon as the portion of circulating medium, in which the advance was thus made, performs in the hands of him to whom it was advanced this its first operation as capital, as soon as the notes are exchanged by him for some other article which is capital, they fall into the channel of circulation as so much circulating medium, and form an addition to the mass of currency. The necessary effect of every such addition to the mass, is to diminish the relative value of any given portion of that mass in exchange for commodities. If the addition were made by notes convertible into specie, this diminution of the relative value of any given portion of the whole mass, would speedily bring back upon the bank, which issued the notes, as much as was excessive. But if by law they are not so convertible, of course this excess will not be brought back, but will remain in the channel of circulation, until paid in again to the bank itself in discharge of the bills which were originally discounted. During the whole time they remain out, they perform all the functions of circulating medium; and before they come to be paid in discharge of those bills they have already been followed by a new issue of notes in a similar operation of discounting. Each successive advance repeats the same



process. If the whole sum of discounts continues outstanding at a given amount, there will remain permanently out in circulation a corresponding amount of paper; and if the amount of discounts is progressively increasing, the amount of paper, which remains out in circulation over and above what is otherwise wanted for the occasions of the public, will progressively increase also, and the money prices of commodities will progressively rise. This progress may be as indefinite as the range of speculation and adventure in a great commercial country.

It is necessary to observe, that the law, which in this country limits the rate of interest, and, of course the rate at which the bank can legally discount, exposes the bank to still more extensive demands for commercial discounts. While the rate of commercial profit is very considerably higher than five per cent. as it has lately been in many branches of our foreign trade, there is in fact no limit to the demands which merchants of perfectly good capital, and of the most prudent spirit of enterprize, may be tempted to make upon the bank for accommodation and facilities by discount. Nor can any argument or illustration place in a more striking point of view the extent to which such of the bank directors, as were examined before the committee, seem to have in theory embraced that doctrine upon which your committee have made these observations, as well as the practical consequences to which that doctrine may lead in periods of a high spirit of commercial adventure, than the opinion which Mr. Whitmore and Mr. Pearse have

delivered; that the same complete security to the public against any excess in the issues of the bank would exist if the rate of discount were reduced from five to four, or even to three per cent. From the evidence, however, of the late governor and deputy governor of the bank, it appears, that though they state the principle broadly that there can be no excess of their circulation, if issued according to their rules of discount, yet they disclaim the idea of acting up to it in its whole extent; though they stated the applications for the discount of legitimate bills to be their sole criterion of abundance or scarcity, they gave your committee to understand, that they do not discount to the full extent of such applications. In other words, the directors do not act up to the principle which they represent as one perfectly sound and safe, and must be considered, therefore, as possessing no distinct and certain rule to guide their discretion in controuling the amount of their circulation.

The suspension of cash payments has had the effect of committing into the hands of the directors of the Bank of England, to be exercised by their sole discretion, the important charge of supplying the country with that quantity of circulating medium which is exactly proportioned to the wants and occasions of the public. In the judgment of the committee, that is a trust, which it is unreasonable to expect that the directors of the Bank of England should ever be able to discharge. The most detailed knowledge of the actual trade of the country, combined with the profound science in all the principles



ciples of money and circulation, would not enable any man or set of men to adjust, and keep always adjusted, the right proportion of circulating medium in a country to the wants of trade. When the currency consists entirely of the precious metals, or of paper convertible at will into the precious metals, the natural process of commerce, by establishing exchanges among all the different countries of the world, adjusts, in every particular country, the proportion of circulating medium to its actual occasions, according to that supply of the precious metals which the mines furnish to the general market of the world. The proportion which is thus adjusted and maintained by the natural operation of commerce, cannot be adjusted by any human wisdom or skill. If the natural system of currency and circulation be abandoned, and a discretionary issue of paper money substituted in its stead, it is vain to think that any rules can be devised for the exact exercise of such a discretion; though some cautions may be pointed out to check and controul its consequences, such as are indicated by the effect of an excessive issue upon exchanges and the price of gold. The directors of the Bank of England, in the judgment of your committee, have exercised the new and extraordinary discretion reposed in them since 1797, with an integrity and a regard to the public interest according to their conceptions of it, and indeed a degree of forbearance in turning it less to the profit of the bank than it would easily have admitted of, that merit the continuance of that confidence which the public has so long and so justly felt in the integrity with

which its affairs are directed, as well as in the unshaken stability and ample funds of that great establishment. That their recent policy involves great practical errors, which it is of the utmost public importance to correct, your committee are fully convinced; but those errors are less to be imputed to the bank directors, than to be stated as the effect of a new system, of which, however, it originated, or was rendered necessary as a temporary expedient, it might have been well if parliament had sooner taken into view all the consequences. When your committee consider that this discretionary power, of supplying the kingdom with circulating medium, has been exercised under an opinion that the paper could not be issued to excess, if advanced in discounts to merchants in good bills payable at stated periods, and likewise under an opinion that neither the price of bullion nor the course of exchanges need be adverted to, as affording any indication with respect to the sufficiency or excess of such paper, your committee cannot hesitate to say, that these opinions of the bank must be regarded as in a great measure the operative cause of the continuance of the present state of things.

Your committee will now proceed to state, from the information which has been laid before them, what appears to have been the progressive increase, and to be the present amount, of the paper circulation of this country, consisting primarily of the notes of the Bank of England not at present convertible into specie; and, in a secondary manner, of the notes of the country bankers which are convertible, at the option of the holder, into Bank of England



land paper. After having stated the amount of Bank of England paper, your committee will explain the reason which induce them to think that the numerical amount of that paper is not alone to be considered as decisive of the question as to its excess: and before stating the amount of country bank paper, so far as that can be ascertained, your committee will explain their reasons for thinking, that the amount of the country bank circulation is limited by the amount of that of the Bank of England.

I. It appears from the accounts laid before the committees upon

affairs, in 1797, that for several years previous to the year 1796, the average amount of bank notes in circulation was between 10,000,000*l.* and 11,000,000*l.*; hardly ever falling below 9,000,000*l.* and not often exceeding to any great amount 11,000,000*l.*

The following abstract of the several accounts referred to your committee, or ordered by your committee from the bank, will shew the progressive increase of the notes from the year 1798 to the end of the last year.

*Average Amount of Bank of England Notes in circulation in each of the following years.*

	Notes of 5 <i>l.</i> and upwards, including Bank Post Bills.	Notes under 5 <i>l.</i>	TOTAL.
	£.	£.	£.
1798	11,527,250	1,807,502	13,334,752
1799	12,408,522	1,653,805	14,062,327
1800	13,598,666	2,243,266	15,841,932
1801	13,454,367	2,715,182	16,169,549
1802	13,917,977	3,136,477	17,054,454
1803	12,983,477	3,864,045	16,847,522
1804	12,621,348	4,723,672	17,345,020
1805	12,697,352	4,544,580	17,241,932
1806	12,844,170	4,291,230	17,135,400
1807	13,221,988	4,183,013	17,405,001
1808	13,402,160	4,132,420	17,534,580
1809	14,133,615	4,868,275	19,001,890

Taking from the accounts the last half of the year 1809, the average will be found higher than for the whole year, and amounts to 19,880,310*l.*

The notes of the Bank of England are principally issued in advances to government for the public service, and in advances to the

merchants upon the discount of their bills.

Your committee have had an account laid before them, of advances made by the bank to government on land and malt, exchequer bills, and other securities, in every year since the suspension of cash payments; from which, as compared



compared with the accounts laid before the committees of 1797, and which were then carried back for twenty years, it will appear that the yearly advances of the bank to government have, upon an average, since the suspension, been considerably lower in amount than the average amount of advances prior to that event, and the amount of those advances, in the two last years, though greater in amount than those of some years immediately preceding, is less than it was for any of the six years preceding the restriction of cash payments.

With respect to the amount of commercial discounts, your committee did not think it proper to require from the directors of the bank a disclosure of their absolute amount, being a part of their private transactions as a commercial company, of which, without urgent reason, it did not seem right to demand a disclosure. The late governor and deputy governor, however, at the desire of your committee, furnished a comparative scale, in progressive numbers, shewing the increase of the amount of their discounts from the year 1790 to 1809, both inclusive. They made a request, with which your committee have thought it proper to comply, that this document might not be made public; the committee therefore have not placed it in the appendix to the present report, but have returned it to the bank. Your committee, however, have to state in general terms, that the amount of discounts has been progressively increasing since the year 1796; and that their amount, in the last year (1809) bears a very high proportion to their largest amount in any year

preceding 1797. Upon this particular subject, your committee are only anxious to remark, that the largest amount of mercantile discounts by the bank, if it could be considered by itself, ought never, in their judgment, to be regarded as any other than a great public benefit; and that it is only the excess of paper currency thereby issued, and kept out in circulation, which is to be considered as the evil.

But your committee must not omit to state one very important principle, that the mere numerical return of the amount of bank notes out in circulation, cannot be considered as at all deciding the question, whether such paper is or is not excessive. It is necessary to have recourse to other tests. The same amount of paper may at one time be less than enough, and at another time more. The quantity of currency required will vary in some degree with the extent of trade; and the increase of our trade, which has taken place since the suspension, must have occasioned some increase in the quantity of our currency. But the quantity of currency bears no fixed proportion to the quantity of commodities; and any inferences proceeding upon such a supposition, would be entirely erroneous. The effective currency of the country depends upon the quickness of circulation, and the number of exchanges performed in a given time, as well as upon its numerical amount; and all the circumstances, which have a tendency to quicken or to retard the rate of circulation, render the same amount of currency more or less adequate to the wants of trade. A much smaller amount is required in



a high state of public credit, than when alarms make individuals call in their advances, and provide against accidents by hoarding; and in a period of commercial security and private confidence, than when mutual distrust discourages pecuniary arrangements for any distant time. But above all, the same amount of currency will be more or less adequate, in proportion to the skill which the great money-dealers possess in managing and economizing the use of the circulating medium. Your committee are of opinion, that the improvements which have taken place of late years in this country, and particularly in the district of London, with regard to the use and economy of money among bankers, and in the mode of adjusting commercial payments, must have had a much greater effect than has hitherto been ascribed to them, in rendering the same sum adequate to a much greater amount of trade and payments than formerly. Some of those improvements will be found detailed in the evidence: they consist principally in the increased use of bankers drafts in the common payments of London; the contrivance of bringing all such drafts daily to a common receptacle, where they are balanced against each other; the intermediate agency of bill-brokers; and several other changes in the practice of London bankers, are to the same effect, of rendering it unnecessary for them to keep so large a deposit of money as formerly. Within the London district, it would certainly appear, that a smaller sum of money is required than formerly, to perform the same number of exchanges and amount of payments, if the rate of prices had remained the same. It

is material also to observe, that both the policy of the Bank of England itself, and the competition of the country bank paper, have tended to compress the paper of the Bank of England, more and more, within London and the adjacent district. All these circumstances must have co-operated to render a smaller augmentation of Bank of England paper necessary to supply the demands of our increased trade, than might otherwise have been required; and shew how impossible it is, from the numerical amount alone of that paper, to pronounce whether it is excessive or not: a more sure criterion must be resorted to; and such a criterion, your committee have already shewn, is only to be found in the state of the exchanges, and the price of gold bullion.

The particular circumstances of the two years which are so remarkable in the recent history of our circulation, 1793 and 1797, throw great light upon the principle which your committee have last stated.

In the year 1793 the distress was occasioned by a failure of confidence in the country circulation, and a consequent pressure upon that of London. The Bank of England did not think it advisable to enlarge their issues to meet this increased demand, and their notes previously issued, circulating less freely in consequence of the alarm that prevailed, proved insufficient for the necessary payments. In this crisis, parliament applied a remedy, very similar, in its effect, to an enlargement of the advances and issues of the bank, a loan of exchequer bills was authorized to be made to as many mercantile persons giving good security, as should apply



apply for them : and the confidence which this measure diffused, as well as the increased means which it afforded of obtaining bank notes through the sale of the exchequer bills, speedily relieved the distress both of London and the country. Without offering an opinion upon the expediency of the particular mode in which this operation was effected, your committee think it an important illustration of the principle, that an enlarged accommodation is the true remedy for that occasional failure of confidence in the country districts, to which our system of paper credit is unavoidably exposed.

The circumstances which occurred in the beginning of the year 1797, were very similar to those of 1793 ; an alarm of invasion, a run upon the country banks for gold, the failure of some of them, and a run upon the Bank of England, forming a crisis like that of 1793, for which perhaps an effectual remedy might have been provided, if the Bank of England had had courage to extend instead of restricting its accommodations and issues of notes. Some few persons, it appears from the report of the secret committee of the lords, were of this opinion at the time ; and the late governor and deputy governor of the bank stated to your committee, that they and many of the directors, are now satisfied, from the experience of the year 1797, that the diminution of their notes in that emergency increased the public distress ; an opinion in the correctness of which your committee entirely concur.

It appears to your committee, that the experience of the Bank of England, in the years 1793 and 1797,

contrasted with the facts which have been stated in the present report, suggests a distinction most important to be kept in view, between that demand upon the bank for gold for the supply of the domestic channels of circulation, sometimes a very great and sudden one, which is occasioned by a temporary failure of confidence, and that drain upon the bank for gold which grows out of an unfavourable state of the foreign exchanges. The former, while the bank maintains its high credit, seems likely to be best relieved by a judicious increase of accommodation to the country ; the latter, so long as the bank does not pay in specie, ought to suggest to the directors a question, whether their issues may not be already too abundant.

Your committee have much satisfaction in thinking, that the directors are perfectly aware that they may err by a too scanty supply in a period of stagnant credit. And your committee are clearly of opinion, that although it ought to be the general policy of the bank directors to diminish their paper in the event of the long continuance of a high price of bullion, and a very unfavourable exchange, yet it is essential to the commercial interests of this country, and to the general fulfilment of those mercantile engagements which a free issue of paper may have occasioned, that the accustomed degree of accommodation to the merchants should not be suddenly and materially reduced ; and that if any general and serious difficulty or apprehension on this subject should arise, it may, in the judgment of your committee, be counteracted without danger, and with advantage to the public,



by a liberality in the issue of Bank of England paper, proportioned to the urgency of the particular occasion. Under such circumstances, it belongs to the bank to take likewise into their own consideration, how far it may be practicable, consistently with a due regard to the immediate interests of the public service, rather to reduce their paper by a gradual reduction of their advances to government, than by too suddenly abridging the discounts to the merchants.

II. Before your committee proceed to detail what they have collected with respect to the amount of country bank paper, they must observe, that so long as the cash payments of the bank are suspended, the whole paper of the country bankers is a superstructure raised upon the foundation of the paper of the Bank of England. The same check, which the convertibility into specie, under a better system provides against the excess of any part of the paper circulation, is, during the present system, provided against an excess of country bank paper, by its convertibility into Bank of England paper. If an excess of paper be issued in a country district, while the London circulation does not exceed its due proportion, there will be a local

rise of prices in that country district, but prices in London will remain as before. Those who have the country paper in their hands will prefer buying in London where things are cheaper, and will therefore return that country paper upon the banker who issued it, and will demand from him Bank of England notes or bills upon London; and thus, the excess of country paper being continually returned upon the issuers for Bank of England paper, the quantity of the latter necessarily and effectually limits the quantity of the former. This is illustrated by the account which has been already given of the excess, and subsequent limitation, of the paper of the Scotch banks, about the year 1763. If the Bank of England paper itself should at any time, during the suspension of cash payments, be issued to excess, a corresponding excess may be issued of country bank paper, which will not be checked; the foundation being enlarged, the superstructure admits of a proportionate extension. And thus, under such a system, the excess of Bank of England paper will produce its effect upon prices not merely in the ratio of its own increase, but in a much higher proportion.

*Number of Country Bank Notes exceeding 2l. 2s. each, stamped in the years ended the 10th of October 1808, and 10th of October 1809, respectively.*

	1808.	1809.
	No.	No.
Exceeding 2l. 2s. and not exceeding 5l. 5s.	666,071	922,073
Exceeding 5l. 5s. and not exceeding 20l. . .	198,473	380,006
Exceeding 20l. and not exceeding 30l. . . . .	.....	2,425
Exceeding 30l. and not exceeding 50l. . . . .	.....	674
Exceeding 50l. and not exceeding 100l. . .	.....	2,611

Assuming



Assuming that the notes in the two first of these classes were all issued for the lowest denomination to which the duties respectfully attach, and such as are most commonly met with in the circulation of country paper, viz. notes of 5l. and 10l. [although in the second class there is a considerable number of 20l.] and even omitting altogether from the comparison the notes of the three last classes, the issue of which your committee understands is in fact confined to the chartered banks of Scotland, the result would be, that, exclusive of any increase in the number of notes under 2l. 2s. the amount of country bank paper stamped in the year ended the 10th of October 1809, has exceeded that of the year ended on the 10th of October 1808, in the sum of 3,095,340l. Your committee can form no positive conjecture as to the amount of country bank paper cancelled and withdrawn from circulation in the course of the last year. But considering that it is the interest and practice of the country bankers to use the same notes as long as possible; that, as the law now stands, there is no limitation of time to the re-issuing of those not exceeding 2l. 2s.; and that all above that amount are re-issuable for three years from the date of their first issuing; it appears difficult to suppose that the amount of notes above 2l. 2s. cancelled in 1809, could be equal to the whole amount stamped in 1808; but even upon that supposition, there would still be an increase for 1809 in the notes of 5l. and 10l. alone, to the amount above specified of 3,095,340l. to which must be added an increase within the same

period of Bank of England notes to the amount of about 1,500,000l. making, in the year 1809, an addition in the whole of between four and five millions to the circulation of Great Britain alone, deducting only the gold which may have been withdrawn in the course of that year from actual circulation, which cannot have been very considerable, and also making an allowance for some increase in the amount of such country paper, as, though stamped may not be in actual circulation. This increase in the general paper currency in last year, even after these deductions, would probably be little short of the amount which in almost any one year, since the discovery of America, has been added to the circulating coin of the whole of Europe. Although, as your committee has already had occasion to observe, no certain conclusion can be drawn from the numerical amount of paper in circulation, considered abstractedly from all other circumstances, either as to such paper being in excess, or still less as to the proportion of such excess; yet they must remark, that the fact of any very great and rapid increase in that amount, when coupled and attended with all the indications of a depreciated circulation, does afford the strongest confirmatory evidence, that, from the want of some adequate check, the issues of such paper have not been restrained within their proper limits.

Your committee cannot quit this part of the subject without further observing, that the addition of between four and five millions sterling to the paper circulation of this country, has doubtless been made at a very small expence to the parties



ties issuing it, only about 100,000*l.* having been paid thereupon in stamps to the revenue, and probably for the reasons already stated, no corresponding deposits of gold or Bank of England notes being deemed by the country banks necessary to support their additional issues. These parties therefore, it may be fairly stated, have been enabled under the protection of the law, which virtually secures them against such demands, to create within the last year or fifteen months, at a very trifling expence, and in a manner almost free from all present risk to their respective credits as dealers in paper money, issues of that article to the amount of several millions, operating, in the first instance and in their hands, as capital for their own benefit, and when used as such by them, falling into and in succession mixing itself with the mass of circulation of which the value in exchange for all other commodities is gradually lowered in proportion as that mass is augmented. If your committee could be of opinion that the wisdom of parliament would not be directed to apply a proper remedy to a state of things so unnatural, and teeming, if not corrected in time, with ultimate consequences so prejudicial to the public welfare, they would not hesitate to declare an opinion, that some mode ought to be derived of enabling the state to participate much more largely in the profits accruing from the present system; but as this is by no means the policy they wish to recommend, they will conclude their observations on this part of the subject, by observing, that in proportion as they most fully agree with Dr. Adam Smith, and all the most able

writers and statesmen of this country, in considering a paper circulation constantly convertible into specie, as one of the greatest practical improvements which can be made in the political and domestic economy of any state; and in viewing the establishment of the country banks issuing such paper as a most valuable and essential branch of that improvement in this kingdom; in the same proportion is your committee anxious to revert, as speedily as possible, to the former practice and state of things in this respect: convinced on the one hand, that any thing like a permanent and systematic departure from that practice must ultimately lead to results, which among other attendant calamities, would be destructive of the system itself; and on the other, that such an event would be the more to be deprecated, as it is only in a country like this, where good faith, both public and private, is held so high, and where, under the happy union of liberty and law, property and the securities of every description by which it is represented are equally protected against the encroachments of power and the violence of popular commotion, that the advantages of this system, unaccompanied with any of its dangers, can be permanently enjoyed, and carried to their fullest extent.

Upon a review of all the facts and reasonings which have been submitted to the consideration of your committee in the course of their enquiry, they have formed an opinion, which they submit to the house:—that there is at present an excess in the paper circulation of this country, of which the most unequivocal symptom is the very high price of bullion, and next to that



that the low state of the continental exchanges,; that this excess is to be ascribed to the want of a sufficient check and controul in the issues of paper from the Bank of England; and originally, to the suspension of cash payments, which removed the natural and true controul. For upon a general view of the subject, your committee are of opinion, that no safe, certain and constantly adequate provision against an excess of paper currency, either occasional or permanent, can be found, except in the convertibility of all such paper into specie. Your committee cannot, therefore, but see reason to regret, that the suspension of cash payments, which, in the most favourable light in which it can be viewed, was only a temporary measure, has been continued so long; and particularly, that by the manner in which the present continuing act is framed, the character should have been given to it of a perfect war measure.

Your committee conceive that it would be superfluous to point out, in detail, the disadvantages which must result to the country, from any such general excess of currency as lowers its relative value. The effect of such an augmentation of prices upon all money transactions for time; the unavoidable injury suffered by annuitants, and by creditors of every description, both private and public; the unintended advantage gained by government and all other debtors; are consequences too obvious to require proof, and too repugnant to justice to be left without remedy. By far the most important portion of this effect appears to your committee to be that which is communi-

cated to the wages of common country labour, the rate of which it is well known, adapts itself more slowly to the changes which happen in the value of money, than the price of any other species of labour or commodity. And it is enough for your committee to allude to some classes of the public servants, whose pay, if once raised in consequence of a depreciation of money, cannot so conveniently be reduced again to its former rate, even after money shall have recovered its value. The future progress of these inconveniences and evils, if not checked, must at no great distance of time, work a practical conviction upon the minds of all those who may still doubt their existence; but even if their progressive increase were less probable than it appears to your committee, they cannot help expressing an opinion, that the integrity and honour of parliament are concerned, not to authorise, longer than is required by imperious necessity, the continuance in this great commercial country of a system of circulation, in which that natural check or controul is absent which maintains the value of money, and, by the permanency of that common standard of value, secures the substantial justice and faith of monied contracts and obligations between man and man.

Your committee moreover beg leave to advert to the temptation to resort to a depreciation even of the value of the gold coin by an alteration of the standard, to which parliament itself might be subjected by a great and long continued excess of paper. This has been the resource of many governments under such circumstances, and is the obvious and most easy remedy to the evil



evil in question. But it is unnecessary to dwell on the breach of public faith and dereliction of a primary duty of government, which would manifestly be implied in preferring the reduction of the coin down to the standard of the paper, to the restoration of the paper to the legal standard of the coin.

Your committee, therefore, having very anxiously and deliberately considered this subject, report it to the house as their opinion, that the system of the circulating medium of this country ought to be brought back, with as much speed as is compatible with a wise and necessary caution, to the original principle of cash payments at the option of the holder of bank paper.

Your committee have understood that remedies, or palliatives, of a different nature, have been projected; such as, a compulsory limitation of the amount of bank advances and discounts, during the continuance of the suspension; or, a compulsory limitation during the same period, of the rate of bank profits and dividends, by carrying the surplus of profits above that rate to the public account. But, in the judgment of your committee, such indirect schemes, for palliating the possible evils resulting from the suspension of cash payments, would prove wholly inadequate for that purpose, because the necessary proportion could never be adjusted; and if once fixed, might aggravate very much the inconveniencies of a temporary pressure; and even if their efficacy could be made to appear, they would be objectionable, as a most hurtful and improper interference with the rights of commercial property.

According to the best judgment

your committee has been enabled to form, no sufficient remedy for the present, or security for the future, can be pointed out, except the repeal of the law which suspends the cash payments of the Bank of England.

In effecting so important a change your committee are of opinion that some difficulties must be encountered, and that there are some contingent dangers to the bank, against which it ought most carefully and strongly to be guarded. But all those may be effectually provided for, by entrusting to the discretion of the bank itself the charge of conducting and completing the operation, and by allowing to the bank so ample a period of time for conducting it, as will be more than sufficient to effect its completion. To the discretion, experience, and integrity of the directors of the bank, your committee believe that parliament may safely entrust the charge of effecting that which parliament may in its wisdom determine upon as necessary to be effected; and that the directors of that great institution, far from making themselves a party with those who have a temporary interest in spreading alarm, will take a much longer view of the permanent interests of the bank, as indissolubly blended with those of the public. The particular mode of gradually effecting the resumption of cash payments ought therefore, in the opinion of your committee, to be left in a great measure to the discretion of the bank, and parliament ought to do little more than to fix, definitively, the time at which cash payments are to become as before compulsory. The period allowed ought to be ample, in order that the bank directors



directors may feel their way, and that, having a constant watch upon the varying circumstances that ought to guide them, and availing themselves only of favourable circumstances, they may tread back their steps slowly, and may preserve both the course of their own affairs as a company, and that of public and commercial credit, not only safe but unembarrassed.

With this view, your committee would suggest, that the restriction on cash payments cannot safely be removed at an earlier period than two years from the present time; but your committee are of opinion that early provision ought to be made by parliament for terminating, by the end of that period, the operation of the several statutes which have imposed and continued that restriction.

In suggesting this period of two years, your committee have not overlooked the circumstance, that, as the law stands at present, the bank would be compelled to pay in cash at the end of six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace; so that if peace were to be concluded within that period, the recommendation of your committee might seem to have the effect of postponing, instead of accelerating the resumption of payments. But your committee are of opinion, that if peace were immediately to be ratified, in the present state of our circulation, it would be most hazardous to compel the bank to pay cash in six months, and would be found wholly impracticable. Indeed, the restoration of peace, by opening new fields of commercial enterprise, would multiply instead of abridging the demands upon the bank for

discount, and would render it peculiarly distressing to the commercial world if the bank were suddenly and materially to restrict their issues. Your committee are therefore of opinion, that even if peace should intervene, two years should be given to the bank for resuming its payments; but that even if the war should be prolonged, cash payments should be resumed by the end of that period.

Your committee have not been indifferent to the consideration of the possible occurrence of political circumstances, which may be thought hereafter to furnish an argument in favour of some prolongation of the proposed period of resuming cash payments, or even in favour of a new law for their temporary restriction after the bank shall have opened. They are, however, far from anticipating a necessity, even in any case, of returning to the present system. But if occasion for a new measure of restriction could be supposed at any time to arise, it can in no degree be grounded, as your committee think, on any state of the foreign exchanges (which they trust that they have abundantly shewn the bank itself to have the general power of controlling) but on a political state of things producing, or likely very soon to produce, an alarm at home, leading to so indefinite a demand for cash for domestic uses, as it must be impossible for any banking establishment to provide against. A return to the ordinary system of banking is, on the very ground of the late extravagant fall of the exchanges and high price of gold, peculiarly requisite. That alone can effectually restore general confidence in the value of the circulating



ing medium of the kingdom; and the serious expectation of this event must enforce a preparatory reduction of the quantity of paper, and all other measures which accord with the true principles of banking. The anticipation of the time when the bank will be constrained to open, may also be expected to contribute to the improvement of the exchanges; whereas a postponement of this era, so indefinite as that of six months after the termination of the war, and especially in the event of an exchange continuing to fall (which more and more would generally be perceived to arise from an excess of paper, and a consequent depreciation of it) may lead, under an unfavourable state of public affairs, to such a failure of confidence (and especially among foreigners) in the determination of parliament to enforce a return to the professed standard of the measure of payments, as may serve to precipitate the further fall of the exchanges, and lead to consequences at once the most discreditable and disastrous.

Although the details of the best mode of returning to cash payments ought to be left to the discretion of the bank of England, as already stated, certain provisions would be necessary, under the authority of parliament, both for the convenience of the bank itself, and for the security of the other banking establishments in this country and in Ireland.

Your committee conceive it may be convenient for the bank to be permitted to issue notes under the value of 5l. for some little time after it had resumed payments in specie.

It will be convenient also for the

chartered banks of Ireland and Scotland, and all the country banks, that they should not be compelled to pay in specie until some time after the resumption of payments in cash by the Bank of England; but that they should continue for a short period upon their present footing, of being liable to pay their own notes on demand in Bank of England paper.

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### *Abstract of Report on Sinecure Places.*

*First Report from the select Committee of the Honourable House of Commons, appointed to consider what Offices in the United Kingdom, and in the Foreign Dominions of his Majesty, come within the purview of the second, third, or fourth Resolutions of the House, on the third report from the Committee on the Public Expenditure of the United Kingdom.*

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[Ordered to be printed, the twentieth of June, 1810.]

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The resolutions referred to your committee are as follow:

II. Resolved, That in addition to the useful and effective measures already taken by parliament, for the abolition and regulation of various sinecure offices, and offices executed by deputy, it is expedient, after providing other and sufficient means for enabling his majesty duly to recompence the faithful discharge of high and effective civil offices, to abolish all offices which have revenue without employment, and to regulate all offices which have revenue extremely disproportionate to employment; excepting only such

as



as are connected with the personal service of his majesty, or of his royal family, regard being had to the existing interests in any offices so to be abolished or regulated.

III. Resolved, That it is expedient to reduce all offices, of which the effective duties are entirely or principally discharged by deputy, to the salary and emoluments actually received for executing the business of such offices; regard being had to any increase which may appear necessary on account of additional responsibility, and sufficient security being taken for due performance of the service in all cases of trust connected with public money; regard being also had to the existing interests in such office.

IV. Resolved, That it is expedient, after the expiration of any existing interest in any office which is entitled to the sale of any appointment in any of the courts of law, to make provision to prevent the sale of such offices, under such regulations as may be conducive to the public interest, by appropriating a part of the emoluments of such offices towards defraying the salaries of the judges, or other officers on the establishment of such courts, or towards the benefit and dignity of the offices in which such right of sale is now vested.

The offices which come within the purview of these resolutions are,

1. Offices having revenue without employment;
2. Offices having revenue extremely disproportionate to employment; and,
3. Offices of which the effective duties are entirely or principally discharged by deputy. [Excepting always such offices as are connected with the per-

sonal service of his majesty, or of his royal family.]

4. Offices, the appointments to which are allowed to be sold in any of the courts of law.

The saleable offices in the courts of law mentioned in the fourth resolution, constitute a distinct head of inquiry.

The number of offices which have revenue without any employment, either of principal or deputy, is very inconsiderable; and by far the greatest number of offices which are commonly described as "sinecure offices," fall properly under the description of "offices executed by deputy," or "offices having revenue disproportionate to employment."

To some of these, great pecuniary and official responsibility is attached; and from the holders of some of them large securities are required. It may therefore be expedient that such offices should not at any time be filled by persons less responsible than those who at present hold them.

In other cases, the deputy may receive a lower salary than that which might fairly be considered as an adequate remuneration for the services to be performed, and which might, indeed, be necessary, to ensure the due performance of those services, should it be found expedient to withdraw the superintendence and authority of the principal.

It appears therefore, to your committee, that in some instances it might be expedient to annex the duties of such of the offices to be regulated, as have great responsibility, without requiring continual personal attendance, to other offices of an efficient nature; by which



which means a saving of the whole revenue of such regulated offices might accrue to the public, while sufficient provision would be made for the responsibility of the person in whom they may hereafter be vested. In other instances it might be expedient, in adopting the principle of the third resolution, to admit of some modification of that principle, according to the peculiar circumstances of the case.

\* \* \* \* \*

Offices, having emolument without any duties or responsibility, to which the principle of abolition might be applied without any qualification (excepting such as may arise out of existing interests) are,

Chief Justice in Eyre, north of Trent, by whom no duties appear to have been lately performed, either in person or by deputy.

Law Clerk in secretary of state's office.

Collector and transmitter of state papers.

Housekeeper in excise.

Warehouse-keeper to the stamp-office.

Constable of the Castle of Limerick.

In Scotland the office of Lord Justice General, appears to have become a perfect sinecure. The duty of this officer was to preside in the Court of Justiciary. For a long period this high office has been bestowed on persons who have not been brought up to the profession of the law, and the duties of it have in consequence been suspended.

Your committee think it necessary, on this subject, to call the attention of the house to an article of the union; wherein it is enacted "That the Court of Justiciary do

also, after the union, and notwithstanding thereof, remain in all time ensuing within Scotland as it is now constituted, subject nevertheless, to such regulations for the better administration of justice as shall be made by the parliament of Great Britain, and without prejudice of other rights of Justiciary.

\* \* \* \* \*

Those offices which have revenue extremely disproportionate to employment; or the duties of which are principally performed by deputy, form two classes, so intimately blended together that the committee have judged it useless, if not impracticable, to keep them perfectly distinct.

With respect to those offices, the duties of which are important, though requiring little personal attendance, but which, from their nature or responsibility, can only be discharged by persons of high official situation, the committee suggest the expediency of annexing them to other offices of high rank and responsibility; by which means a saving of the whole emoluments may be derived to the public.

Among the most important offices of this description are those of auditor of the exchequer, and clerk of the pells. It is stated to be material that these offices should be preserved as essential checks on the issue of public money; but it appears to your committee that such offices might with great propriety be annexed to those of president of the council, and privy seal for the time being; or to any other office of high responsibility which is not connected with the treasury or exchequer.

The office of master of the mint is found in the list in the supplementary



mentary report, which your committee have adopted as the ground of their report. But your committee conceive that neither this office, nor that of one of the joint paymasters, which is also included in the same list, comes under that description of "sinecure offices," or offices executed by deputy, which is intended to be referred to their consideration. They are not offices held, either by patent or by custom, for life; nor given as the reward of public service.

The division of the office of paymaster of the forces does not appear to grow out of any thing in the constitution of that office; and in point of fact, the whole duty of that office, now become very considerable, may be said to be performed exclusively by one of the joint paymasters.

The office of master of the mint is undoubtedly an office requiring little or no attendance, though one of occasional responsibility; but the present master of the mint discharges the duties of the president of the board of trade, *a situation of no emolument, and requiring constant attendance and application.*

The duties of the office of vice-president of the same board are in like manner discharged by the treasurer of the navy.

This observation applies equally to the whole business of the Privy Council, which is transacted by members, who, with the single exception of the Lord President himself, are not entitled to any salary or emolument for their attendance at that board.

The duties still performed by the Chief Justice in Eyre, south of Trent, appear to be of a merely formal nature, which, so far as the

continued performance of them is essential to the preservation of any of the rights of the crown, might, in the opinion of your committee, without inconvenience, be transferred to some other efficient office; such as that of the surveyors of the woods and forests.

The government of the Isle of Wight appears not to be of a military nature. A part of the functions of the governor are similar to those of the lords lieutenants of counties, and like them might be discharged without emolument; the other functions appear to be performed by deputy; but with respect to this office, your committee have not yet been able to obtain sufficiently detailed information.

\* \* \* \* \*

Your committee have next proceeded to examine, so far as their time and means of information would permit, the more numerous class of offices, which being performed entirely or principally by deputy, appear to them to come more immediately within the purview of the third resolution.

Of this description your committee have to notice the following offices:

*In the Court of Exchequer:—*  
Clerk of the Pipe, Comptroller of the Pipe, Clerk of Exchequer Pleas, Clerk of Foreign Estreats, Comptroller of First Fruits, the Chirographers, Foreign Apposer, King's Remembrancer, together with which is held the office of Registrar of Deeds in Middlesex, Marshal of the Exchequer, Surveyor of Green Wax.

Register of High Court of Admiralty,

Register of High Court of Appeals for prizes,



Register of High Court of Delegates.

*In the Alineation Office:*—Three Commissioners, Receiver General, Master in Chancery, two clerks.

The duties of the four Tellers of the Exchequer are performed altogether by their deputies; and as to their responsibility for the custody of public money, your committee observe, that the same amount of security which is required from the tellers is usually given to them by their deputies; from which your committee are led to infer, that, both with respect to their duties, and to their responsibility, these offices might be safely reduced to the present emoluments of the deputies.

The office of clerk of the parliament is performed almost wholly by deputy, and is one of those which would come within the purview of the third resolution. On the subject of this office, however, your committee think it necessary especially to represent, that the clerk of parliament, though appointed by the Crown, is a servant of the House of Lords.

*In the Mint,* your committee have to notice the following offices:—Warden, Comptroller, Surveyor of Meltings, and Clerk of the Irons.

*In the Privy Seal Office:*—The four principal clerks.

Four clerks in the Signet Office.

*In the Excise:*—Comptroller General of Accounts, Inspector General of Inland Duties, Register to Commissioners of Excise.

Your committee, having adverted to the offices performed by deputy in the colonies, think it necessary to observe that their emoluments arise from fees and salaries paid within the Colonies. Your com-

mittee have further to observe, that notwithstanding an act passed in the twenty-second year of his present majesty's reign, c. 75, the object of which was to enforce residence in the principals, many of these offices continue to be executed wholly by deputy. That act contains a clause empowering the governors of colonies to give such leave of absence as they shall see occasion to give. But that power appears to have been exercised to so great an extent as to frustrate what must no doubt have been the true intention of the legislature.

Your committee have ascertained the following to be of that description:

Secretary and Clerk of Inrolments in the Island of Jamaica, Register of Chancery in ditto, Receiver General in ditto, Clerk of the Crown Courts in ditto, Naval Officer in ditto, Secretary and Clerk of the Courts in Barbadoes, Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas in ditto, Provost Marshal in ditto, Naval Officer of Curaçoa, Secretary of Tobago, Naval Officer of Demerara.

In SCOTLAND, it appears to your committee that the following offices come within the purview of the third resolution, as being wholly or principally discharged by deputy. The existence of many of these ancient offices appears to be secured to Scotland by the act of union; but it is also provided in that act, that they should be subject to such regulations as the parliament of Great Britain shall hereafter make:

Keeper of the Great Seal, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Keeper of the Signet, Lord Register, Director of the Court of Chancery, Clerk to ditto, Receiver of Bishops' Rents, and



and King's Remembrancer in the Court of Exchequer.

In IRELAND, the following offices appear to your committee to come within the purview of the same resolution:

Chief Remembrancer of the King's Bench, Clerk of the Pipe, Clerk of Common Pleas Office, Court of Exchequer, Prothonotary of Common Pleas, Prothonotary of King's Bench, Crown Office, King's Bench, Filazer's Office, and Keeper of Declarations King's Bench, Teller of the Exchequer, Keeper of Privy Seal, Keeper of Records, two joint Muster-masters General.

The inconsiderable office of Cartaker to his majesty, is connected with the personal service of the royal family, and consequently does not fall under the cognizance of your committee.

The office of keeper of records in the receipt of the exchequer, appears to be an efficient office of trust, and not overpaid by a salary of 400*l.* per annum.

The places of office-keeper in the war-office, and of register of seizures in the port of London, are to be *suppressed after the decease or resignation of the present officers.*

The auditor of excise has been rendered an efficient office. The office of register to the commissioners of salt duties *has been already abolished*: the salary now paid is in the nature of a *compensation*.

The receiver of stamps appears to be a necessary and responsible officer, and his emoluments not more than adequate.

The distributors of stamps are effective officers. The distributors for Buckinghamshire and Kent are

equally so with the rest; they have been inserted in the list of offices executed by deputy in consequence of an indulgence which is confined to the present officers.

It appears by the evidence that the office of accountant-general of the post-office is an efficient office, requiring personal attendance, with responsibility; and that the emoluments of this office will not admit of reduction. The office of the apothecary-general has been under the consideration of the treasury; and by an agreement concluded with him, his patent is to be surrendered on condition of receiving an annuity of 2,500*l.* a year for life: an agreement which appears to your committee to be eminently beneficial to the public.

In Ireland, the allowance paid to the keeper of the late parliament house appears to be a compensation for an office *already suppressed*. The office of joint solicitor of Ireland in Great Britain is also *abolished*, as well as that of examiner of hearth-money: and the offices of clerk of the quit-rents, treasurer of the post-office, and accountant-general of the post-office, have been made efficient. The fees, which under the head of muster-master general of Ireland, are stated to be "due, but suspended," are in fact abolished.

After parliament shall have provided such other sufficient means for enabling his majesty duly to recompense the faithful discharge of high and effective civil offices, as to the wisdom of parliament shall seem fit, your committee are of opinion,

1st. That the following offices, having revenue without employment



ment," might, at the expiration of the existing interests, be abolished :

Chief Justice in Eyre north of Trent .....	£1,730
Law Clerk in Secretary of State's Office, Home Department....	500
Collector and Transmitter of State Papers, Foreign Department..	500
Constable of the Castle of Limerick, Ireland.....	753
Not reported by Committee of Public Expenditure:	
Principal Housekeeper in the Excise Office.....	145
Warehouse-keeper, Stamp Office	200
<hr/>	
Per Annum.....	£3,628

2dly. That the following offices might continue at the expiration of the existing interests to be managed by the deputy, as at present, without any addition to his salary and emoluments; but that from the peculiar nature of the responsibility attached to them, however limited the actual duties to be performed, these offices would, in the opinion of the committee, be most conveniently filled by some of these persons who hold for the time being certain high official situations, leaving the annual amount now paid to the principal at the disposal of parliament :

Auditor of the Exchequer.....	£4,000
Clerk of the Pells.....	3,000
Chief Justice of Eyre, south of Trent .....	1,969
<hr/>	
Per annum.....	£8,969

3dly. That the following offices would admit of being left, after the expiration of the existing interests, altogether under the management of the deputy, without any addition to the present salary and emoluments. The emoluments now received by the principal being placed at the disposal of parliament :

	Deputy.	Prin.
Comptroller of the Pipe, Excheq. ..	£160....	£160
Chirographer's Court Common Pleas ..	120....	400
Clerk of the Exchequer of Pleas....	663....	663
King's Remembrancer, Exchequer ..	1,500....	991
Registrar of High Court of Appeals	{ One third profits payable to principal }	12,558
Ditto of Delegates		
Ditto of Admiralty		
Clerk of Parliament average 7 years..	3,617....	4,946
Principal Clerk, Signet Office.....	110....	260
Ditto ditto .....	110....	260
Ditto ditto .....	110....	260
Ditto ditto .....	110....	260
Comptroller General of Accounts, Excise	503....	446
Inspector Gen. ditto	70....	293
Teller of Exchequer	1,000....	2,700
Ditto ditto ....	1,000....	2,700
Ditto ditto as limited after life of the present possessor .....	1,000....	2,700
Ditto ditto ....	1,000....	2,700
Chief Remembrancer Exchequer, Ireland	507....	3,694
Clerk of Common Pleas Exchequer ditto.....	uncertain..	3,259
Prothonotary Common Pleas, Ireland, average 3 years..	1,906....	9,530
Prothonotary King's Bench, Ireland, average 3 years..	{ One third of Fees for self and Clerks. }	8,904
Crown Office, ditto		
Filazer ditto		
Keeper of Privy Seal Ireland.....	130....	1,300
Muster-master General ditto.....	uncertain..	4,000
<hr/>		£ 68,983

4thly. That the following offices would admit of being brought, at the expiration of the existing interests, entirely under the management of the deputy as now constituted; but that the degree of responsibility, or trouble attending the



the discharge of the whole duties, would entitle the deputy to an *increase of the salary* to be hereafter settled, which renders the amount of ultimate saving to the public uncertain :

	Deputy.	Prin.
Clerk of the Pipe Ex- chequer.....	£100....	£720
Foreign Apposer, ditto.....		160
Marshall, ditto.....	20....	150
Surveyor Green Wax ditto 1s. in £.		94
Alienation Office :		
Commissioner.....	52....	116
Ditto .....	50....	107
Ditto .....	50....	107
Receiver General .....	170....	281
Master in Chancery ....	10 10s.	106
Clerk .....	10....	88
Ditto .....	31 10s.	138
Warden of the Mint.....	66....	365
Comptroller ditto.....	66....	267
Surveyor Meltings ditto	28....	103
Principal Clerk, Privy { Seal .....	One eighth. {	200
Ditto ditto .....		200
Ditto ditto .....		200
Ditto ditto .....		200
Register to Commission- ers of Excise, self and Clerk .....	210....	400
Comptroller First Fruits	25....	96
Teller of Exchequer, Ire- land .....		2,000
Clerk of the Pipe, ditto.....		750
Add, not reported by Committee of Public Expenditure, Register of Deeds for county of Middlesex.....	50....	250

Under this head may be classed the offices wholly or chiefly executed by deputy in Scotland ; of these, some must be retained by the provisions of the Act of Union, although subjected by the same Act to be regulated by Parliament. What the ultimate saving would be after such regulations as may be thought expedient, is uncertain.

Keeper of the Great Seal ..... 2,441

Carried forward.... 9,996

Brought forward.....	9,996
Keeper of the Privy Seal .....	2,758
Keeper of the Signet.....	2,717
Lord Register .....	500.... 2,000
Director of Court of Chancery .....	65.... 1,335
Clerk to ditto.....	14th of Fees 779
King's Remembrancer.....	550
Receiver of Bishops Rents	175.... 370

£ 19,955

With respect to offices in the COLONIES, where the deputy receives the whole emoluments, paying to the principal, by agreement, a fixed annual sum, and giving security for the same, as well as for the faithful execution of the office abroad ; your committee report, that the persons in Great Britain holding those offices enjoy perfect sinecures ; but that the income of them arising altogether from fees payable in the colonies, it does not appear to your committee that any sums would be placed at the disposal of parliament by regulating or abolishing them ; they afford to the crown a very considerable patronage as at present constituted ; but do not seem easily capable of being brought within the reach of any economical arrangements in aid of the resources of the empire at home. This class of officers is very numerous, but your committee have only had time or opportunity to report upon the following ; viz.

Jamaica.	Value per Annum.
Sec. and Clerk of the Inrolments	£2,500
Register in Chancery.....	1,052
Receiver General .....	2,090
Clerk of the Crown .....	2,500
Naval Officer.....	1,500
Barbadoes.	
Secretary and Clerk of the Courts	716
Provost Marshal .....	500
Naval Officer of Curaçoa .....	400
Secretary of the Island of Tobago	400
Naval Officer of Demerara....	250

11,818

Abstract.



*Abstract.*

1st Head .....	£3,628	
2d .....	8,969	
3d .....	68,983	
		81,580
4th .....	19,955	
5th .....	11,816	

The sum of 81,580l. being the amount of savings under the 1st, 2d, and 3d heads of the foregoing abstract, would therefore accrue to the public in proportion as the several offices enumerated under those heads might fall in. And this sum, together with whatever saving might accrue from regulations under the 4th head, would be to be placed against the expence of any fund which parliament shall have instituted in pursuance of the resolution of the house "for enabling his majesty duly to recompense the faithful discharge of high and effective civil offices."

20th June, 1810.

*VII. Extracts from Papers laid before the House of Commons, relative to the East India Company.*

The East India Company's receipts for sales of goods from March 1st, 1803, to March 1st, 1806, fell short of the receipts in the three years immediately preceding 3,268,671l. This was owing

to the reduction of the prices of India goods in the home market, a consequence of the state of Europe, and by large importations to London through the medium of private merchants.

The sale amount of India goods: 1798-9 stood at. . . £4,667,295  
1805-6 reduced to 2,254,899  
1806-7 fell to. . . . 1,472,074  
1807-8 . . . . . 1,309,080  
1808 9 . . . . . 1,191,213

The unsold goods in their warehouses in London on the first of March, 1808, and expected in the course of the season, at prime cost, amounted to, 7,148,440l. valued at the selling price at 13,086,305l.

The India debt, according to the best estimate that can be formed of its amount on the first of May, 1808, stood at 31,895,000.

There had been, on the whole, no diminution of civil and military expenditures to compensate for the heavier charge of interest; but on the contrary, while the revenues had from different acquisitions and annexations, been greatly enhanced, the expenditure kept pace with the increase and had even outrun it; so that although when in 1793-4\* the revenues were only eight millions per annum, there was a surplus of 1,600,000l. now that the revenues

	Revenues.	Charges.	Interest.	Surplus.	Deficit.	Debt.
	£	£	£	£	£	April. £
First year of new charter 1793-4 ..	8,276,770	6,066,923	526,205	1,683,642	.. ..	1793.. 7,971,668
1798-9 ....	8,652,032	8,417,812	759,326	.. ..	525,106	1798.. 10,866,588
1802-3 ....	13,464,537	11,043,108	1,577,922	843,507	.. ..	1799.. 12,811,863
1805-6 ....	15,217,510	15,561,330	2,070,792	.. ..	2,414,606	1803.. 19,523,737
1807-8 ....	14,614,261	13,436,198	2,197,160	.. ..	1,019,097	1806.. 28,538,804
						1808.. 31,895,000

are



are fifteen millions per annum, there is a deficit of 1,019,097.

What is most obvious and striking in this statement, is the increase not of the charges only but also of the debt, as the revenues increased, and not merely in proportion to the increase of the revenues; for whilst from the year 1793-4 to the year 1805-6, the amount of the revenues has not been quite doubled, that of the charges has been increased as five to two, and that of the debt nearly quadrupled, besides a very large sum of debt transferred in the course of that period to England.

After all allowances and adjustments, which, according to the best knowledge of the court, comprehend every thing the account ought to contain, the balance is in favour of England, or of the Company at home, 5,691,689l.

Before concluding, the executive body of the company think it may be proper for them to declare, that they are not conscious of having, by improvidence or mismanagement, contributed to bring the company's affairs into the embarrassments in which they are now involved. They may be placed in a very material degree to the vast increase of the Indian debt—the consequence of various measures adopted abroad under the administration of controul exercised by his majesty's government since the year 1784. Those embarrassments proceed also in part from causes which it has not been in the power of this country to controul. An unexampled European war, which has already continued fourteen years, has in every way aggravated the expences, and diminished the

profits of the company at home and abroad. The increased charges of freight and demorage alone, occasioned by this war, have amounted, since its commencement, to more than seven millions sterling. Whenever Great Britain is involved in European war, the effects are always felt in India in increased military expences, even when no European enemy appears in the field there; but that war has been carried into India; and, at the desire of his majesty's government, the company have had to sustain the expence of various foreign expeditions against the French, Dutch, and Spanish possessions in India, and to Egypt, all chiefly on the national account, in which, as is well known, the company expended very large sums, borrowed at high Indian interest, to the prejudice of their general credit and affairs, in ways which cannot be made matter of account. This war moreover has occasioned a gradual rise in the cost of home manufactures and metals, which the company, consulting the national interest, have continued to export for many years to the extent of 2,200,000l. annually, notwithstanding the known disadvantage under which they prosecuted that trade; for the increased cost could not be compensated by a corresponding increase in the selling prices abroad, nor by a decrease in the prices of goods purchased for Europe, and has therefore been attended with positive and considerable loss to the company. The progressive diminutions of profit on their Indian importations here, have been already shewn. All these evils are now followed by a stagnation in the home sales of the



the company. In this they suffer with the nation, and with Europe at large, but the consequences, as already described, fall with peculiar severity upon them in the other circumstances of their affairs; for the Indian finances, which are become of immense importance in the system of the company, instead of affording relief, are in a state that imperiously calls for instant and effectual regulation. It is by no means to be concluded, however, that affairs would now have been better under any other supposable mode of Indian administration; it is perfectly within the power of this country to afford the aids which are now required for the relief of the company's finances, both at home and abroad, for consolidating the credit of the company, and strengthening the hands of the authorities at home, so necessary to the well-being of the company's affairs.

The expected deficit for 1808-9, of 2,433,185, was supplied by receipts beyond the estimate from the following sources, viz.

Sales of im-	
ports.....	£851,345
Charges and	
freight on pri-	
uate trade....	168,813
	<hr/> 1,020,158

Received on account of	
Company's claims on	
the public, on report	
of the committee....	1,500,000
	<hr/> £2,520,158

## SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS.

*Prime Cost and Sale Value of Company's Goods in their Warehouses, March, 1808, and expected in the course of the Season, distinguishing India and China:*

India.	Prime Cost.	Sale Value.
Piece goods ..	£ 1,880,350	£ 2,244,942
Raw silk .....	279,367	476,051
Saltpetre .....	175,332	439,792
Spice .....	66,502	191,901
Drugs, sugar, &c.	183,748	290,656
Pepper .....	347,056	365,296
Total ..	£ 2,932,355	£ 4,008,638
China.		
Teas .....	£ 3,991,779	£ 8,810,347
Raw silk ....	116,562	166,320
Nankeens ....	107,744	101,000
Total ..	£ 4,216,085	£ 9,077,667
Grand Total ..	£ 7,148,440	£ 13,086,305

*Amount of the Indian Debt at several Periods.*

May, 1793 .....	£ 7,971,668
May, 1799 .....	12,811,863
May, 1802, deducting re- deemed by sinking funds }	18,350,873
May, 1806, ditto ditto	28,538,804
May, 1807, ditto ditto	30,244,341
May, 1808, ditto ditto	32,007,819
May, 1809, ditto ditto	30,876,788
N. B. Current rupees at 2s.	
Pagodas 8s. Bombay rupees 2s. 3d. each.	

*Ships that proceeded to India in each Season since 1776; with the number Lost, Burnt, or Captured in each Season:*

Season.	Ships.	Burnt, Lost.	Captured,
1776 ..	23	1	0
1777 ..	21	2	1
1778 ..	22	2	0
1779 ..	25	2	5
1780 ..	21	2	2
1781 ..	29	4	0
1782 ..	24	1	0
1783 ..	13	0	0
1784 ..	27	1	0
1785 ..	43	2	0
1786 ..	34	1	0
1787 ..	31	0	0
1788 ..	32	1	0
1789 ..	31	1	0
			1790



Season.	Ships.	Burnt, Lost.	Captured.	<i>Ships Burnt, Lost, or Captured, in the following Seasons.</i>		
1790 ..	25	0	0			
1791 ..	28	1	0			
1792 ..	43	0	2			
1793 ..	46	0	0			
1794 ..	34	0	1			
1795 ..	46	2	0			
1796 ..	46	3	1			
1797 ..	26	0	1			
1798 ..	40	1	0			
1799 ..	34	2	1			
1800 ..	49	0	0			
1801 ..	39	0	1			
1802 ..	46	2	2			
1803 ..	54	0	2			
1804 ..	51	3	1			
1805 ..	49	2	1			
1806 ..	46	1	0			
				Ships Burnt, Cap- sent out. Lost. tured.		
Six years war, from season 1776 to sea- son 1781 inclusive; old system .....				141	13	8
Six years war, from season 1792 to sea- son 1797 inclusive; old system .....				241	7	4
Six years war, from season 1801 to sea- son 1806 inclusive; old and new system				358	8	7



Dr.		Stock per Computation.	
Bonds bearing interest .....		£ 4,900,000	
Bonds not bearing interest .....		15,417	
Bills of exchange unpaid, from China .....		362,469	
Ditto                      from India .....		2,241,044	
To customs and excise .....		753,697	
Bank, mortgage of annuities per act of 1788 .....		700,000	
Ditto, loan on bond .....		100,000	
Ditto, interest on above .....		10,666	
Freight and demorage .....		336,200	
Supra cargoes commission .....		134,660	
To private trade sold .....		322,000	
Alms-houses at Poplar .....		69,544	
Owing for exports former seasons .....		164,090	
Ditto, warehouse contingent fund .....		19,633	
Warrants unpaid .....		68,000	
Owing for teas returned, resold .....		971	
Interest on bonds .....		90,902	
Dividends on stock .....		67,795	
Paid by adventurers                      87½ per cent. on £ 3,200,000		£ 2,800,000	
Additional capital sold to do. 155 .....	800,000	1,240,000	
Ditto                      in 1789                      174 .....	1,000,000	1,740,000	
Ditto                      in 1793                      200 .....	1,000,000	2,000,000	
	£ 6,000,000	£ 7,780,000	
	Sicca rupees.		
To balance of quick stock against the Com- pany at Bengal, 31st of July, 1808 .....	10,59,95,941		
Add expedition to Egypt, &c. included in the home account .....	1,10,60,649		
	S. R <sup>s</sup> 11,50,56,590		
	CR <sup>s</sup> 13,34,65,644		
Sum given by Lord Clive, for constituting a mili- tary fund .....	CR <sup>s</sup> 11,50,720		
Cargoes dispatched for England, dated since close of quick stock ..	77,12,942		
		88,63,662	
	Current R <sup>s</sup> at 2s. 3d.    14,23,29,306	£ 16,012,046	
Deduct bills of exchange drawn since close of quick stock		1,209,174	
		14,802,872	
By balance of quick stock against the Company at Bom- bay, 30th of April, 1809 .....	Bombay R <sup>s</sup> 1,82,80,102		
Cargoes dispatched for England, dated since Close of quick stock .....	3,51,280		
	Bombay R <sup>s</sup> at 2s. 6d.    1,86,31,382	£ 2,328,922	
Deduct bills of exchange drawn on England since close of quick stock .....		223,199	
		2,105,723	
		£ 35,045,683	
		March	



March 1, 1810.

Cr.

Due from Government .....	£ 1,207,560
Cash, balance March 1, 1810.....	654,167
Goods sold, not paid for.....	580,351
Board of Ordnance, saltpetre .....	41,250
Value of goods in England unsold.....	6,365,000
Balance of quick stock in favour at Fort St. George, April 30, 1809 .....	£ 2,173,213
Bills of exchange drawn on England since close of quick stock .....	26,343
Military stores, not included in quick stock ....	44,746
	<hr/> 2,244,302
Balance of quick stock in favour at Bencoolen, April 30, 1809 ..	229,307
At Prince of Wales's Island, April 30, 1808 .....	190,705
At St. Helena, Sept. 30, 1808 .....	£ 186,915
Add bills of exchange drawn on England since .....	21,689
	<hr/> 208,604
At China, March 2, 1809 .....	1,451,640
At Cape of Good Hope, August 31, 1809 .....	14,085
Cargoes from England not arrived in India and China .....	2,530,619
Exports paid for, exclusive of bullion, 1809-10.....	1,196,095
Impress and war allowances, paid owners of ships not arrived in England .....	436,679
Value of ships, sloops, and vessels, exclusive of stationed abroad ....	79,140
East-India House and warehouses .....	1,129,000
Paid for dead stock in India .....	400,000
Due from Government for stores and supplies to his Majesty's troops..	960,000
Owing from sundry persons returned from India, and in India, to be repaid in England .....	19,372
	<hr/> £ 19,938,376
Balance against....	15,107,307
	<hr/> £ 35,045,683

	Buildings and Fortifications.	Plate, Furni- ture, Planta- tions, Farms, Vessels, &c.	TOTALS.
	£	£	£
At Bengal .....	5,494,354	1,496,114	6,990,468
Fort St. George and subordinates	1,840,682	447,798	2,288,480
Bombay and ditto .....	1,125,093	352,691	1,477,784
Fort Marlborough and ditto ....	243,640	74,544	318,184
St. Helena .....	43,478	93,912	137,597
Fort Cornwallis .....	63,478	11,624	75,102
	<hr/> 8,810,932	<hr/> 2,476,683	<hr/> 11,287,615



# VIII. OFFICIAL ACCOUNTS OF THE PRODUCE OF TAXES.

Net Produce of Excise.—The Year ends April 5.

\* \* Shillings and Pence omitted.

CHIEF ARTICLES.	England.	Scotland.	Total. 1807.	England.	Scotland.	Total. 1808.	England.	Scotland.	Total. 1809.	England.	Scotland.	Total. 1810.
CONSOLIDATED DUTIES.												
Auctions .....	248115	15550	263965	250998	21580	272578	278679	15800	294479	348759	14675	363434
Beer .....	2769721	42500	2812221	2696514	58500	2755014	2648336	42700	2691036	2721480	56700	2773180
Bricks, Tiles .....	297434	8500	305934	277306	7400	284706	279048	7400	286448	258709	6150	264859
Candles .....	271485	14500	285985	276225	15300	291525	228961	9300	238261	231664	12675	244339
Cocoa, Coffee .....	109679	1250	110929	115985	800	116785	140070	3000	143070	78774	5500	84274
Cyder, Perry .....	20122	....	20122	37341	....	37341	52065	....	52065	46670	50	46720
Glass .....	257829	24500	282329	298498	2000	300498	317548	29900	347448	260985	20000	280985
Hides .....	282827	18000	300827	280440	17750	298190	285529	17200	302729	293164	24800	317964
Hops .....	35741	....	35741	239745	....	239745	144282	....	144282	398819	....	398819
Licences .....	298250	28550	326800	306300	36630	342930	306402	32750	339152	319534	54200	373734
Beer & Ale ditto, 48 G. III.	....	....	....	....	....	....	2315	....	2315	103103	....	103103
Malt .....	1417080	68850	1485930	1245722	55400	1301122	1156449	46900	1203349	1167455	35600	1203055
Mead .....	102	....	102	....	....	....	....	....	....	208	80	288
Paper .....	331555	32000	363555	353440	33000	386440	361590	30600	392190	381445	31850	413295
Printed Goods .....	319000	58500	377500	417370	80250	497620	266814	68400	335214	311877	131250	443127
Salt .....	1299679	77500	1377179	1333845	90150	1423995	1350314	87900	1418214	1364307	97400	1461707
Soap .....	513696	71050	584746	540818	61500	602318	506781	56850	565631	505934	62000	567934
Spirits, British .....	1264464	362000	1626464	1380521	323600	1704121	1192643	....	1192643	1155476	....	1155476
— Foreign .....	1619226	112280	1731506	1724189	129622	1853811	1505199	115150	1620349	1796378	115625	1912003
Starch .....	53409	....	53409	48405	....	48405	38967	....	38967	36281	....	36281
Sweets .....	22682	....	22682	22987	48	23035	28869	....	28869	26318	50	26368
Tea .....	1156985	....	1406985	1111520	....	1354125	1549101	....	1909101	1357875	....	1357875
Postponed 1806 .....	250000	....	250000	242604	postponed, 1807	219976	360000	postponed, 1808	192633	216177	22755	239233
Tobacco, Snuff .....	162853	27350	190203	188596	31380	219976	171033	21600	133	....	....	....
Verjuice .....	104	....	104	113	....	113	133	....	133	....	....	....
Vinegar .....	37764	1250	39014	38874	1300	40174	42590	1500	44090	47028	1170	48198
Wine .....	1101986	71150	1173136	1277415	80400	1357815	1021891	64750	1086641	1232527	85000	1317527
Wire .....	10684	....	10684	10584	....	10584	11443	....	11443	12969	....	12969
Total .....	14152772	1035280	15188052	14716356	1046611	15762967	14227552	653700	14881252	14674214	777530	15451744
British Spirits, 46 G. } II. cap. 102. (Sch. A.) }	....	....	....	....	90500	90500	....	411140	411140	....	....	131325







*Net Produce of the Customs.—The Year ends April 5.*

CHIEF ARTICLES.	1807.	1808.	1809.	1810.
	£.	£.	£.	£.
Ashes—Pearl, Pot .....	16,048	18,303	10,524	37,349
Barilla .....	61,542	71,466	77,515	125,246
Brimstone .....	39,615	50,286	37,794	49,764
Bristles .....	19,724	15,401	7,566	21,051
Coffee .....	58,621	54,756	167,955	100,207
Cork .....	10,187	9,266	10,901	17,419
Corn, Meal, Flour ..	25,217	38,153	3,445	48,766
Currants .....	142,692	170,788	161,135	212,441
Figs .....	11,473	4,075	10,932	15,721
Hemp and Flax .....	264,916	279,469	106,493	424,253
Hides—raw, tanned .....	36,622	24,023	21,541	35,618
Indigo .....	71,611	79,743	45,428	67,575
Iron, Bar .....	150,019	94,123	76,017	102,859
Lemons and Oranges .....	39,979	30,599	33,807	31,985
Linens (foreign) .....	133,551	113,861	33,050	164,836
Madder and Roots .....	4,805	8,872	10,017	17,833
Mats—Russia .....	2,463	7,691	3,314	11,184
Oil—ordinary Olive .....	37,770	16,301	48,074	47,076
—Train .....	24,430	20,324	24,009	18,664
—Turpentine .....	514	1,478	1,956	17,611
Opium .....	2,815	2,113	12,635	14,665
Pepper .....	49,228	62,904	71,722	58,574
Piece goods, India .....	104,598	73,641	88,222	85,693
Pimento .....	13,204	13,738	9,310	14,270
Raisins .....	94,687	87,920	150,279	136,619
Seeds, Clover .....	15,186	18,019	9,526	23,575
—Flax, Linseed .....	3,644	4,353	7,773	18,094
Ships—Hulls, Materials .....	20,539	23,380	55,097	38,505
Silk, raw, thrown .....	419,694	343,533	289,811	498,931
Skins and Furs .....	63,558	58,900	36,156	39,295
Smalts .....	14,763	12,527	9,074	29,059
Spirits, Brandy, Geneva .....	154,064	174,636	114,736	177,951
Rum .....	97,648	115,043	120,981	138,229
Sugar .....	3,150,094	2,958,910	3,600,141	3,751,225
Tallow .....	60,909	46,270	15,378	49,993
Tea .....	185,555	200,261	219,029	177,964
Tobacco .....	342,924	420,327	376,213	451,457
Turpentine .....	22,473	19,211	1,425	29,010
Wines .....	1,066,338	1,155,773	971,680	1,182,159
Wood—Deals .....	420,737	306,530	117,515	324,487
—Fir Timber .....	159,784	239,169	31,252	125,802
—Mahogany .....	41,093	36,471	26,080	46,927
—Staves .....	31,451	27,410	12,814	72,085
Wool—Cotton .....	574,971	650,831	406,948	916,973
—Sheep's .....	15,689	34,070	3,653	21,179
Zaffer .....	3,804	2,221	379	14,359
Duties outwards .....	504,530	403,124	442,073	577,029
Coals, &c. Coastways .....	1,049,023	1,000,924	1,140,536	1,112,453
Tonnage of Shipping .....	269,039	251,320	190,369	279,784
Sundry articles, duties not 10,000l. each	528,532	496,177	528,465	547,957
Net produce.—Subject to payment of	10,637,393	10,348,766	9,952,747	12,521,761
Bounties for national objects, charges				
of management, extra payments	1,024,793	1,225,154	1,444,489	1,540,986
Paid into the Exchequer .....	9,612,600	9,123,612	8,508,258	10,980,775
viz.				
Permanent, and Annual .....	6,666,248	6,497,456	6,153,258	7,690,333
War Taxes .....	2,946,352	2,626,156	2,355,000	3,290,442



*Net Payments of the Post Office in Great Britain: for three years ending April 5.*

\* \* Shillings and Pence omitted.

	1808.	1809.	1810.
	£.	£.	£.
Inland Postage .....	1,048,214	1,074,129	1,132,137
Foreign Ditto, including Foreign Country Letters .....	50,485	31,570	66,562
	1,098,700	1,105,700	1,198,700

May 5th 1810.

Thomas Church, Deputy Acct. General.

*Net Produce of Assessed Taxes.—Year ends April 5.*

\* \* Shillings and Pence omitted.

	1807.	1808.	1809.	1810.
	£	£	£	£
Windows.....	1,929,273	2,000,105	1,194,039	113,438
Inhabited Houses .....	644,526	683,696	535,934	92,386
Male Servants .....	377,856	352,415	269,291	66,470
Carriages, &c. ....	335,954	397,989	287,693	68,754
Riding Horses .....	646,079	721,285	514,915	92,187
Horses and Mules .....	527,520	545,982	387,656	84,927
Dogs .....	132,379	138,341	112,353	39,563
Horse Dealers .....	9,957	10,925	11,907	7,962
Hair Powder .....	55,824	60,986	64,176	23,763
Armorial Bearings .....	30,491	32,311	41,578	17,268
10 per-cent. on Assessed Taxes ..	8,400	391,828	490,022	116,363
Consolidated Assessed Taxes .....	.. ..	.. ..	1,688,319	5,736,186
Total .....	4,698,258	5,334,962	5,597,883	6,459,537

Office for Taxes, }  
3d May, 1810. }

William Lowndes, Barne Barne,  
Henry Hodgson, Thomas Davis Lamb.

*Net Produce of Property Tax.*

1807 £10,912,008	1808 £10,814,982	1809 £9,818,475	1810 4,558,595
------------------	------------------	-----------------	----------------

Office of Taxes, }  
2d May, 1810. }

William Lowndes, Barne Barne,  
Henry Hodgson, Thomas Davis Lamb.

*Net Produce of Permanent Taxes, Annual Duties, and War Taxes.*

\* \* Shillings and Pence omitted.

	1807.	1808.	1809.	1810.
	£	£	£	£
Permanent Taxes .....	29,920,232	31,571,163	31,316,499	34,395,933
Annual Duties .....	4,279,568	4,464,976	4,451,709	5,161,467
War Taxes .....	16,305,883	19,835,820	20,086,322	22,707,443

Exchequer, May 7, 1808.

William Rose Haworth.



*Net Produce of Stamps.*

\* \* Shillings and Pence omitted.

	1807.	1808.	1809.
	£	£	£
PROBATES .....	343,652	374,820	397,622
Bills of Exchange, Notes .....	504,709	514,813	627,593
Composition by Bank of England ....	32,000	32,000	45,000
Sea Policies .....	201,154	225,969	224,566
Receipts .....	124,295	130,969	140,209
Pawnbroker's Licences .....	4,522	4,582	5,329
Lace Dealer's Licences .....	2,511	1,947	1,846
Appraisements, Licences .....	4,614	7,551	9,231
Fire Policies .....	2,747	3,776	4,515
Ale Licences .....	115,776	112,160	91,358
Game Certificates .....*(Arrears)	91,787	93,033	* 3,310
Legacies .....	241,550	303,223	465,735
Fire Insurance .....	335,671	352,318	363,909
Newspapers, Almanacks .....	261,921	276,366	278,846
Pamphlets .....	364	692	507
Advertisements .....	102,421	102,867	106,281
Medicine, Licences .....	33,347	34,256	34,414
Hats, Licences .....	42,907	33,938	43,246
Plate .....	70,585	74,106	76,497
Cards .....	24,981	25,527	24,349
Dice .....	2,705	2,249	1,822
Post Horse .....	209,109	211,195	216,917
Stage Coach .....	151,776	163,220	165,442
Race Horses .....	687	746	858
Deeds, Law Proceedings, and written Instruments; Sea Policies for Country (except Scotland) Newspapers and Almanacks for Scotland, which cannot be distinguished	1,213,094	1,245,248	1,457,951
	4,113,884	4,327,590	4,757,354
Lottery .....	8,292	6,371	4,879

Note—Exchequer Payment for 1810, was .....£ 5,188,427  
 Add Lottery ..... 5,271

Comptroller's Office, May 14, 1810.

Charles Stedman.

*Income and Surplus of Consolidated Fund.*

\* \* Shillings and Pence omitted.

	Income.	Charge.	Surplus.
	£	£	£
1803 .....	32,013,750	26,077,099	5,936,651
1804 .....	31,388,569	26,827,566	4,561,003
1805 .....	30,454,916	28,002,059	2,452,857
1806 .....	33,903,685	30,344,094	3,559,591
1807 .....	34,957,894	31,211,816	3,746,077
1808 .....	37,298,809	32,321,938	4,476,870
1809 .....	36,466,080	33,304,252	3,141,828
1810 .....	41,441,771	34,421,996	7,019,775

Treasury Chambers, May 10, 1810.

Richard Wharton.



## II. FOREIGN STATE PAPERS.

## I. FRANCE.

1. *Report concerning Kolli's Plan for liberating Ferdinand, King of Spain.**Paris, April 27.*

I informed your majesty that the Sieur Berthemy, officer of the staff attached to Prince Ferdinand, and commandant of the castle of Valancay, had acquainted me with the introduction into that castle of a Baron de Kolli, calling himself minister of England to Prince Ferdinand, in his pretended quality of King of Spain. This individual having been brought to my office, I transmit to your majesty, 1st, The letter of M. Berthemy, announcing the arrest and forwarding of Kolli; 2, A copy of a letter from Prince Ferdinand to the Sieur Berthemy, relative to the arrival of Kolli; 3, A copy of Kolli's examination; 4, 5, and 6, Copies of three letters, of which Kolli was the bearer. Two of these letters are addressed by King George to Prince Ferdinand; one of them is in Latin. Nos. 7 and 8 are copies of a letter from M. Berthemy, and one from Prince Ferdinand.

I have committed Kolli to safe custody. He is a close prisoner in the castle of Vincennes, and I wait the orders of your majesty upon this affair. The diamonds and other effects of which this individual was the bearer, are deposited at the office of general police.

(Signed) FOUCHE.

No. I.—Copy of a letter addressed to the Senator, the Minister of General Police, by M. Berthemy,  
VOL. LII

announcing Kolli's arrest, and his being forwarded to Paris.

*"Valancay, April 6.*

Monseigneur,—I have the honour to inform your excellency, by a courier extraordinary, of the event which has just taken place at Valancay.

M. D'Amezaga, intendant of the household to the Spanish princes, came to apprise me, on the part of his highness Prince Ferdinand, that an English emissary had introduced himself into the castle. I instantly repaired to the prince's apartments, and found him in a state of great emotion.

"The English," said he, addressing himself to me, "have done much injury to the Spanish nation. They continue to cause blood to be shed in my name. The English ministers, deceived by the false idea that I am detained here by force, have proposed to me means of escape. They have sent to me an individual, who, under the pretext of selling some objects of art, engaged to deliver to me a message from his majesty the King of England."

I speedily discovered and arrested this emissary, who stated himself to be the Baron de Kolli, an Irishman, and minister from his majesty the King of England to Prince Ferdinand. I forward him post to your excellency, with the pretty numerous papers of which he was the bearer. The examination to which you will subject him, I have no doubt, must disclose all the details of his plans, and the accomplices he may have had. According to the preliminary inquiries which I have made here, I am induced to think that he has come alone, and that he is totally unacquainted with this place.

K.k

I think



I think it my duty, sir, to avail myself of this opportunity to repeat to your excellency what I have already had the honour to communicate to you. Prince Ferdinand is animated with the best disposition; he is profoundly impressed with the opinion that his majesty the Emperor is his only support and his best protector. A profound sense of gratitude, the wish and hope of being declared the adopted son of his majesty the Emperor: such are the sentiments which fill the heart his highness; and under such circumstances it was, and at the time when the prince had assembled every person of distinction in the province, at the castle of Valancay, to participate in the brilliant entertainments which he gave in celebration of their majesties' marriage,---that the Baron de Kolli came to deliver his wicked and ridiculous messages. Assuredly nothing could have been more easily anticipated than the reception he has experienced.

I request that your excellency will transmit to me a detailed acknowledgment of the receipt of the various articles which I have addressed to you.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) BERTHEMY.

No. II.—Copy of a letter from Prince Ferdinand to M. Berthemy, governor of the castle of Valancay, dated April 6, apprising him of the conduct of Kolli.

Sir,—An unknown person having introduced himself into this place, under the pretence of working in the turnery line, has subsequently ventured to make to M. D'Amezaga, ~~first~~ first equerry and intendant, the proposition of carrying me

off from Valancay, of delivering to me some letters which he had, and in short, of bringing to its issue the project and plan of this horrid enterprise.

Our honour, our repose, the good opinion due to our principles, all would have been singularly compromised, had not M. D'Amezaga been at the head of our household, and had he not on this perilous occasion given a fresh proof of his fidelity and his inviolable attachment, both to his majesty the emperor and king, and to me. This officer, whose first step was to inform you at the very instant of the enterprise in question, apprised me of it immediately after.

I am anxious, sir, to inform you, personally, that I am unacquainted with this affair, and to take this occasion of again manifesting my sentiments of inviolable fidelity towards the Emperor Napoleon, and the horror which I feel at this infernal project, of which I wish the authors and abettors to meet with condign punishment. Accept, sir, the sentiments and esteem of your affectionate

(Signed) PRINCE FERDINAND.

P. S. I request that you will come to M. D'Amezaga's at half-past three o'clock."

No. III.—Copy of Kolli's examination at the office of General Police.

On the 8th of April, 1810, was brought to the ministry of general police, an individual arrested at Valancay on the 6th, who was interrogated as follows:—

Q. What are your name, surname, age, place of nativity, profession, and domicile?—A. Charles Leopold, Baron de Kolli, aged 32 years,



years, born in Ireland, minister from his majesty King George III. to the Prince of the Asturias, Ferdinand VII.

Q. To whom did you apply in London to propose, and to procure the acceptance of the project which has brought you to France?--A. To his royal highness the Duke of Kent, who mentioned it to his father, the king. The affair was afterwards conducted by the Marquis Wellesley.

Q. What were the means put at your disposal for executing this enterprise?--A. There were delivered to me--1. A letter of credence to remove all doubts as to my person and my mission to Prince Ferdinand. 2. Two letters from the King of England to the prince, which have been found among my papers. 3. Forged passports, routes, orders from the ministers of marine and war, stamps, seals, signatures of the officers in the department of the secretary of state, all of them seized at the time I was arrested, and which I carried with me, to convince the prince of the means I had. 4. As to the funds requisite for the undertaking, I had about 200,000 francs, and eventually an unlimited credit on the house of Maensoff and Clanoy, of London. Finally, the vessels that were necessary, viz. the *Incomparable*, of 74 guns, the *Dedaigieuse*, of 50 guns, the *Piquante* galliot, and a brig. This squadron, which is victualled for five months, waits for my return on the coast of Quiberon. Thus provided, after taking leave of the king and his minister on the 24th of January, I left London on the 26th for Plymouth, with Commodore Cockburn, to whom the command of the squadron was con-

fided. M. Albert de St. Bonnel, to whom I communicated my plan, remained in London to receive the passports, itineraries, stamps, seals, &c. that were ordered. The departure of M. de St. Bonnel was delayed by the indisposition of Marquis Wellesley; he did not join me before the end of February, and we sailed some days after. I landed at Quiberon on the 9th of March.

Q. What precautions did you adopt on your landing to conceal the documents explaining the object of your journey?--A. I put the letter of credence I mentioned in my cane. The two letters of his majesty the King of England were concealed in the lining of my coat; part of the diamonds were sewed up in the collar of my surtout and the waistband of my small-clothes. M. de St. Bonnel had the remainder, which he secreted in the same way, and in his cravat.

Q. Before your departure from France for England, had you established any communication with Valancay?--A. None.

Q. Where did you go after you landed?--A. To Paris. I travelled with the help of one of the itineraries, which was given me in England, and which I filled up.

Q. Did you remain long at Paris?--A. I was employed in selling the diamonds which Marquis Wellesley gave me. I bought a horse and cabriolet from M. de Couvert, who resides at the Hotel d'Angleterre, in the street Filles de St. Thomas. M. de St. Bonnel purchased two horses for persons whose names I do not recollect. He was to buy one from Franconia, after I set out for Valancay, and another from the Princess of Carignan.

Q. How did you gain admittance,



tance into the castle of Valancay?---

*A.* Under pretence of having some curious articles to sell. I was in hopes to have been able by these means to deliver to the prince the letters with which I was entrusted, to put him in possession of my plan, and to obtain his consent. I could only communicate with the Prince Don Antonio and the intendant. Prince Ferdinand refused either to hear or see me. Indeed, I have reason to believe, from the strange manner in which my proposals were received, that he sent information to the governor of the castle, in consequence of which I was arrested.

*Q.* What means had you prepared to convey Prince Ferdinand to the coast, in case he consented to accompany you?---*A.* The object of my first journey to Valancay was to impart my plan to the prince; and in case he agreed to it, to fix with him a time when I should return to take him up. Afterwards I would have proceeded to the coast, to apprise the commander of my squadron of the day appointed. I would then have returned to Paris, to procure men and horses necessary for the relays on the road. On the evening of the day appointed the prince would have left his apartment, and by the help of the relays we would have proceeded to a great distance from Valancay before he was missed.

*Q.* Whither did you intend to carry the prince after you got on board?---*A.* It was Marquis Wellesley's intention to send him to Spain. The Duke of Kent was for sending him to Gibraltar. But this plan disgusted me; it was in fact sending him to prison. I intended to propose to him to make his own

choice, and to carry him wherever he pleased, for I was informed that Captain Cockburn had orders to obey my directions.

*Q.* Who are the persons you intended to employ?---*A.* M. St. Bonnel was the only person acquainted with my design. I did not intend to look out for any one to assist me in executing it, until I became acquainted with the prince's determination. I should have employed but few persons.

*Q.* Are you acquainted with the neighbourhood of Valancay and the country you were to pass through?---*A.* Not in the least; but I purchased some excellent maps at Paris on my arrival, which would have afforded me ample information.

*Q.* What was your reason for forming such a design?---*A.* It appeared to me an honourable one.

*Q.* Do you know this parcel?---*A.* I do. It contains the documents, stamps, seals, and other things I have mentioned, and which were found upon me when I was taken up.

(Signed) KOLLI.

No. IV.---Is a letter from Charles IV. addressed to the King of England, in 1802, announcing the marriage of the Prince of Asturias. It was given to Kolli, with a marginal note by the Marquis Wellesley, to be used as a credential to Prince Ferdinand. On the back of this letter the following was written, in the hand of Marquis Wellesley:---

The secretary of state of his Britannic Majesty declares, that this letter is the same that his catholic majesty Charles IV. addressed to his Britannic Majesty, on occasion of the marriage of the Prince of Asturias,



Asturias, actually King Ferdinand VII. This authentic document is confided to the person who will have the honour of laying it before his catholic majesty Ferdinand VII. to verify his mission.

WELLESLEY.

Downing Street, Feb. 29, 1810.

No. V.—Letter from King George III. signed in his proper hand, to Prince Ferdinand, intrusted to Kolli.

Sir, my brother,—I have long wished for an opportunity to transmit to your majesty a letter signed in my proper hand, expressing the lively interest and profound regret I have felt since your majesty has been removed from your kingdom. Notwithstanding the violence and cruelty with which the usurper of the throne of Spain overwhelms the Spanish nation, it must prove a great consolation to your majesty, to learn that your people preserve their loyalty and attachment to the person of their lawful king, and that Spain makes continual efforts to uphold your majesty's rights, and to re-establish the independence of the monarchy. The resources of my kingdom, my fleets and armies, shall be employed to assist your majesty's subjects in this great cause, and my ally, the Prince Regent of Portugal, has also contributed to it with all the zeal and perseverance of a faithful friend.

To your majesty's faithful subjects, as well as your allies, your presence only is wanting in Spain, where it would inspire a new energy.

I therefore intreat your majesty, with all the frankness of the alliance and friendship which bind me to your majesty's interests, to consider

of the most prudent and effectual means of escaping from the indignities you experience, and of showing yourself among a people who are unanimous in their wishes for your majesty's happiness and glory.

I annex to this letter a copy of the credentials which my minister in Spain is to present to the central junta, that governs there in the name and by the authority of your majesty.

I intreat your majesty to rest assured of my sincere friendship, and of the true attachment with which I am, sir, my brother,

Your worthy brother,

(Signed) GEORGE R.

(Countersigned) WELLESLEY.

At the Queen's Palace,  
London, Jan. 31, 1810.

No. VI.—Is a letter from George III. to Prince Ferdinand, being a copy of the full powers granted to Henry Wellesley.

No. VII.—This is a letter from M. de Berthem, giving a description of the festivities at the castle of Valancay, on the 1st of April, in honour of the emperor's marriage; upon which occasion the Spanish princes are represented as having studiously embraced every opportunity of manifesting their joy at the event. They attended the chapel at the castle, and at the conclusion of the Te Deum, Prince Ferdinand was the first to exclaim "Long live the emperor!—Long live the empress!" The toasts after dinner were: by Prince Ferdinand, "Our august sovereigns, Napoleon the Great, and Maria Louisa, his august spouse."—By Prince Charles, "The two imperial and royal families of France and Austria."—By Prince Anthony, "The happy union



of Napoleon the Great and Maria Louisa."--M. D'Amezaga, at the table of the officers of their household, gave, "Napoleon the Great, and Maria Louisa, the glory and delight of France and Germany: may divine Providence grant them a long and happy life!" The castle and park were illuminated in the evening with between eight and nine thousand lamps.

No. VIII.--Copy of a letter addressed to M. Berthemy, by Prince Ferdinand, acquainting him with his wish to become the adopted son of his majesty.

*Valancay, April 4.*

Being desirous of having some conversation with you upon various matters which have long occupied my attention, I request that you will come to M. D'Amezaga's, our first equerry, at three o'clock this afternoon. This individual, exclusively, enjoys our entire confidence, which he has for a great length of time justly merited from his excellent conduct in all respects, and the perfect knowledge he possesses of our affairs, which he has always directed to our great satisfaction and to our advantage.

M. D'Amezaga, who has on my part had the honour of conversing with you upon the matters above alluded to, and other affairs which concern us, tells me that you are already acquainted with them. Our conversation, sir, will consequently be short, and will not interfere with your own affairs.

That which at present occupies my attention, is to me an object of the greatest interest. My first wish is to become the adopted son of his majesty the emperor, our august sovereign. I conceive myself to be

worthy of this adoption, which would truly constitute the happiness of my life, as well from my perfect love and attachment to the sacred person of his majesty, as by my submission and entire obedience to his intentions and desires. I am, moreover, extremely anxious to leave Valancay, because this residence, which has nothing about it but what is unpleasant to us, is not in any respect suitable for us. I feel a pleasure in confiding in that magnanimity of conduct, and that generous beneficence which distinguish his imperial and royal majesty, and in believing that my most ardent wishes will soon be accomplished.

Accept, &c.  
(Signed) FERDINAND.

## II. *Bonaparte's Decrees for annexing Rome and Holland to France, and also the Hanse Towns.*

### 1. ROME.

*Extract from the records of the conservative senate of Feb. 17.*

The conservative senate, assembled in the number of members prescribed by article xc. of the constitutional act of the 13th Dec. 1799, has considered the project of the organic senatus consultum, drawn up in the form prescribed by article lvii. the constitutional act of the 4th of August, 1802, after having heard the orators of the council of state, and the report of the special commission appointed in the sitting of the 14th of this month, the adoption being voted by the number of votes prescribed in article lvi. of the constitutional act of the 4th of August, 1802, it is decreed as follows:--

TITLE



**TITLE I.**---*Of the union of the Roman states to the empire.*

Art. 1. The state of Rome is united to the French empire, and forms an integral part thereof.

2. It shall be divided into two departments: the department of Rome, and the department of Trasimene.

3. The department of Rome shall send seven deputies to the legislative body. The department of Trasimene shall send four.

4. The department of Rome shall be classed in the first series---the department of Trasimene in the second.

5. A senatory shall be established in the departments of Rome and Trasimene.

6. The city of Rome is the second city of the empire.---The mayor of Rome is to be present when the emperor takes the oaths on his accession. He is to rank, as are also all deputations from the city of Rome, on all occasions, immediately after the mayors or deputations of the city of Paris.

7. The prince imperial is to assume the title, and receive the honours, of King of Rome.

8. A prince of the blood, or a grand dignitary of the empire, shall reside at Rome, who shall hold the emperor's court.

9. The property which composes the endowments of the imperial crown shall be regulated by a special senatus consultum.

10. After having been crowned in the church of Notre Dame at Paris, the emperors shall, previous to the tenth year of their reign, be crowned in the church of St. Peter.

11. The city of Rome shall enjoy particular privileges and immunities, which shall be determined by the Emperor Napoleon.

**TITLE II.**---*Of the independence of the imperial throne of all authority on earth.*

12. Every foreign sovereign is incompatible with the exercise of any spiritual authority within the territory of the empire.

13. The popes shall, at their elevation, take an oath never to act contrary to the four propositions of the Gallician church, adopted in an assembly of the clergy in 1682.

14. The four propositions of the catholic church are declared common to all the catholic churches of the empire.

**TITLE III.**---*Of the temporal existence of the popes.*

15. Palaces shall be prepared for the pope in the different parts of the empire in which he may wish to reside. He shall necessarily have one at Paris and another at Rome.

16. Two millions in rural property, free of all impositions, and lying in different parts of the empire, shall be assigned to the pope.

17. The expenses of the sacred college, and of the propaganda, shall be declared imperial.

18. The present organic senatus consultum shall be transmitted by a message to his majesty the emperor and king.

(Signed) **CAMBACERES,**  
Prince Arch-Chancellor of  
the Empire.

**FRANCOIS, JANCOURT, CORNET,**  
Secretaries.

**COUNT LAPLACE,**  
Chancellor of the Senate.

The senate met on the 27th of February, at half past one o'clock. The prince arch-chancellor, who presided on the occasion, read the following message from his majesty:---

Senators,---We have dispatched to Vienna, as our ambassador extraordinary,



traordinary, our cousin the Prince of Neufchatel, to solicit the hand of the Archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the Emperor of Austria.

We have given orders to our minister of foreign relations to lay before you the articles of the treaty of marriage between us and the Archduchess Maria Louisa; which has been concluded, signed, and ratified.

We have been desirous of eminently contributing to the happiness of the present generation. The enemies of the continent have founded their prosperity upon its dissensions and divisions. They can no longer nourish war, by imputing to us projects incompatible with the ties and duties of affinity, which we have just contracted with the imperial house reigning in Austria.

The brilliant qualities which distinguish the Archduchess Maria Louisa, have acquired her the love of the people of Austria. They have fixed our regards. Our people will love this princess from their love for us, until, being witnesses of all the virtues which have given her so high a place in our thoughts, they shall love her for herself.

Given at our palace of the Thuilleries, this 27th of February, 1810.

NAPOLEON.

## 2. HOLLAND.

*Extract from the registers of the office of the secretary of state.*

*Palace of Rambouillet,*

*July 9, 1810.*

We, Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine,

Mediator of the Swiss Confederation, &c. have decreed, and do hereby decree, as follow:—

**TITLE I.—Art. 1.** Holland is united to France.

2. The city of Amsterdam shall be the third city of the empire.

3. Holland shall have six senators, six deputies to the council of state, twenty-five deputies to the legislative body, and two judges in the court of cessation.

4. The officers, by sea and land, of whatever rank, shall be confirmed in their employment. Commissions shall be delivered to them, signed with our hand. The royal guard shall be united to our imperial guard.

**TITLE II.—Of the administration for 1810.**

5. The Duke of Placentia, arch-treasurer of the empire, shall repair to Amsterdam in the capacity of our lieutenant-general. He shall preside in the council of ministers, and attend to the dispatch of business. His functions shall cease the 1st of January, 1811, the period when the French administration shall commence.

6. All the public functionaries, of whatever rank, are confirmed in their employments.

**TITLE III.—Of the finances.**

7. The present contributions shall continue to be levied until the 1st of January, 1811, at which period the country shall be eased of that burden, and the imposts put on the same footing as for the rest of the empire.

8. The budget of receipts and disbursements shall be submitted to our approbation before the 1st of August next. Only one-third of the present amount of interest upon the public debt shall be carried to the account of expenditure for 1810.



1810. The interest of the debt for 1808 and 1809, not yet paid, shall be reduced to one-third, and charged on the budget of 1810.

9. The custom-houses on the frontier, other than those of France, shall be organized under the superintendence of our director-general of the custom-houses. The Dutch custom-houses shall be incorporated therewith. The line of custom-houses now on the French frontier, shall be kept up till the 1st of January, 1811, when it shall be removed, and the communication of Holland with the empire be free.

10. The colonial produce, actually in Holland, shall remain in the hands of the owners, upon paying a duty of fifty per cent. *ad valorem*. A declaration of the amount shall be made before the 1st of September, at farthest. The said merchandize, upon payment of the duties, may be imported into France, and circulated through the whole of the empire.

TITLE IV.—11. There shall be at Amsterdam a special administration, presided over by one of our counsellors of state, which shall have the superintendence of, and the necessary funds to provide for, the repairs of the dikes, polders, and other public works.

TITLE V.—12. In the course of the present month, there shall be nominated, by the legislative body of Holland, a commission of fifteen members, to proceed to Paris, in order to constitute a council, whose business shall be to regulate definitively all that relates to the public and local debts, and to conciliate the principles of the union with the localities and interests of the country.

13. Our ministers are charged

with the execution of the present decrees.

(Signed)

By the Emperor NAPOLEON.

(Signed)

The Minister Secretary of State,  
H. B. Duke of BASSANO.

Holland, in consequence of the above, has since been annexed to France!

### 3. HANSE TOWNS.

*Project of an organic senatus consultum.*

ART. 1. Holland, the Hanse Towns, Lauenburg, and the territories which lie between the North Sea, and a line which shall extend from the place where the Lippe enters the Rhine, to its sources; from these sources to the Upper Ems; from the Ems to the entrance of the Werra into the Weser; and from Stolzenau on the Weser to the Elbe, above the junction of the Sleekness, shall form an integral part of the French empire.

2. The said territories shall form ten departments, namely:—The department of the Zuyder Zee, of the mouths of the Maese, of the Upper Yssel, the mouths of the Yssel, East Friesland, the West Ems, the East Ems, the Upper Ems, the mouths of the Weser, and the mouths of the Elbe.

3. The number of deputies from these departments to the legislative body shall be as follow:—

For the department of the Zuyder Zee .....	4
———— Mouths of the Maese .	4
———— Upper Yssel .....	3
———— Mouths of the Yssel ..	2

For



For the department of East Friesland .....	2
—————West Ems .....	2
—————East Ems .....	2
—————Upper Ems .....	4
—————Mouth of the Weser ..	3
—————Mouths of the Elbe ..	4

4. These deputies shall be appointed in the year 1811, and shall be renewed in the year to which the series belongs, in which the department to which they belong shall be placed.

5. These departments shall be placed in the following series of the legislative body, namely:—First series, Mouths of the Maese and West Ems; second series, Friesland and the Upper Ems; third series, the Zuyder Zee and East Ems; fourth series, Mouths of the Yssel, and Mouths of the Elbe; fifth series, Upper Yssel, and Mouths of the Weser.

6. For the departments of the Zuyder Zee, Mouths of the Maese, Upper Yssel, Mouths of the Yssel, Friesland, and West Ems, there shall be an imperial court of justice, whose seat shall be at the Hague.

7. For the departments of East Ems, Upper Ems, the Weser, and the Mouths of the Elbe, there shall be an imperial court of justice, whose seat shall be at Hamburgh.

8. In the departments which belong to the jurisdiction of the imperial court of justice of the Hague, there shall be a council of senators; and another shall be erected in the departments which belong to the jurisdiction of the imperial court of justice at Hamburgh.

9. The cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubeck, are placed among the number of good cities; their mayors

are to be present at the oath of fealty to the emperors at their coronation.

10. A communication shall be formed with the Baltic by a canal, which, extending from the canal of Hamburgh to Lubeck, shall make a communication between the Elbe and the Weser, the Weser and the Ems, and the Ems and the Rhine.

### III. *Report concerning the Marriage of Buonaparte.*

In the year 1809, and on the 15th day of December, at nine o'clock in the evening, we, Jean Jaques Regis Cambaceres, Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, Duke of Parma, exercising the functions prescribed to us by title the second of the fourteenth article of the statute of the imperial family, and in consequence of orders addressed to us by his majesty the emperor and king, in his private letter, dated that day, of the following tenor:—

*Paris, Dec. 15, 1809.*

“My cousin,---Our desire is, that you repair this day, at nine o'clock in the evening, to our grand cabinet of the palace of the Thuilleries, attended by the civil secretary of state of our imperial family, to receive from us and the empress, our dear consort, a communication of great importance. For this purpose, we have ordered this present private letter should be sent to you. We pray God to have you, my cousin, in his holy and blessed keeping.”

On the back is written:---“To our cousin the Prince Arch-Chancellor, Duke of Parma.”

We accordingly proceeded to the hall of the throne of the palace of the



the Thuilleries, attended by Michel Louis Etienne Regnault (de St. Jean d'Angely) Count of the Empire, Minister of State, and Secretary of State to the imperial family. A quarter of an hour afterwards; we were introduced to the grand cabinet of the emperor; where we found his majesty the emperor and king, with her majesty the empress, attended by their majesties the Kings of Holland, Westphalia, Naples, his Imperial Highness the Prince Viceroy, the Queens of Holland, Westphalia, Naples, and Spain, madame, and her Imperial Highness the Princess Paulina. His majesty the emperor and king condescended to address us in these terms:---

“My Cousin, Prince Arch-Chancellor,---I dispatched to you a private letter, dated this day, to direct you to repair to my cabinet, for the purpose of communicating to you the resolution which I and the empress, my dearest consort have taken: It gives me pleasure that the kings, queens, and princesses, my brothers and sisters, my brothers and sisters-in-law, my daughter-in-law, and my son-in-law, become my adopted son, as well as my mother, should witness what I am going to communicate to you.

“The policy of my monarchy, the interest and the wants of my people, which have constantly guided all my actions, require, that after me, I should leave to children, inheritors of my love for my people, that throne on which Providence has placed me; notwithstanding, for several years past, I have lost the hope of having children by my marriage with my well-beloved consort, the Empress Josephine. This it is which induces me to sacrifice

the sweetest affections of my heart, to attend to nothing but the good of the state, and to wish the dissolution of my marriage.

“Arrived at the age of forty years, I may indulge the hope of living long enough to educate in my views and sentiments the children which it may please Providence to give me. God knows how much such a resolution has cost my heart; but there is no sacrifice beyond my courage, when it is proved to me to be necessary for the welfare of France. I should add, that far from having reason to complain, on the contrary, I have had reason only to be satisfied with the attachment and the affection of my well-beloved consort: she has adorned fifteen years of my life, the remembrance of which will ever remain engraven on my heart: she was crowned by my hand. I wish she should preserve the rank and title of empress, but above all, that she should never doubt my sentiments, and that she should ever regard me as her best and dearest friend.”

His majesty the emperor and king having ended, her majesty the empress and queen spoke as follows:---

“By the permission of our dear and august consort, I ought to declare, that not preserving any hope of having children, which may fulfil the wants of his policy and the interest of France, I am pleased to give him the greatest proof of attachment and devotion, which has ever been given on earth. I possess all from his bounty: it was his hand which crowned me; and, from the height of the throne, I have received nothing but proofs of affection and love from the French people. I think I prove myself



myself grateful, in consenting to the dissolution of a marriage, which heretofore was an obstacle to the welfare of France; which deprived it of the happiness of being one day governed by the descendants of a great man, evidently raised up by Providence, to efface the evils of a terrible revolution, and to re-establish the altar, the throne, and social order. But the dissolution of my marriage will in no degree change the sentiments of my heart. The emperor will ever have in me his best friend. I know how much this act, demanded by policy and by interests so great, has chilled his heart; but both of us exult in the sacrifice which we make for the good of the country."

After which, their imperial majesties having demanded an act of their respective declarations, as well as of the mutual consent contained in them, and which their majesties gave to the dissolution of their marriage, as also of the power which their majesties conferred on us, to follow up, as need shall require, the effect of their will—We, Prince Arch-Chancellor of the empire, in obedience to the orders and requisitions of their majesties, have given the aforesaid acts, and have in consequence executed the present *proces verbal*, to serve and avail according to law; to which *proces verbal* their majesties have affixed their signatures, and which, after having been signed by the kings, queens, princes, and princesses, present, has been signed by us, and countersigned by the secretary of state of the imperial family, who wrote it with his own hand.

Done at the palace of the Tuilleries, the day, hour, and the year aforesaid. (Signed, &c.)

Having seen the *projet* of the *senatus consultum*, drawn up in the form prescribed by the fifty-seventh article of the act of the constitution, of the 4th of August, 1802—After having heard the motives of the said *projet*, the orators of the council of state, and the report of the special committee appointed on the sitting of this day—the adoption having been discussed by the number of members prescribed by the fifty-sixth article of the act of the constitution, of the 4th of August, 1802, the senate decrees that:—

I. The marriage contracted between the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Josephine, is dissolved.

II. The Empress Josephine shall preserve the title and rank of empress queen crowned.

III. Her dowry is fixed at an annual income of two millions of francs, on the revenue of the state.

IV. All the assignments which may be made by the emperor, in favour of the Empress Josephine, on the funds of the civil list, shall be obligatory on his successors.

V. The present *senatus consultum* shall be transmitted by a message to his imperial and royal majesty.

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#### IV. *Exposé of the state of France.*

*Report of the minister for foreign affairs to his majesty the emperor and king.*

SIR,—Your majesty has exalted France to the highest point of greatness. The victories obtained over five successive coalitions, all promoted by England, have produced these consequences; and it may be said, that we are indebted to England



land for the glory and power of the great empire.

At every opportunity, your majesty made offers of peace, and without considering whether it would be more advantageous than war: you looked, sir, only to the happiness of the present generation, and you always shewed yourself ready to sacrifice to it the most flattering prospects of the future.

It was in this spirit that the peace of Compo Formio, of Luneville, and of Amiens, and subsequently of Presburg, of Tilsit, and of Vienna, were concluded; it was in this spirit that your majesty has five times sacrificed to peace the greater part of your conquests. More anxious to adorn your reign by the public happiness, than to extend the frontiers of your empire, your majesty sets bounds to your greatness; while England, keeping the torch of war continually alive, seemed to conspire against her allies as well as herself, to create the greatest empire that has existed for twenty centuries.

At the peace of 1783, the power of France was strong in the family compact, which closely bound Spain and Naples with her political system. At the peace of Amiens, the respective strength of the three great powers was increased by the addition of twelve millions of Polish inhabitants. The houses of France and Spain were essentially hostile to each other, and the people of the two countries were removed farther than ever from each other, by the difference of their manners. One of the great continental powers had her strength less diminished by the junction of Belgium with France, than it was increased by the acquisition of Venice; the secu-

larizations also of the Germanic body added more to the power of our rivals.

Thus, at the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, the relative force of France was less than at the peace of 1783, and much inferior to that to which the victories obtained during the wars of the two first coalitions gave her a right to expect. This treaty, however, was scarcely concluded, when the jealousy of England displayed itself strongly. She took the alarm at the increasing prosperity and riches of the interior of France; and she hoped that a third coalition would wrest Belgium, the provinces of the Rhine, and Italy, from your crown. The peace of Amiens was broken; a third coalition was formed, three months after, it was dissolved by the treaty of Presburg.

England saw all her hopes blasted; Venice, Dalmatia, Istria, the whole of the Adriatic coast, and that of the kingdom of Naples, fell into the power of France. The Germanic body, established upon principles contrary to those upon which the French empire was founded, dropped to pieces; and the system of the Confederation of the Rhine transformed in close and necessary allies the same nations, who in the first coalitions marched against France, and united them indissolubly to herself by their common interests.

The peace of Amiens then became in England the object of every statesman. The new acquisitions by France, which there were no hopes of wresting from her at any future time, rendered the fault that was committed more evident, and shewed the full extent of it.

An enlightened man, who during the short interval of the peace of Amiens,



Amiens, visited Paris, and had learned to know France and your majesty, was put at the head of affairs in England. This man of genius comprehended the situation of the two countries. He perceived that it was not in the power of any state to compel France to retrograde; and that the true policy consisted in arresting her progress. He perceived, that by the success obtained over the third coalition, the question was changed; and that it must no longer be thought of contesting with France the possessions that she acquired by victory; but that it was necessary, by a speedy peace, to prevent those new acquisitions which the continuation of the war would render inevitable. This minister did not conceal any of the advantages which France derived from the erroneous policy of England; but he had in view those which she might still acquire. He thought that England would gain much, if none of the continental powers lost more. He directed his policy to disarm France, and to have the Confederation of the North of Germany recognized in opposition to the Confederation of the Rhine. He perceived that Prussia could only be preserved by peace; and that on the fate of that power depended the system of Saxony, of Hesse, of Hanover, the fate of the mouths of the Ems, of the Jade, of the Weser, of the Elbe, of the Oder, and of the Vistula, ports necessary for the commerce of England. Like a great man, Fox did not deliver himself up to useless sorrow for the rupture of the treaty of Amiens, and losses henceforth irreparable; he wished to prevent greater, and he sent Lord Lauderdale to Paris.

The negotiations began, and every thing led to hope that they would have ended happily, when Fox died. From that time they languished. The ministers were neither sufficiently enlightened nor temperate to perceive the necessity of peace. Prussia, excited by that spirit which England infused into all Europe, put her troops in march. The imperial guards received orders to set out; Lord Lauderdale appeared terrified at the consequences of the new events that were preparing. It was proposed to sign the treaty; that Prussia should be included in it, and that the Confederation of the North of Germany should be recognized. Your majesty, with that spirit of moderation of which you have given such frequent examples to Europe, consented.—The departure of the imperial guard was delayed for some days, but Lord Lauderdale hesitated; he thought it necessary to send a messenger to his court, and that messenger brought him an order to return. In a few days after Prussia no longer existed as a preponderating power. Posterity will consider that period as one of the most decisive in the histories of England and of France. The treaty of Tilsit put an end to the fourth coalition.

After some further uninteresting remarks, the report proceeds thus:—

The fifth coalition broke out, the new events of which again turned out advantageous to France. The only ports by which England preserved an avowed communication with the continent, together with the Illyrian provinces, passed under the power of your majesty by the treaty of Vienna, and the allies



allies of the empire beheld their power increased.

The British orders in council had overthrown the laws of the commerce of the world; England, whose whole existence is attached to commerce, had thus thrown disorder into the commerce of other nations. She had contemned all its privileges. The decrees of Berlin and of Milan had repelled these monstrous novelties. Holland found that her position was a difficult one; her government had not an action sufficiently energetic; her custom-houses afforded too little security to permit that centre of continental commerce to remain much longer insulated from France. Your majesty, for the interests of your people, and to secure the execution of the system which you had opposed to the tyrannical act of England, saw yourself compelled to change the fate of Holland. Your majesty, nevertheless, constant in your system, and in your desire of peace, gave England to understand that she could not preserve the independence of Holland, but by recalling her orders in council, or adopting pacific views.—The ministers of a commercial nation treated with levity overtures so greatly interesting to its commerce. They replied, that England had no power over the fate of Holland. In the illusions of their pride, they misconceived the motives of that measure; they pretended to see in it an acknowledgment of the efficacy of their orders in council, and Holland was united. Since they would have it so, sire, I think it useful at this moment, and I propose to your majesty to consolidate that union by a *senatus consulta*.

The annexation of the Hansea-

tic Towns, of Lauenberg, and of the whole coast from the Elbe to the Ems, is commanded by circumstances. That territory is already under the dominion of your majesty.

The immense warehouses at Helligoland would always threaten to inundate the continent, if a single point remained open to the English trade upon the coast of the North Sea; and if the mouths of the Jade, the Weser, and the Elbe, were not for ever closed against her.

The British orders in council have totally destroyed the privileges of neutral navigation; your majesty can no longer supply your arsenals, and have a sure channel for your commerce with the north, but by means of internal navigation.—The repairing and enlarging of the canal between Hamburgh and Lubeck, and the construction of a new canal, which will unite the Elbe to the Weser, and the Weser to the Ems, which will only require four or five years labour, and an expenditure of fifteen or twenty millions, in a country, the soil of which offers no physical obstacles, will open to the French merchants a cheap, easy, and safe route. Your empire can always trade with the Baltic, convey to the north the produce of her soil and manufactures, and draw from thence the articles necessary for your majesty's navy.

The flags of Hamburgh, of Bremen, and of Lubeck, which at present wander on the seas, denationalized by the British orders in council, will share the fate of the French flag, and join with it, for the interest of the common cause, and in re-establishing the liberty of the seas.

Peace will take place at last;  
for,



for, sooner or later, the great interests of nations, of justice, and of humanity, will prevail over passion and hatred. But the experience of sixty years has shewn us that peace with England can only afford to commerce a deceitful security. In 1756, in February 1793, in 1801, in the instance of Spain, as in May, 1803, the period of the rupture of the treaty of Amiens, England commenced hostilities before she declared war. Vessels, which navigated in the faith of peace, were taken by surprise; commerce was plundered, peaceable citizens were deprived of their liberty, and the ports of England were filled with these disgraceful trophies. Should these examples be ever renewed, the subjects of England, travelling either for pleasure or business, whose properties and persons shall be secured in all our ports, from the Baltic sea to the Adriatic gulf, will be answerable for these attempts; and if the English government, for the purpose of making the people of London forget the injustice of the war, will gratify them with the sight of prizes taken in contempt of the law of nations, they will also have it in their power to shew them the losses which most certainly result from it.

Sire, your majesty will persevere in your decrees so long as England persists in her orders in council. You will oppose to the maritime blockade the continental blockade, and to the plunder of the seas, the confiscation of English merchandise on the continent.

It is my duty to acquaint your majesty that you can have henceforth no hope to bring back your enemies to more moderate ideas than by persevering in this system.

The result of it will be to place England in such a disagreeable situation, that she will be at length compelled to acknowledge that she cannot violate the laws of neutrals on the sea, and claim their protection on the continent; that the sole source of her misfortunes is in her orders in council; and that the increase of the power of France, which will long excite her spite and jealousy, is owing to the blind passion of those who have broken the treaty of Amiens, put an end to the negotiation at Paris, rejected the propositions from Tilsit and Erfurth, disdaining the overtures made before the annexation of Holland, have given the last blow to her trade and her power, and conducted your empire to the fulfilment of its high destinies.

CHAMPAGNY, Duke of Cadore.  
*Paris, Dec. 8, 1810.*

## II. HOLLAND.

### 1. *Address of Louis to his subjects on his abdication.*

Louis Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the constitution of the kingdom, King of Holland, Constable of France, to all those who may see or hear, or read these presents, health.

Hollanders. --- Being convinced that nothing more for your interest or your welfare can be effected by me, but, on the contrary, considering myself as an obstacle which may prevent the good will and intentions of my brother towards this country, I have resigned my rank and royal dignity in favour of my eldest son, Napoleon Louis, and of his brother, Prince Charles Louis Napoleon.

Her



Her majesty the queen, being of right, and according to the constitution, regent of the kingdom, the regency shall, till her arrival, be vested in the council of ministers.

Hollanders.---Never shall I forget so good and virtuous a people as you are: my last thought, as well as my last sigh, shall be for your happiness. On leaving you, I cannot sufficiently recommend to you to receive well the military and civil officers of France. This is the only means to gratify his majesty the emperor, on whom your fate, that of your children, and that of your whole country, depends. And now, as ill-will and calumny can no longer reach me, at least so far as relates to you, I have a well-founded hope that you will at length find the reward for your sacrifices, and for all your magnanimous firmness.

LOUIS NAPOLEON.

Done at Haarlem, July 1, 1810.

## 2. *Address of the deputies of Holland to Buonaparte.*

*Paris, August 17.*

His imperial majesty being seated on the throne, surrounded by the princes and great officers of state, the deputies of Holland were presented to his majesty, and their president, his excellency Admiral Verhueil, delivered the following speech:---

“Sire,---Your very faithful subjects of Holland, the members of the council of state, the deputies of the legislative body, of the land and sea forces, and the deputies of the city of Amsterdam, have the honour of presenting themselves at

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the feet of your majesty's throne, respectfully to declare the sentiments of admiration, confidence, and obedience with which they are animated.

“The Dutch people, sire, known in the annals of history by the exploits of their heroes, by the spotless character of their statesmen, and the exertions made by them to obtain and maintain their independence, are still possessed of a strong recollection of the virtues of their forefathers.

“The great events which Europe has witnessed in the course of the present century, have completely changed the political supports and relations of states; and the independence, for the attainment of which our ancestors sacrificed their property, their blood, and all that is most dear to men, from the pressure of circumstances could not but undergo certain restrictions. At length united with the first nation in the world, called by the greatest prince in the universe to share in the favour which his exalted genius and paternal solicitude liberally bestow on his happy subjects, and of which Holland has already obtained so many proofs, the Dutch continue to flatter themselves, that by their loyalty, their obedience, and their inviolable attachment to their prince and father, they shall deserve the protection of a mighty, generous, upright, and benevolent government.”

His imperial majesty returned the following answer:---

“Gentlemen, deputies of the legislative body, of the land and sea forces of Holland, and gentlemen deputies of my good city of Amsterdam,---For these thirty years you

L I

have



have experienced many vicissitudes. You lost your liberty when one of the great officers of the republic, forced by England, employed Prussian bayonets to interrupt the deliberations of your councils. It was then that the wise constitution handed down to you by your forefathers was destroyed for ever.

“ You formed a part of the coalition, in consequence of which French armies conquered your country—an event which was the unavoidable consequence of the alliance with England. After the conquest, a distinct government was formed, yet your republic formed part of the empire. Your strong fortresses, and the principal positions in your country, were occupied by French troops, and your government was changed according to the opinions which succeeded each other in France.

“ When Providence placed me on this first throne of the world, it fell to my lot to decide for ever the fate of France, and of all the nations which compose this vast empire, to bestow on all, the signal advantages which arise from firmness, consistency, and order, and to destroy the baneful consequences of irregularity and weakness. I put a period to the wavering destinies of Italy, by placing the iron crown on my head. I annihilated the government which ruled Piedmont. By my act of mediation I justly appreciated the constitution of Switzerland, and brought the local circumstances of the country in unison with the safety and rights of this imperial crown. I gave you a prince of my blood for your ruler; this was intended as a bond to unite the concerns of your republic with the

rights of the empire. My hopes have been deceived; and on this occasion I have shown more forbearance than my character generally admits, and my rights require. I have at length put a period to the painful uncertainty of your future fate, and warded off the fatal blow which threatened to annihilate all your property, all your resources. I have opened the continent to your national industry: the day shall come when you are to conduct my eagles to the seas, celebrated by the exploits of your ancestors; then shall you show yourselves worthy of yourselves and of me. From this moment till that period, all the changes that take place in Europe shall have for their first motive the destruction of that tyrannical and irrational system which the English government, unmindful of the pernicious consequences which arise therefrom to its own country, has adopted, to outlaw commerce and trade, and subject it to the arbitrary authority of English licenses.

“ Gentlemen deputies of the legislative body, and of the land and sea forces of Holland, and gentlemen deputies of my good city of Amsterdam, tell my subjects of Holland, I feel perfectly satisfied they possess the sentiments they profess for me; tell them that I doubt not their loyal attachment, and depend on their heartily joining their exertions to those of the rest of my subjects, to reconquer the rights of the sea, the loss of which five coalitions incited by England have inflicted on the continent; tell them, that in all circumstances they may reckon on my peculiar protection.”



## III. SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

1. *Proclamation from the Superior Spanish Junta.*

The superior Junta at Castille has addressed the following to the soldiers of the enemy; it has been circulated in the French language.

Frenchmen,---How long will you suffer a foreign tyrant to abuse your docility and patience? How long will you expose yourselves, shed your blood to ensure still more slavery, and satisfy the voracious and criminal ambition of an adventurer? It is time that you should undeceive yourselves, and recover from an error fatal to yourselves and to all Europe.

At the time when you fought for your liberty, your friends, your allies, your enemies themselves applauded your triumphs; your cause was just, and every where you had admirers; but now---what cause is it that you defend? That of the most tyrannical despotism, and the most perfidious usurpation. Against whom do you make war? Against a nation which has long been your ally, and which has made for France the most generous sacrifices. What do you propose? or rather, what does the monster who rules over you propose? The debasement, the enslaving of this nation. And what advantages do you expect from so unjust, so wild a project? Turn your eyes towards your country, enter into the bosoms of your families; hear the lamentations of your mothers, your wives, your brothers, and your sons! Look on those desolate widows, those deserted orphans, those afflicted mothers, and aged fathers, from whom despotism has torn the only support

of their decrepitude: every where you will meet with mourning, misery, and despair. Yes, we repeat it, recover from your error, suffer not yourselves to be blinded by a vain glory, only useful to the tyrant who oppresses you. Be convinced, that every victory, every conquest, is a link which adds to the chain in which you are bound by Napoleon. Remember you are Frenchmen; and cease to obey an adventurer, a Corsican. Abandon the standard of your oppressor, and enlist under the banners of liberty. Come over to us; the Spaniards are not your enemies, they are only the enemies of the usurper of a crown disgraced by his brow. They make no war against the French; they only make war against the Corsican and his slaves. Come then, and from us you shall receive the most generous hospitality; every one of you shall receive 100 livres Tournois, besides the value of his arms and horses. Our allies shall give you every kind of succour, and convey you in their vessels wherever you may wish to go.

2. *Massena's Address to the Portuguese.*

Portuguese!---The armies of Napoleon the great are on your frontiers, and we are on the point of entering your country as friends, not as conquerors. They do not come to make war upon you, but to fight those who have induced you to take up arms. Portuguese! awake to your true interests. What has England done for you, that you endure her troops on your native soil? She has destroyed your manufactures,



your commerce, paralyzed your industry, for the sole purpose of sending into your country articles of her own manufacture, and making you her tributaries. What does she do at present, that you should embrace the unjust cause which has roused the whole of the continent against her? She deceives you respecting the issue of a campaign in which she seems determined to incur no risk. She puts your battalions in advance, as if your blood was to reckon for nothing. She is prepared to abandon you when it will suit her interest, however disastrous the consequences may be to you; and, to complete your misfortunes, and her insatiable ambition, she sends her ships into your ports to transport to her colonies, such of you as may escape from the dangers to which she has exposed you on the continent. Does not the conduct of her army before Ciudad Rodrigo sufficiently explain to you what you are to expect from such allies? Did they not encourage the garrison and the unfortunate inhabitants of that fortress, by deceitful promises; and did they discharge a single musket to assist them? Again: lately have they placed any of their troops in Almeida, except a commander, who is put there to invite you to as ill-judged a resistance as that of Ciudad Rodrigo! What! is it not an insult to place one Englishman in the scale against 6000 of your countrymen? Portuguese! be no longer deceived. The powerful sovereign, whose laws, strength, and genius, receive the grateful praises of so many nations, wishes to establish your prosperity. Put yourselves under his protection. Receive his troops like friends, and you will

find security both for your persons and property. You are not ignorant of the miseries of war; you know that they extend to every thing that is most dear to you,—your children, relatives, friends, property, private and political lives. Come to a determination then, that will secure to you all the advantages of peace. Remain quiet in your habitations; attend to your domestic affairs, and consider those only your enemies who excite you to a war, by every event of which your country must suffer.

The Marshal Prince of Essling,  
commander-in-chief of the army of Portugal, MASSENA.

*Ciudad Rodrigo, Aug. 1, 1810.*

### 3. *Lord Wellington's Proclamation to the Portuguese.*

Lord Viscount Wellington, marshal-general, &c.

The time which has elapsed during which the enemy has remained on the frontiers of Portugal, must have proved to the Portuguese nation what they have to expect from the French. The inhabitants of some villages have remained in them, confiding in the promises of the enemy, and hoping that, by treating the enemies of their country well, they might conciliate and mollify them, and inspire them with humane sentiments; that their property would be respected, their females preserved from brutal violation, and their lives secured. Vain hopes! The inhabitants of these submissive places have suffered all the evils which a cruel enemy could inflict; their property has been plundered, their habitations  
burnt,



burnt, their women atrociously violated, and those whose age or sex did not provoke the brutal violence of the soldiers, have fallen victims to the imprudent confidence which they placed in promises made only to be broken.

The Portuguese must now see, that no other means remain to avoid the evils with which they are threatened, but a determined and vigorous resistance, and a firm resolution to obstruct as much as possible, the advance of the enemy into the interior of the kingdom, by removing out of his reach all such things as may contribute to his subsistence, or facilitate his progress. These are the only and most certain means to prevent the evils with which the country is threatened. The army under my command will protect as large a portion of the country as is possible; but it is obvious that the people alone can deliver themselves by a vigorous resistance, and preserve their goods by removing them out of the reach of the enemy. The duties, therefore, that bind me to his royal highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, and to the Portuguese nation, oblige me to make use of the power and authority with which I am furnished, to compel the careless and indolent to make the necessary efforts to preserve themselves from the dangers which threaten them, and to save their country. In conformity with this, I make known and declare, that all magistrates and persons in authority, who shall remain in the villages or towns, after having received orders from the military officer to remove from them, and all persons, of whatever class they may be, who shall maintain the

least communication with, or aid and assist in any manner, the enemy, shall be considered as traitors to the state, and tried and punished as such an enormous crime requires.

WELLINGTON.

*Head-quarters, Aug. 4.*

#### IV. RUSSIA.

*Decree, or Ukase, relative to the Finances of Russia, February 2, 1810.*

All the bank assignats (the paper money of the country) now in circulation, are once more declared to form part of the national debt, and guaranteed by all the wealth of the empire. From the present moment the bank assignats shall receive no increase. In order to pay the national debt, a loan shall be opened in the interior of the country, at fixed prices. In order to provide for all expenses, and to reduce the taxes to their former state, it is ordered, provisionally, for the present year, and until the publication of general regulations for the finances and taxes, that the following additional imposts shall take place:---

An increase of 2 rubles a-head on the crown peasantry.

An impost of 3, 2½, and 2 rubles, according to the various governments, on the peasantry occupied in cultivating the lands of the state.

Citizens employed in the arts, and other branches of public industry, shall pay 5 rubles.

Countrymen trading in both capitals shall pay for every shop 100, 50, and 25 rubles, according to localities, and besides those of the 2d guild, 1½ per cent. of the capital they have declared themselves



possessed of; and those of the 3d guild, 25 rubles.

Foreign tradesmen of both capitals shall pay 100 rubles, their partners 40, and their workmen 20 rubles.

In both capitals a duty of half a ruble shall be raised on houses, in virtue of the existing imposts.

The tax on traders shall receive an increase of half a copeek on the produce of industry and the capital.

The price of salt, formerly fixed at 40 copeeks per pood, shall be raised to one ruble.

The impost on copper shall be augmented three rubles per pood.

The custom-house duties on imported goods, shall be raised from 210 to 400 rubles, and in proportion.

Stamps have also experienced an advance in price.

The nobility shall assist in relieving the wants of the state, by paying a duty of 50 copeeks for every peasant in their possession.

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#### V. SWEDEN,

##### *Decree of Non-intercourse, &c. with Britain.*

Know all men by these presents, that We, Charles XIII. having in the third article of the treaty of peace concluded with the emperor of Russia, dated the 17th of September last, agreed to adopt such measures as should be regulated by the treaty then about to be entered into between Sweden, France, and Denmark for enforcing the continental system, ordered, in our circular of the 27th of October last, that no British vessels or ships of war should, after the time therein

mentioned, be permitted to enter our ports; and further, in the third article of the treaty with the emperor of France of date of the 6th of January last, having fully and in every respect acceded to the continental system, bound ourselves to shut our ports against the trade of Great Britain, and not to permit the importation of English goods or manufactures, of whatever description, or in whatever vessel the same might arrive. And whereas, having relinquished the permission we reserved to ourselves in the treaty with his majesty the emperor of Russia, of importing colonial produce, we now only retain to ourselves the power to import salt, sufficient for the consumption of our kingdom; further, to fulfil the treaties with the said powers, we hereby graciously command, that on and after the 24th of April next, no goods shall be imported, neither on paying the duties nor in transitu, which belong to Great Britain and Ireland; the colonies or countries under the influence of the British government, or goods of any description whatsoever, loaded in vessels from Great Britain, or any of her dependencies, be admitted into any of our ports; and that all vessels, under whatever flag, which shall be proved to carry such goods, as are not furnished with certificates and documents to certify the origin and full particulars of their cargoes, from their ports of lading, shall, upon their arrival in our harbours, be ordered off, save and except such vessels as are solely laden with salt, the importation of which, from all foreign countries, we permit, in vessels not belonging to his Britannic majesty or his subjects. For the full execution of our decree,



tree, we command all officers and persons in our service to exert their utmost vigilance, in strictly examining the papers, certificates, and documents, of all vessels that may arrive, agreeably to the gracious separate command, we, on this subject, shall or may issue.

Given at our court of Stockholm, &c.

## VI. AMERICA.--UNITED STATES.

### 1. *President Maddison's Proclamation.*

PROCLAMATION.—Whereas, by the fourth section of the act of congress, passed on the first day of May, 1810, entitled, an act concerning the commercial intercourse between the United States and Great Britain and France, and their dependencies, and for other purposes, it is provided: That in case either Great Britain or France shall, before the third of March next, so revoke or modify her edicts as that they shall cease to violate the neutral commerce of the United States, which fact the president of the United States shall declare by proclamation, and if the other nation shall not, within three months thereafter, so revoke or modify her edicts in like manner, then the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eighteenth, sections of the act, entitled an act to interdict the commercial intercourse between the United States and Great Britain and France, and their dependencies, and for other purposes, shall, from and after the expiration of three months from the date of the proclamation aforesaid, be revived and have full force and effect, so far as relates to the do-

minions, colonies, and dependencies, and to the articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture, of the dominions, colonies, and dependencies of the nation thus refusing or neglecting to revoke or modify her edicts in the manner aforesaid. And the restrictions imposed by this act shall, from the date of such proclamation, cease and be discontinued in relation to the nation revoking or modifying her decrees in the manner aforesaid. And whereas it has been officially made known to this government that the edicts of France, violating the neutral commerce of the United States, have been so revoked, as to cease to have effect on the first of the present month—Now, therefore, I, James Madison, president of the United States, do hereby proclaim, that the said edicts of France have been so revoked, as that they ceased on the said first day of the present month, to violate the neutral commerce of the United States; and that, from the date of these presents, all the restrictions imposed by the aforesaid act shall cease and be discontinued in relation to France and her dependencies. In testimony whereof, &c. &c.

JAMES MADISON.

November 2, 1810.

### 2. *Mr. Gallatin's Letters on Non-Intercourse with Britain.*

*Treasury Department,*

Nov. 2, 1810.

Sir—You will herewith receive a copy of the proclamation of the president of the United States, announcing the revocation of the edicts of France, which violated the neutral commerce of the United States, and that the restrictions imposed



by the act of May the first last, accordingly cease from this day, in relation to France. French armed vessels may therefore be admitted into the harbours and waters of the United States, any thing in that law to the contrary notwithstanding.

It also follows, that if Great Britain shall not, on the second of February next, have revoked or modified in like manner her edicts, violating the neutral commerce of the United States, the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eighteenth, sections of the act to interdict the commercial intercourse between the United States and Great Britain and France and their dependencies, and for other purposes, shall in conformity with the acts first above mentioned, be revived and have full force and effect, as far as relates to Great Britain and her dependencies, from and after the said second day of February next. Unless therefore you shall before that day be officially notified by this department of such revocation or modification, you will from and after the said day carry into effect the above-mentioned sections, which prohibit both the entrance of British vessels of every description into the harbours and waters of the United States; and the importation into the United States of any articles the growth, produce, or manufacture, of the dominions, colonies, and dependencies of Great Britain; and of any articles whatever brought from the said dominions, colonies, and dependencies. I am respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

ALBERT GALLATIN.

*To the Collector of the Customs  
of the district of —*

*Treasury Department,  
13th Nov. 1810.*

Your letter of the tenth instant has been received. All goods imported from the dominions of Great Britain, and arrived in the United States, subsequent to the second of February, will in my opinion, become forfeited, according to the provision of the law of May the first 1810. If Great Britain shall not on that day, have revoked her edicts to the manner contemplated by that act, it follows, that if no knowledge of such revocation shall have been obtained on that day, goods imported as aforesaid, must be seized by the custom-house officers; although it be also true, that if the revocations have actually taken place before that day, no forfeiture will have occurred, and the goods must in that case be restored, whenever the fact of such revocation is known. The inconvenience of the detention of the goods in that case is understood, but cannot, under the existing law, be avoided, except through the intervention of the courts, who may direct an immediate restoration of the property on satisfactory bonds for its value being given, to abide the final decision of such courts. I have the honour to be, respectfully, &c.

(Signed) ALBERT GALLATIN.

## VII. SOUTH AMERICA.

### 1. *Declaration of the Provinces of the Caraccas.*

It has pleased Almighty God, to grant to every country alike, the natural right of its own sovereignty.

These provinces planted by Spain, fostered and protected by her power,



power, have, and of right, ought to have submitted to her guidance and direction during the period of their infancy, when, from imbecility and weakness, they were incapable of their own government and protection.

But Spain, deprived of her king by the unparalleled perfidy of the emperor of the French, her European states vanquished by his treachery and his arms, and the ancient, lawful, and acknowledged government of the country, destroyed by the violent outrages of his sanguinary policy, there exists neither reason, right, nor justice, for continuing our dependance on a power that has no existence but in memory; policy and self preservation, therefore, demand that we should provide for our common safety, and the protection of these provinces, by taking into our hand the natural sovereignty of our country.

The period has at length arrived, when these united provinces possess both the strength and the power to protect themselves. With a population of nine millions of inhabitants, with an extent of fertile territory superior to any empire on the globe, and abounding with all the riches that bounteous nature ever bestowed on the human race, it would be contrary to sound policy, in the present state of the world, to submit, and we are determined no longer to submit to the domination of any European or foreign power whatever.

For whilst a lawful government existed in Spain, and her legitimate king sat upon her throne, we have ever been loyal to his person, and faithful to his government; and our treasures have been the only sup-

port of the European monarchy and its allies, whilst we had no interest whatever, and our country drained of those riches which nature has bestowed upon the inhabitants of America, for their own happiness, support, and defence.

Under these considerations, to prevent the inevitable and ruinous consequences of falling under the yoke of the emperor of the French, the tyrant of Europe, and the oppressor of Spain, We, the Spanish Provinces in America, declare ourselves a free, sovereign, and independent people, not acknowledging the domination of any power on earth, refusing submission, and denying and repelling the authority of whatever nation may attempt dominion over us. This we unanimously engage and pledge ourselves to maintain and support with our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honours, calling upon every inhabitant of the provinces to aid and support in carrying into effect this our laudable and just resolution, and establishing for ourselves and our posterity, a free, equitable, and independent government, that shall secure our happiness, and give us a place of honour and respect among the independent nations of the earth.

And we do earnestly entreat all foreign nations to guarantee our independence, and to favour us with such alliance and assistance as may enable us to defeat the designs of the enemies of our country.

By thus disavowing our dependence on Spain, we solemnly appeal to Heaven for the rectitude of our intentions, and we do protest before the sacred majesty of God himself, that in all our measures we have ever been actuated by motives



motives pure and honourable, and that we have no other design in view than the preservation of ourselves, and the protection of our common country. And we do most humbly supplicate that Being who decides the fate of nations, to smile on our exertions, and to bless and protect this our newly established empire.

## 2. *Declaration of the Junta of La Plata.*

The provisional junta of government of the provinces of Rio de la Plata, in the name of king Ferdinand the Seventh, communicates the following order, respecting the mode of conducting public business :

1. The junta will meet daily in the royal fort, where the president will reside, and business will be transacted from nine in the morning till two in the evening, and from five till eight at night. 2. All the concerns of the treasury will be conducted there in the offices of the respective department. 3. The department of secretary of state is under the direction of Dr. D. Juan Jose Passo, and that of war under the direction of Dr. D. Mariano Moreno. 4. In the decrees on subjects relating to the capital, on inferior matters, and in certain cases

where great dispatch is required, the signatures of the president, authenticated by his secretary, will be sufficient. 5. In matters that are decided by the junta, the president and ten members will form a quorum, but in affairs of high import to the government, every member must concur in the measure. 6. In statements and official papers, addressed to the whole junta, the members are to be styled their excellencies, but no such distinction is to be paid to the members individually. 7. The military are to pay the same honours to the junta, as before to the viceroys, and on other occasions they are to take the same rank. 8. The president is to receive the same compliments as is bestowed upon the junta in a body, and on all occasions and circumstances. 9. Matters relating to the disposal of places are to be laid before the junta as before to the viceroys, without prejudice to the alterations necessary from the alteration of affairs in the peninsula. 10. Each citizen is allowed to send to each member, or the whole junta, and to state what he thinks conducive to the cause of public happiness and security.

D. MORIANO MORENO,

Secretary.

*Buenos Ayres, May 22, 1810.*



## CHARACTERS.

*Anecdotes of the Last Hours, with a Sketch of the Character of the late Right Honourable William Pitt. [From Mr. Gifford's Life of Pitt.]*

**M**R. PITT's health experienced a rapid decline in the autumn of 1805; and he was recommended to go to Bath, having, in a former illness, derived great benefit from the waters of that place, which, it was hoped, might still have a beneficial influence on a frame now reduced almost to the last stage of debility. He accordingly went thither in December. Soon after his arrival he had a fit of the gout, and thought himself better for a short time. But the gout appeared again during his stay at Bath; and he never afterwards recovered even a moderate degree of strength. His appetite almost entirely failed; and, it being deemed improper for him to drink the waters, he left Bath, and was in such a debilitated state, that he was four days on the road to Putney, at which place he arrived on the 11th of January, accompanied by Sir Walter Farquhar, his medical attendant.

When a consultation was held the next day, with Dr. Baillie and Dr. Reynolds, they told the Bishop

of Lincoln, who had repaired to Putney, that they saw no danger, no disease, but great weakness, in consequence of the gout, and they thought he might recover in a few weeks. They stated the necessity of quiet; but the approaching meeting of parliament, and the state of Mr. Pitt's affairs, were such as to leave him little prospect of enjoying it.

Mr. Pitt felt better on the Sunday, and on the Monday morning he took an airing in his coach; but in the evening, Lord Castlereagh and Lord Hawkesbury having obtained permission from the physicians to visit him, entered upon some points of public business, probably relating to the dissolution of the new confederacy, by the peace of Presburgh (which had been concluded about three weeks before) which visibly agitated and affected him. Mr. Pitt, after this interview, observed, that during the conversation he felt some sensation in his stomach, which he feared it might be difficult to remove. On Tuesday, the 14th, Mr. Pitt again went out in his carriage, for the last time. His strength was manifestly diminished. On his return, he saw his brother, Lord Chatham; and on Wednesday, the 15th, Mr. Rose was admitted to him for a few



few minutes, and was very much stricken by his emaciated appearance. He was able to take but very little nourishment; his powers of digestion were greatly impaired; and scarcely any thing would remain on his stomach. He seldom spoke, and displayed an anxiety to follow the directions of his physicians, "to be as quiet as possible, and completely to divest his mind of all public business." He desired the Bishop of Lincoln, who remained with him from the period of his return from Bath to the day of his death, to open all his letters, and to communicate only such parts of them as he should consider it necessary for him to know.

On the 17th, the physicians admitted that Mr. Pitt was much weaker, but still maintained that there were no unfavourable symptoms. At the same time, they declared their opinion, that he would not be able to attend to business in less than two months, and expressed a doubt of his ability to take an active part in the House of Commons during the winter.

The Bishop of Lincoln was, naturally, very urgent with the physicians to allow him to apprise Mr. Pitt of the probable duration of his confinement, in order that he might decide on the propriety of resigning, or of retaining his office. But the physicians were unanimously and decidedly of opinion, that nothing should be said to their patient on the subject. Mr. Pitt daily grew worse; and on Monday, the 20th, the physicians declared "the symptoms were unpromising, and his situation was hazardous." In the evening of that day he became much worse; and his mind, as is usual in cases of ex-

treme debility, occasionally wandered. Sir Walter Farquhar passed the night by his bed-side, and at four o'clock on Wednesday morning, he called up the Bishop of Lincoln, telling him he was much alarmed, and could now no longer object to any communication which the bishop might think proper to make him. The bishop, who appears never to have entertained those hopes which the medical attendants encouraged, had continually pressed the physicians to permit him to intimate to Mr. Pitt, that his situation was precarious, in order that he might receive his instructions respecting his affairs and papers, and call his attention to religious duties; but they had constantly affirmed, that they saw no danger, and could not sanction any proceeding which might create agitation of mind; as such agitation might be productive of serious mischief.

The bishop immediately went to Mr. Pitt's bed-side, and told him he found it to be his duty to inform him, that his situation was considered as precarious, and requested his leave to read prayers to him, and to administer the sacrament. Mr. Pitt looked earnestly at the bishop for a few moments, and then, with perfect composure, turned his head to Sir Walter Farquhar, who stood on the other side of the bed, and slowly said, "How long do you think I have to live?" The physician answered, he could not say, and expressed a faint hope of his recovery. A half smile on Mr. Pitt's countenance shewed that he placed this language to its true account. In answer to the bishop's request to pray with him, Mr. Pitt said, "I fear I have, like too many other



other men, neglected prayer too much to have any ground for hope that it can be efficacious on a death-bed—but—rising as he spoke, and clasping his hands with the utmost fervour and devotion—"I throw myself entirely" (the last word being pronounced with a strong emphasis) "upon the mercy of God, through the merits of Christ!" The bishop assured him, that the frame of his mind, at this awful moment, was exactly such as might reasonably be expected to render prayer acceptable and useful.

The bishop then read prayers, and Mr. Pitt joined in them with calm and humble piety. He repeatedly expressed, in the strongest manner, his sense of his own unworthiness to appear in the presence of God; disclaiming all ideas of merit, but with a conscience clear and undisturbed. He appealed to the bishop's knowledge of the steadiness of his religious principles, and said it had ever been his wish and endeavour to act rightly, and to fulfil his duty to God and to the world; but that he was very sensible of many errors and failures. He declared that he was perfectly resigned to the will of God; that he felt no enmity towards any one, but died in peace with all mankind; and expressed his hope, at once humble and confident, of eternal happiness, through the intercession of his Redeemer.

Mr. Pitt desired that the settlement of his affairs and papers might be left to his brother and the bishop of Lincoln. Adverting to his family, he said, "I wish a thousand, or fifteen hundred a-year to be given to my nieces, if the public should think my long services deserving it; but I do not presume

to think that I have earned it." He expressed great concern about Lady Hester and Mr. Stanhope; but his anxiety, on their account, seemed to be abated by the recollection that they had a father. He attempted to give some written directions respecting the disposal of his papers; but finding himself unable to write legibly, he resigned the pen to the bishop, who wrote what Mr. Pitt dictated. Mr. Pitt afterwards read what was written, and signed the different papers, in the presence of Sir Walter Farquhar, and several of the servants, who had remained in the room a part of the time in which Mr. Pitt was engaged in religious duties, and heard this great and good man profess the faith, and hope, and charity of an humbly pious christian.

Mr. Pitt was much exhausted by these exertions, and very soon grew much worse. About two o'clock on the Wednesday afternoon he suffered much for some time, and seemed to struggle for breath. He then fell into a kind of stupor, but remained sensible almost to the last. About a quarter past four on Thursday morning, the 23d of January, 1806,—the anniversary of that day on which, five-and-twenty years before, he had first become a member of the British senate,—he breathed his last, without struggle, and without pain. He was then in his forty-seventh year.

As a statesman, the resources, as well as the firmness of Mr. Pitt's mind, have been amply demonstrated by the measures which he adopted, to meet the various and unforeseen difficulties with which this nation was surrounded during the



the period of his administration. Abroad, he had to struggle with the most gigantic power, which ever raised itself in opposition to the greatness of his country; while, at home, he had to support, at the same time, commercial and national credit, to allay the turbulent spirit of mutiny, to extinguish the raging flames of rebellion, to provide even for the importunate calls of famine. The energies of his mind were most eminently exerted upon those important occasions; and, in spite of internal distractions, he carried the power of the nation to a greater height than ever it had attained at any former period.

It will not soon be forgotten with what industry and effect he applied himself to the management of the revenue, and how speedily he restored order to the confused state of our finances. By simplifying the public accounts, he rendered a subject easily intelligible, which had before been involved in extreme intricacy; and, by pointing out the defects of former plans, and suggesting new and more approved systems, he carried with him the sense of the nation in providing for that heavy expenditure which the peculiar exigency of the times brought upon the state. Nor was he less fortunate in removing, upon difficult occasions, those embarrassments in which the trade of the country was involved, and which, at one period, threatened it with total stagnation; and when they, who, from their habitual pursuits, might have been thought best qualified, and most likely to suggest a remedy for these evils, were lost in astonishment, distrust, and dismay, he dispelled their fears, as it were by a charm,—revived the confidence of

our merchants and manufacturers, and restored our commerce to its accustomed activity and enterprize. The plan of commercial exchange bills, the establishment of the sinking fund, the suspension of cash payments at the Bank, the system of war taxes, were measures which originated exclusively with himself; and were calculated, with profound ability, to meet the various exigencies to which they were applied. Even his enemies, who were disposed to deny him almost every other merit as a minister, acknowledged him to be the ablest financier whom the nation had ever produced; and, while they made this acknowledgment, they did full justice to the pure disinterestedness, and the inflexible integrity with which he conducted that branch of the public business.

As a parliamentary orator, his powers were various. In statement he was perspicuous, in declamation animated. If he had to explain a financial account, he was clear and accurate. If he wanted to rouse a just indignation for the wrongs of the country, he was rapid, vehement, glowing, and impassioned; and, whether his discourse was argumentative or declamatory, it always displayed a happy choice of expression, and a fluency of diction, which could not fail to delight his hearers. So singularly select, felicitous, and appropriate was his language, that it has often been remarked, a word of his speech could scarcely be changed without prejudice to its harmony, vigour, or effect. He seldom was satisfied with standing on the defensive in debate; but was proud to contrast his own actions with the avowed intentions of his opponents. These intentions, too,



too, he often exposed with the most pointed sarcasm; a weapon which, perhaps, no speaker ever wielded with more dexterity and force than himself. He admired much, in Mr. Fox, the happy effect with which he illustrated his arguments, by the application of well-known anecdotes, or by passages from modern authors; but he did not imitate him in this respect: on the other hand, he used to condemn his habit of repetition.

Mr. Pitt's love of amplification has been sometimes urged as detracting from his excellence as an orator; but it was his own remark, that every person who addressed a public assembly, and was anxious to be distinctly understood, and to make an impression upon particular points, must either be copious upon those points or repeat them, and that, as a speaker, he preferred copiousness to repetition. Of his eloquence, it may be observed generally, that it combined the eloquence of Tully with the energy of Demosthenes. It was spontaneous; always great, it shone with peculiar, with unequalled splendour, in a reply, which precluded the possibility of previous study; while it fascinated the imagination by the brilliancy of language, it convinced the judgment by the force of argument: like an impetuous torrent, it bore down all resistance; extorting the admiration even of those who most severely felt its strength, and who most earnestly deprecated its effect. It is unnecessary, and might be presumptuous, to enter more minutely into the character of Mr. Pitt's eloquence: there are many living witnesses of its powers; it will be admired as long as it shall be remembered. A few of his speeches in

parliament were published by his friends, and some of them under his own superintendence; but it has been observed, that they were considerably weakened in effect by his own corrections; that if they gained any thing in accuracy, they lost more in vigour and spirit; and that he had not himself the power of improving, upon reflection, the just and happy expression in which his thoughts were conveyed, as they occurred in the course of debate.

As a public man, Mr. Pitt trusted his character to his public conduct; he rejected those arts and aids to which inferior men have sometimes had recourse to prop their fame; and he disdained to court popularity at the expence of unbecoming condescension; he never failed to be generally esteemed where he was generally known; but his public occupations did not permit him to enjoy much of the pleasures of private society, and his hours of retirement and relaxation were chiefly confined to the circle of a few friends, which circle he did not seem inclined to extend. Those hours, indeed, were few, for his life may be said to have been devoted to the public service, and, perhaps, to have been sacrificed by that devotion; for his health had gradually declined for the last five years of his life; but the vigour of his mind was unimpaired, and directed, in spite of a feeble frame, with the most unremitted anxiety, to promote the interests and welfare of the country. With him, indeed, his country was ever the first object, self the last.

It would be highly unjust, however, to dismiss the character of Mr. Pitt without correcting the erroneous



ous impression which has too generally prevailed, that he was, in society, cold, distant, and reserved. So far from it, that, in relation to private life, he was no less amiable, than he was eminent in his public conduct; and, in the company of his select friends, none charmed more by the ease, playfulness, and vivacity of conversation. He possessed a peculiar sweetness and equanimity of temper, which, under all the varying circumstances of health and sickness, of good and adverse fortune, was never ruffled. The victory of Trafalgar, though he felt at it the honest pride of an Englishman, elated him to no unbecoming height; nor did the overthrow of his dearest hopes at Austerlitz, though it affected him most sensibly, sink him to an unmanly dejection. Yet this calmness and self-possession arose not from any apathy or coldness; on the contrary, the varied expression of his countenance, and the fire of his eye, shewed him to be what he really was, exquisitely sensible to every feeling; but they were the natural result of a strong and well-regulated mind; of the conscious rectitude of his measures, and of the happy mildness of his disposition.

The same benevolence and simplicity of heart strongly marked his manners and deportment, which were in the highest degree prepossessing. They bespoke the total absence of any thing like moroseness in his nature. With the most playful vivacity, he assumed no superiority in conversation, nor ever oppressed any man with the strength of his talents or the brilliancy of his wit. It was matter of surprise how so much fire could be miti-

gated, and yet not enfeebled, by so much gentleness, and how such power could be so delightful. Modesty was a striking feature in Mr. Pitt's character; he was attentive to the humblest, and kindly patient to the weakest opinions. No man was ever more beloved by his friends, or inspired those who had the happiness of living in his society with a more sincere and affectionate attachment. In his conduct he was rigidly just, and strictly moral; and, as his virtues were greater, so his failings were less, than fall to the lot of most men.

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*A Day and a Night at Tongataboo, illustrating the Manners and Customs of the Tongataboos. [From an authentic Narrative of Four Years Residence at Tongataboo.]*

The house of Mulkaamair, with whom I resided, was very spacious; its length was fifty feet. It was of an oval form. One large and lofty post was fixed in the centre; and round it, in an oval circle, were placed less posts, at equal distances, which formed the sides of the habitation. Upon these posts layers were fixed, to which rafters were fastened, that extended to the pillar in the middle, and united the whole building with it. The inside of the roof was ornamented with warm beautiful matting, which was sheltered on the outside with a skilful intertexture of the branches of the plantain tree. In rainy weather, screens of matting, called Takkabou, made of branches of the cocoa-nut-tree, were fastened to the side posts, which almost reached the eaves, and left only



only the door-way open, which was never closed, night nor day.

Such spacious habitations are necessary for the chiefs, whose household, in general, is large, as composed of many attendants. But there are generally small apartments contiguous to the house, in which his wives and children lodge. One of his wives, however, for the most part, slept with him in the same room, in a space separated from the rest by inclosures of tak-kabou, or matting, three feet high, fitted up to the beams that went across to the centre post, to keep it upright.

The household of Mulkaamair was considerable. He had at different times from four to eight wives, eight sons, and five daughters, besides many attendants. The children were all in great subjection to him, and of different rank and dignity, according to the rank of their respective mothers. For family dignity, in Tongataboo, descends not from the father, but the mother, owing, it is probable, to the frequency of divorce and of illicit intercourse. When the day declined, about seven o'clock, if they were not disposed to dance, they would retire to bed, or, more properly, to recline on their matting.

But when they had retired, the most social employment of the day took place. As they lay reclining at their ease, Mulkaamair and his numerous household, that lay round him, would commence conversations, that amused them till they all fell asleep.

I have been delighted for hours in listening to these nocturnal confabulations, and often very much surprised and improved by the

shrewdness of their observations and the good sense of their reasonings. When they were all lain down, the chief would say, "Tou tellanoa." "Let us have some conversation." Another would answer, "Tou tellanoa gee aha, *i. e.* "what shall we talk about." A third would reply, "Tou Tellanoa papa lan-gee." Let us talk of the men of the sky." They called us "the men of the sky," because, observing that the sky appeared to touch the ocean, in the distant horizon, and knowing that we came from an immense distance, they concluded that we must have come through the sky to arrive at Tongataboo.

I have heard them for hours talking of us, our articles, dress, and customs, and entertaining each other with conjectures respecting the distance of the country whence we came, the nature of it, its productions, &c. &c.

Their patriarchal mode of life, in which the younger and inferior part always surround the chief, as the father of one large family, is calculated much to refine and improve their mental faculties, and to polish their language and behaviour.

The social intercourse and the ceremonious carriage, which were constantly kept up in the families of the chiefs, produced a refinement of ideas, a polish of language and expression, and an elegant gracefulness of manner, in a degree, as superior and distinct from those of the lower and laborious classes, as the man of letters or the polished courtier differs from the clown. The lower orders used terms of a much meaner or coarser import: the higher orders were so much refined, as often, for amusement, to



take off the vulgar, by imitating their expressions and pronunciations. The family of Duatonga, if they spoke to any of the domestics or visitors, would always be answered, "Ahee," "Yes, sire," but most others were answered with, "Coliou," "Yes, sir;" this latter term, if pronounced as it is spelt, would be a polite reply, but if spoken as if it was spelt Cohaa, it would be very vulgar, and signify our broad expression "What;" if spoken to a chief, the man would be struck down for his rudeness.

Their nocturnal conversations would continue till ten or eleven in the evening, till they all fell asleep. Their conversation and comparisons were sometimes so very droll and ludicrous, that I occasionally burst out into a fit of laughter, which would make them say, "Coe Kata gee aha Balo," What are you laughing at, Balo? "Mannogge abai eyette ge mou touloo. "He is making game of us, I suppose." They called me by the name of Balo.

If one chanced during the night to awake, he would renew the conversation with some neighbour that might happen to rouse, and then they would call to each other till they all awaked, and enjoy another hour's chat.

As soon as the morning dawned, they arose; and then took place the important ceremony of drinking kava, and eating yams, &c. which formed their breakfast; in which as much order and exactness were observed, as in the forming and exercising a regiment of soldiers. The kava is a root planted principally for the use of the chiefs, and too scarce for the lower orders.

It is made into a spirit of an intoxicating nature. The top and branches of this plant are thrown away. The root alone is used, and this is of a soft nature, that may be beaten to pieces. The root is first seraped with a shell, and rubbed clean with the rough husk of the cocoa-nut, and then divided among the company to be prepared for making the liquor.

A large circle is formed by the whole company, all sitting in the same posture, with their legs crossed. The chief sits at the head of it. On each side of him are stationed the tackhangers, or ministers of the chief, to superintend the preparation of the kava. The kava is then brought before the chief. The person who is to mix it, by order of the tackhangers, then splits the root into small pieces with a flat piece of wood, or whale-bone, which they procure from the bodies of dead whales that are sometimes thrown upon the coast. The pieces of kava-root thus split, are then distributed amongst the circle, who hand them to the young people among them who have clean teeth, fit to chew it. Each person has a leaf by him, on which he lays his portion of masticated kava-root. When it is all chewed, a large bowl with three legs is handed round, and they empty their leaves, containing the prepared kava-root, into it. The bowl is then placed within the circle opposite the chief; and on each side of it are seated two young men, with plantain leaves, to keep off the flies. The person who has the management of the bowl, having received the different portions of masticated root, turns it on one side to show it to the tackhangers, and with his face towards  
the



the chief, calls out to the tackhangers, "Gooch kava anama. "All the kava is chewed."

If the tackhangers judge that there is sufficient for the company, they say "Baloo," "mix it." Then one of the persons holding the fans of plantain branches, pours water out of cocoa-nut shells, which stand near them in readiness, while the other keeps off the flies. As he pours, the tackhanger notes and regulates the quantity, and at length calls out, "Moua," *i. e.* "stop."

The root, thus chewed and mixed with water, is then squeezed by handfuls held up for the tackhangers to judge of the strength of the liquor, as it falls into the dish: if it appears sufficiently strong, a strainer is brought, made of the inner bark of a tree, which, when scraped thin and fine, and well washed, is laid out to dry, and becomes very white and clean. With this, they strain the liquor from the masticated kava-root. When they have repeated the straining three or four times, and perfectly cleansed it, the person who sits by the bowl calls out "Tooma kava," the "kava is clean." During this time, the company, who are sitting in silence, are not idle: they form dishes in a curious and skilful manner of plantain leaves. As soon as the kava is ready, appointed persons rise from the circle with their plantain dishes, and approach the bowl. The man who mixed it, then takes up a large strainer full, and another holds his dish underneath, over the great bowl, till it is filled. The former then calls out, "Kava go aga." "Whose is this kava?" The tackhanger replies, "Havee ge Dabou." "Take it to Dabou," or to any other per-

son whose name was mentioned. In this way the name of every one of the company is repeated before he is served. The person whose name is pronounced then claps his hands, and the waiter, by this signal informed which it is, takes the kava to him. The persons serving it out to the company conduct themselves in the most becoming and orderly manner, arranging their apparel with the greatest neatness, walking with grace, and presenting it with ceremonious politeness. If a man were to conduct himself with the least disorder or disrespect, the chief would order him to be struck down. When they present the kava to Duatonga, or any of his family, all of whom are considered sacred, they must sit down cross-legged, before they deliver it out of their hands.

During the preparation of the kava, the Tomaagee, or principal servants of the chief, are busily employed in an out-house, built for the purpose, in baking yams. These, as soon as ready, they bring in baskets, made of entwined leaves, and lay them before the chief and the circle of his guests as far as they go. They eat these yams after drinking the kava; and during their meal talk with each other, as they please, on different subjects.

Whenever the lower orders can procure the kava, they always drink it in companies in this festive manner; in which they often spend the two or three first hours of the morning. They have this pleasure, however, but seldom, as the chiefs generally exact it of them, to drink it with their brother chiefs and their attendants. They exercise an arbitrary power over the lower orders, and have every thing



belonging to them in their power, which their sub-officers take from them, without ceremony, as the chief may need. Though the provision they have by them be ever so scanty, they are required to cook a part of it for the chief; so that they are frequently obliged to eat the root of the plantain tree, for a wretched subsistence, or to resort to the chief, and beg some food. The chief will send his attendants round the districts, in a time of scarcity, and order the people to dress a certain quantity of provisions for him by a limited time; with which he lays up a store for himself, and his wives and household, and leaves others to get what they can.

They often drink the kava from break of day to eleven or twelve o'clock at noon, till their attendants are completely tired of waiting on them. They then go and lie down, and sleep for two or three hours; when they rise, they bathe, walk among the plantations, or amuse themselves in wrestling, boxing, or any other way that pleases their fancy; but particularly in bathing, playing in the water, and shooting of arrows. Bathing is a very favourite amusement, in which they generally indulge two or three times a-day. Both sexes often play together in the water at the following diversion:—They fix two posts, about a hundred yards distant from each other, in a depth of water about four feet, near the shore, and midway betwixt them is placed a large stone. Then dividing into two companies, the game is, which side can first tug the stone to their own post. In playing at this diversion with them, I have seen numbers at the bottom of the water

together, hauling and pulling the stone different ways, with all the eagerness that contending parties, in the northern counties of England, exert themselves to drive the shinney to its goal. When a diver returned to the surface, for breath, another of his party instantly dived down to take his place. I have seen one person carry a stone of considerable weight ten or twelve yards in this game, through the buoyant aid of the water.

But they take particular delight in another amusement in the water, called Furncefoo. They go down to the flat shore at high water, when the swell rolls with great force to the land, and plunge in and swim some yards into the sea, then pushing themselves on the top of the swell, they ride in, close to the shore. It is astonishing to see with what dexterity they will steer themselves on the wave, one hand being stretched out, as the prow before, and the other guiding them like a rudder behind: and though they are riding in upon the swelling billow, with a frightful rapidity, that makes you apprehend they will be dashed and killed upon the shore, they will, with surprising agility, turn themselves suddenly on one side, and darting back through the next wave, swim out to sea, till another swell waft them on towards shore; when, if inclined to land, they will again turn themselves on one side, and, awaiting the wave's return, dart through the reflux surge, and reach the shore in safety. Several hours are often spent at one time in this sport, in which the women are as skilful as the men. I never attempted this diversion.



diversion myself, as the trial might have been fatal.

But in another amusement, in which the chiefs often divert themselves, viz. shooting rats, I became, after a time, almost as dexterous as the natives. To provide for this sport, they take out the kernel of the cocoa-nut, which being burned and chewed, the servants are sent to strew it in places near the road, in fences, and in hollow trees. Meanwhile the chiefs, with bows and arrows, take their station near, and making a squeaking noise, exactly like the rats, these animals soon come out to feed upon the nuts, when the chiefs, ranged in order, each for his turn, shoot at them for a wager; he that kills the most, in the same number of shots, wins the game.

They are a very active people, yet they often spend whole days, when they have no particular employment, in luxurious indolence. These days they generally close in dancing and singing, of which they are peculiarly fond.

The chief will send round the district, and collect together thirty, forty, or fifty young people of both sexes, to dance with his attendants by the light of tomals, or torches, formed, as we before shewed, from the unctuous bark of the cocoa-tree.

These dances are very beautiful. Young women of the most graceful figure and comely features, assemble on these occasions, their dark ringlets bespangled with aromatic flowers of a peculiar whiteness, their necks and shoulders encircled with wreaths of variegated flowers, tastefully strung together like beads, their graceful limbs covered only with a thin drapery, and

in some cases, only shaded with an entwined garland of gee-leaves.

Their dances are very much diversified, and performed with admirable grace and uniformity, by companies of eighty or a hundred, who all move together with the greatest exactness. I never saw soldiers go through their evolutions with more prompt regularity than these companies time the diversified motions that compose their dances.

They seem in their element when dancing: such is the ease, pleasure, grace, and activity which they exhibit in every intricate part of this favourite amusement.

Their music is not so pleasing. The principal instrument is a kind of drum, formed out of a log of wood, hollowed through with a long small aperture, and laid lengthways upon two pieces of wood. This is beaten whilst eight or ten bamboos, of different lengths, with pieces of wood fastened and bound to the end of them, are struck against the barrel, and produce a sound according to the length of the stick. Of these drums they have two or three; which, with the bamboos and the singing, make a little rough concert. Their songs are beautiful and melodious; partaking more of a lively than a plaintive air, but rather monotonous. These dances are often performed in particular spots where there are large trees. To these places the young people resort for this purpose. They are frequently kept up till midnight, when performed in a chief's house, and sometimes till morning, by an interchange of performers, who alternately retire to rest, and rise again to dance.



So fond are they of this amusement, that they dance almost on all occasions. However extravagantly they have mourned for the dead, they generally terminate their grief with this ceremony of joy; in which I have seen the women so eager, that they have forgotten all sense of decorum, and thrown off all incumbrance of dress for greater freedom and diversion.

This is the general mode of life at Tongataboo. They never rise, but the kava is prepared, and distributed in the exact order I have described; and immediately the tackhangers call for the cooks in the badoo, or kitchen, who bring the baked yams, and present them to the guests. If there is no serious business for the chiefs, indolent slumbers, or the amusements of conversation and choice, fill up the middle part of the day, which is, however, sometimes diversified with boxing, or other athletic exercises; and luxurious festivities close the evening.

Such an indulgent life, however, is only in the power of the chiefs. The lower classes, as will be farther shown, are obliged to labour, not only for themselves, but for their superiors; and, after all, their little stock is not secured to them by that inviolable right of private property and personal safety, which, in our unequalled land of liberty and law, renders the poorest peasant as secure and independent as the senate that guards, or the sovereign that rules it.

Accustomed to these scenes of pleasure, luxury, and amusement, unrestrained by the presence of my companions, unassisted by any public means of grace, having singly

to stem the torrent of iniquity, it was not long before I felt the pernicious influence of general example. This, however, was much owing to my own negligence of private duties, and my yielding to the corrupt inclinations of my sinful nature. Indeed, when I look back, I perceive that the unsubdued propensities of my heart, which began to operate before I came to reside with Mulkaamair, were not duly resisted. Instead of praying for grace to withstand and mortify them, I began to indulge in foolish imaginations, and neglect the needful exercises of private prayer, reading the bible, and meditation. These first steps out of the path of duty, which are generally taken by most backsliders, soon led me into still farther aberrations from the right way. I began to dislike the means of grace; I never visited the brethren; found delight in the company, manners, and amusements of the natives; and soon took too large a part in them. As the religious impressions of my mind were weakened, the corrupt dispositions of my heart gathered strength. Yet, at times, my conscience troubled me with loud accusations of inconsistency, which forced me to pray. At length, however, I became so hardened as to despise my convictions; and totally absented myself from those appointed periodical meetings of the brethren, which might have revived them. My regard for them daily diminished, and I left off visiting them.

My evil inclinations, now unchecked by law, and by the reverential sense of the Divine Being, gradually gained the dominion. As my sense of the turpitude and guilt



of sin was weakened, the vices of the natives appeared less odious and criminal. After a time I was induced to yield to their allurements, to imitate their manners, and to join them in their sins.

Modesty, by degrees, lost with me its moralizing charm; and it was not long ere I disincumbered myself of my European garment, and contented myself with the native dress. The dress of the chiefs principally consisted of a piece of cloth, several yards in extent, wrapped round the body, and fastened by a peculiar kind of knot below the bosom, whence it hung down loose below the knee. This dress, by being tied close with a belt, was sufficiently long to throw the upper part over the shoulders. But however this was done at other times, it was always thrown off the shoulders whenever a chief came in sight. The women were not excused from this humiliating token of submission, as long as they were in the presence of a chief. A person who should neglect this would be instantly struck to the ground, as guilty of the greatest disrespect.

This full dress, however, was too costly for the generality to procure, nor do the chiefs always wear it. The general dress is the jiggee. This is made of the gee leaves, which spring up from a large root, and are very broad and strong. These are shredded fine, and being thickly entwined in a belt, of the same kind, and fastened round the waist, they hang down to the mid-thigh like a full fringe. On festive occasions this is a very common dress with the women as well as the men, especially in their public

dances, when the only addition to this dress are encircling strings of flowers. There are none but can obtain the jiggee dress.

The inferior classes, however, often wear only the maro, which is a belt about four or five inches broad, crossed, and fastened round the waist. And indeed, when they are employed in fishing, or any other active business, or when they go to war, this covering generally composes the whole of their dress.

At this time, Shelly, one of my former companions, came to see me: he was struck with grief and surprise at my appearance; and seriously reproved me for it. My conscience seconded his reproofs. I acknowledged my error, but excused myself by a variety of empty pretexts, such as the warmth of the climate, the general custom of the natives; its convenience in a country, where, when clothes were wet, it was difficult to dry them again, and when worn out, impossible to renew them. Shelly heard my excuses with pity, but did not see into the long train of evils connected with this violation of propriety; nor knew that my conscience, while I spoke, condemned the excuses with which I had softened his severity. In truth, the various temptations to which, till now, I had been an entire stranger, were too pleasing to the inclinations, and suitable to the taste of a young man of twenty-five.

Unhappily, as the companion of the chiefs, I was constantly exposed to temptation, being present at every alluring scene.

He that indulges an evil imagination with amusements that tend to pollute the heart, will soon be  
M m 4 seduced



seduced into criminality. No wonder, then, that the voluptuous attractions of several objects, thus daily presented to me, should in time allure me into the paths of vice.

It was not long after I had begun to imitate the dress and manners of the natives, and join their amusements, before Mulkaamair, the chief with whom I lodged, persuaded me to take a wife, a near relation of his. My conscience loudly cautioned me not to be guilty of the sin of cohabiting with a woman without the sanction of marriage, and of taking a wife who was a heathen, and perfectly destitute of every mental, as well as religious endowment; who would most probably lead me still farther from the right way. But all these reasonings my evil inclinations soon taught me to refute or silence. "Mulkaamair was my chief friend, and regarded me with parental affection. I should gratify, honour, and in some measure, repay him for his kindnesses, by taking a relation of his for my wife; and thus also strengthen my interests with the rest of the natives, by forming an alliance with them." Pleased with these considerations, I consented. He sent for her: she agreed, and came modestly dressed in her best apparel, at the head of a number of women; one of whom took her by the hand, and leading her to me, seated her by my side. She was a handsome girl, of the age of eighteen. Mulkaamair entertained a large company, assembled on the occasion, with a plenteous feast, and they danced and sung till a late hour.

*Literary Life of Dr. Hawkesworth. [From Dr. Drake's Essays on the Rambler, &c.]*

John Hawkesworth was born in the year 1719; his parents were dissenters, and, in the early part of his life, he frequented the meeting of Mr. Bradbury, a celebrated preacher of his sect. He was intended for the profession of the law, and placed as a hired clerk with Mr. Harwood, an attorney in the Poultry. Soon disgusted, however, with his employment, he deserted it for the more precarious, though more pleasing occupation of literature.

In what mode, or at what school he was qualified for the pursuit which he had now adopted, is not known. Sir John Hawkins has affirmed, that he was a "man of fine parts, but no learning: his reading," he declares, "had been irregular and desultory: the knowledge he had acquired, he by the help of a good memory retained, so that it was ready at every call; but on no subject had he ever formed any system. All of ethics that he knew, he had got from Pope's Essay on Man and Epistles; he had read the modern French writers, and more particularly the poets; and with the aid of Keill's Introduction, Chambers' Dictionary, and other such common books, had attained such an insight into physics, as enabled him to talk on the subject. In the more valuable branches of learning he was deficient.\*"

There is reason to think that this account does not do justice to the acquirements of Hawkesworth, and

\* Hawkins's Life of Dr. Johnson, p. 252.



that even at the age of twenty-five he had obtained no small reputation as a literary character; for at this period, namely, in the year 1744, he was engaged by the editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, to succeed Johnson, in the compilement of the parliamentary debates, then deemed a very important part of that interesting miscellany.

To Mr. Urban's pages he was for four years also a poetical contributor, under the signature of *Greville*; and of his poems in this work the following catalogue has been given by Mr. Duncombe. For 1746, the *Devil Painter*, a tale; the *Chaise Percee*; *Epistle to the King of Prussia*; *Lines to the Rev. Mr. Layng*, and to *Dr. Warburton*, on a series of theological inquiries; a *Thought from Marcus Antoninus*, and the *Smart*. For 1747, the *Accident*; *Ants' Philosophy*; *Death of Arachne*; *Chamont and Honourous*; *Origin of Doubt*; *Life*, an ode; *Lines to Hope*; *Winter*, an ode; and the *Experiment*, a tale. For 1748, the *Midsummer Wish*; *Solitude*; the *Two Doves*, a fable; and *Autumn*. For 1749, *Poverty Insulted*; *Region allotted to Old Maids*; the *Nymph at her Toilet*; *God is Love*, and *Chloe's Soliloquy*.

Several of these little productions, the occasional amusement of his leisure, are elegant and pleasing; but, like Johnson, the powers of his imagination are in a much higher degree displayed in his prose than in his verse.

The domestic circumstances of our author, at this period, are little known; and it is remarkable, that not one of his relations, or literary friends, has thought it necessary to preserve or record the events of

his life. His pecuniary resources, during his early connection with the *Gentleman's Magazine*, are supposed to have been very confined; nor were they probably immediately or much enlarged by his matrimonial connection; for his wife kept a boarding-school for young ladies, at Bromley, in Kent.

The friendship of Johnson, however, was of essential service to him; through his medium he became acquainted with many eminent scholars; and it speaks highly in favour of his literary talents, that when the club in *Ivy Lane* was constituted, of the nine members which originally formed its circle, Hawkesworth was selected by Johnson as one.

The success of the *Rambler*, as soon as it was collected into volumes, the admiration which it excited in the breast of our author, and the wish, which he was known to entertain, of pursuing the footsteps of Johnson, induced him, in the year 1752, to project and commence a periodical paper, under the title of *The Adventurer*.

For a work of this kind Hawkesworth appears, in many respects, to have been well qualified. His literature, though by no means deep or accurate, was elegant and various; his style was polished; his imagination ardent; his morals were pure, and he possessed an intimate knowledge of the world. He did not, however, attempt the execution of his scheme, unassisted; his first coadjutor was *Dr. Rich. Bathurst*; and he soon after, in the view of this resource soon failing, obtained the aid of Johnson, and, through his influence, of *Dr. Joseph Warton*. The letter of our great moralist, on the occasion, as developing, in a considerable



considerable degree, the plan of the *Adventurer*, it will be proper, in this place, to insert.

“ To the Rev. Dr. Joseph Warton.

“ Dear Sir,

“ I ought to have written to you before now, but I ought to do many things which I do not; nor can I, indeed, claim any merit from this letter; for being desired by the authors and proprietor of the *Adventurer* to look out for another hand, my thoughts necessarily fixed upon you, whose fund of literature will enable you to assist them, with very little interruption of your studies.

“ They desire you to engage to furnish one paper a month, at two guineas a paper, which you may very readily perform. We have considered that a paper should consist of pieces of imagination, pictures of life, and disquisitions of literature. The part which depends on the imagination is very well supplied, as you will find when you read the paper; for descriptions of life, there is now a treaty almost made with an author and an authoress\*; and the province of criticism and literature they are very desirous to assign to the commentator on Virgil.

“ I hope this proposal will not be rejected, and that the next post will bring us your compliance. I speak as one of the fraternity, though I have no part in the paper beyond now and then a motto†; but two of the writers are my par-

ticular friends‡, and I hope the pleasure of seeing a third united to them will not be denied to, dear Sir,

“ Your most obedient,

“ And most humble servant,

“ SAM. JOHNSON§.”

The first of the *Adventurers*, on a folio sheet, was given to the world November the 7th, 1752; and the paper was continued every Tuesday and Saturday, until Saturday, the 9th of March, 1754, when it closed with No. 140, signed by Hawkesworth, in his capacity of Editor. The price of each essay was the same as of the *Ramblers*, and it was printed for J. Payne, at Pope's Head, in Paternoster Row.

The name, the design, the conduct, and the execution of seventy numbers of the *Adventurer*, are to be ascribed to Hawkesworth. The sale, during its circulation in separate papers, was very extensive; and when thrown into volumes, four copious editions passed through the press in little more than eight years.

The variety, indeed, the fancy, the taste, and practical morality, which the pages of this periodical paper exhibit, were such as to insure popularity; and it may be pronounced, as a whole, the most spirited and fascinating of the class to which it belongs.

To his essays in the *Adventurer*, Hawkesworth was, in fact, indebted for his fame, and, ultimately, his fortune; and, as they are the most

\* This treaty was never executed.

† Dr. Johnson had at this time only written one paper, and the profits were given to Dr. Bathurst.

‡ Hawkesworth and Bathurst.

§ Boswell's Johnson, Vol. I. p. 216, 217.



stable basis of his reputation, a more minute inquiry into their merits will be necessary.

It is scarcely requisite to observe, that he formed his style on that of Dr. Johnson; he was not, however, a servile imitator; his composition has more ease and sweetness than the model possesses, and is consequently better adapted for a work, one great object of which is popularity. He has laid aside the *sesquipedalia verba*, and, in a great measure, the monotonous arrangement and the cumbrous splendour of his prototype, preserving, at the same time, much of his harmony of cadence and vigour of construction. Of the following paragraphs, the first and second exhibit a style elegant, correct, nervous, and perspicuous, yet essentially different from the diction of the Rambler, while the third has been evidently formed in the Johnsonian mould.

“The dread of death has seldom been found to intrude upon the cheerfulness, simplicity, and innocence of children; they gaze at a funeral procession with as much vacant curiosity as at any other show, and see the world change before them without the least sense of their own share in the vicissitude. In youth, when all the appetites are strong, and every gratification is heightened by novelty, the mind resists mournful impressions with a kind of elastic power, by which the signature that is forced upon it is immediately effaced: when this tumult first subsides, while the attachment of life is yet strong, and the mind begins to look forward, and concert measures by which those enjoyments may be secured which

it is solicitous to keep, or others obtained to atone for the disappointments that are past, then death starts up like a spectre, in all his terrors, the blood is chilled at his appearance, he is perceived to approach with a constant and irresistible pace, retreat is impossible, and resistance is vain.

“The terror and anguish which this image produces whenever it first rushes upon the mind, are always complicated with a sense of guilt and remorse; and generally produce some hasty and zealous purposes of more uniform virtue and more ardent devotion; of something that may secure us not only from the worm that never dies, and the fire that is never quenched, but from total mortality, and admit hope to the regions beyond the grave.

“Let those who still delay that which yet they believe to be of eternal moment, remember, that their motives to effect it will still grow weaker, and the difficulty of the work perpetually increase; to neglect it now, therefore, is a pledge that it will be neglected for ever: and if they are roused by this thought, let them instantly improve its influence; for even this thought, when it returns, will return with less power, and though it should rouse them now, will perhaps rouse them no more. But let them not confide in such virtue as can be practised without a struggle, and which interdicts the gratification of no passion but malice; nor adopts principles which could never be believed at the only time when they could be useful; like arguments which men sometimes form when they slumber, and the moment



ment they awake discover to be absurd\*.”

One chief cause of the interest which the *Adventurer* has usually excited among its readers, has arisen from the inventive powers which our author has so copiously displayed. His oriental, allegoric, and domestic tales, form the most striking feature of the work, and have, by their number and merit, very honourably distinguished it from every preceding paper.

For the composition of eastern narrative, Hawkesworth was, in many respects, highly qualified; his imagination was uncommonly fertile and glowing, his language clear and brilliant, yet neither gaudy nor over-charged, and he has always taken care to render the moral prominent and impressive. Than his *Amaruth*, in Nos. 20, 21, and 22, no tale has been more generally admired; its instructive tendency is so great, its imagery and incidents are so ingeniously appropriate, that few compilers for youth have omitted to avail themselves of the lesson.

The story of *Hassan*, in No. 32, inculcating the necessity of religion as the only source of content, and of *Cosrou the Iman*, in No. 38, proving that charity and mutual utility form our firmest basis of acceptance with the Deity, are wrought up with a spirit and force of colouring, which, while they delight the fancy, powerfully fix upon the heart the value and the wisdom of the precept.

The histories of *Nouradin* and *Almana*, and of *Almerine* and *Shelima*, in Nos. 72, 73, and 103, and

104, unfold, through the medium of a well-contrived series of incidents, the variety of human wishes, and the omnipotence of virtue; whilst in the vision of *Almet the Dervise*, in No. 114, the duties of resting our hopes upon eternity, and of considering this world as a probationary scene, are enforced in a manner equally novel and ingenious.

Of the oriental fictions of Hawkesworth, however, by many degrees the most splendid and sublime, is the tale of *Carazan, the Merchant of Bagdad*†. The misery of utter solitude, the punishment appointed in this story to the vices of avarice and selfishness, was never before painted in colours so vivid and terrific. The subsequent passage, in which the doom of *Carazan* and its consequences are described, no writer of eastern fable will probably ever surpass. The Deity thus addresses the trembling object of his indignation:—

“ ‘ Carazan, thy worship has not been accepted, because it was not prompted by love of God; neither can thy righteousness be rewarded, because it was not produced by love of man: for thy own sake only hast thou rendered to every man his due; and thou hast approached the Almighty only for thyself. Thou hast not looked up with gratitude, nor around thee with kindness. Around thee, thou hast indeed beheld vice and folly; but if vice and folly could justify thy parsimony, would they not condemn the bounty of heaven? If not upon the foolish and the vicious, where shall the sun diffuse his light, or

\* *Adventurer*, No. 130.

† No. 132.



the clouds distil their dew? Where shall the lips of the spring breathe fragrance, or the hand of autumn diffuse plenty? Remember, Carazan, that thou hast shut compassion from thine heart, and grasped thy treasures with a hand of iron: thou hast lived for thyself; and therefore, henceforth for ever thou shalt subsist alone. From the light of heaven, and from the society of all beings, shalt thou be driven; solitude shall protract the lingering hours of eternity, and darkness aggravate the horrors of despair. At this moment I was driven by some secret and irresistible power through the glowing system of creation, and passed innumerable worlds in a moment. As I approached the verge of nature, I perceived the shadows of total and boundless vacuity deepen before me; a dreadful region of eternal silence, solitude, and darkness! Unutterable horror seized me at the prospect, and this exclamation burst from me with all the vehemence of desire: 'O! that I had been doomed for ever to the common receptacle of impenitence and guilt! there society would have alleviated the torment of despair, and the rage of fire could not have excluded the comfort of light. Or if I had been condemned to reside in a comet, that would return but once in a thousand years to the regions of light and life, the hope of these periods, however distant, would cheer me in the dread interval of cold and darkness, and the vicissitudes would divide eternity into time.' While this thought passed over my mind, I lost sight of the remotest star, and the last

glimmering of light was quenched in utter darkness. The agonies of despair every moment increased, as every moment augmented my distance from the last habitable world. I reflected with intolerable anguish, that when ten thousand thousand years had carried me beyond the reach of all but that Power who fills infinitude, I should still look forward into an immense abyss of darkness, through which I should still drive without succour and without society, farther and farther still, for ever and for ever."

All the allegories in the *Adventurer* are the product of our author's pen; these constitute, however, if we except an allegorical letter from To-Day, but three; viz. *The Influence of the Town on Theatric Exhibition*, in No. 26; *The Origin of Cunning*, in No. 31; and *Honour founded on Virtue*, in No. 61. A fancy playful and exuberant may be discerned in these pieces; but they possess not, either in style or imagery, the glow and richness of his eastern fictions.

In the conduct of his domestic tales, the genius of Hawkesworth appears again to great advantage: they indicate his possession, not only of a powerful mastery over the passions, but of no common knowledge of life, of manners, and of the human heart. *The History of Melissa*, in Nos. 7 and 8, is a pathetic and interesting example of the soothing hope and consolation that await integrity of conduct, though under the pressure of poignant distress. The wretchedness and ruin so frequently attendant on infidelity are pointedly illustrated in the story of *Opsinous*\*; and the

\* Nos. 12, 13, 14.



fatal effects of deviations from truth, however slight, or apparently venial, receive a striking demonstration from the narrative of Charlotte and Maria\*.

The injury which society has suffered from the long prevailing and increasing practice of duelling, has often been a subject of regret; and many efforts have been made, though hitherto in vain, to diminish or suppress a custom so pernicious. To contribute his aid to the efforts of those who have reprobated such a violation of the public law, Hawkesworth has written his story of Eugenio†, which is calculated, by its moral and pathetic appeal, strongly to impress the mind in favour of the abolition of a usage that is undoubtedly the offspring of a barbarous age, and which has entailed upon mankind misery so incalculable.

As a preventive of debauchery and its destructive consequences, the Life of Agamus and his Daughter may be confidently recommended to every reader‡. It is a detail of which, in the luxury and dissipation of a large metropolis, there are, we have reason to apprehend, numerous counterparts.

To expose the folly of wanton rudeness and indiscriminate familiarity, to shew the danger of assuming the appearance of evil, though for purposes apparently beneficial, and to display the dreadful result of fashionable levities, form the purport of the narratives of Abulus§, of Desdemona||, and of Flavilla¶. They are constructed, in point of incident, with much in-

genuity; curiosity is kept alive, and the *dénouement* is effected with every requisite probability.

Still further to diversify the pages of the Adventurer, our author has interspersed several papers, the chief characteristic of which is humour; a humour, however, which is rather solemn and ironical than light and sportive. Of the essays in this province, which are the product of his pen, we shall enumerate eight, as peculiarly entertaining; No. 5, The Transmigrations of a Flea; Nos. 15 and 27, On Quack Advertisements; No. 17, Story of Mr. Friendly and his Nephew; No. 52, Distresses of an Author invited to read his Play; No. 98, Account of Tim Wildgoose; No. 100, Gradation from a Greenhorn to a Blood; and No. 121, The Adventures of a Louse.

It is probable, that to a passage in Johnson's Life of Gay, we are indebted for the ludicrous distresses in No. 52; at least, one of the circumstances of the tale actually occurred to that poet, when requested to read his tragedy, entitled The Captives, to the Princess of Wales. "When the hour came," records his biographer, "he saw the princess and her ladies all in expectation; and advancing with reverence, too great for any other attention, stumbled at a stool, and falling forwards, threw down a weighty japan screen. The princess started, the ladies screamed, and poor Gay, after all the disturbance, was still to read his play\*\*." Scholastic bashfulness had been the subject of an excellent paper in Johnson's

\* Nos. 54, 55, 56.  
§ No. 112.

† Nos. 64, 65, 66, 70.

‡ Nos. 86, 134, 135, 136.

|| Nos. 117, 118.

¶ Nos. 123, 124, 125.

\*\* Murphy's edition, Vol. X. p. 241.



Rambler\*, and, since the *Adventurer*, has again formed the topic of an essay in No. 22 of Repton's *Variety*†.

If we advert to the moral tendency of the essays of Hawkesworth, we shall find them uniformly subservient to the best interests of virtue and religion. Every fiction which he has drawn involves the illustration of some important duty, or lays bare the pernicious consequences of some alluring vice. Even incidents which appear to possess a peculiar individuality, are rendered, by the dextrous management of our author, accessory to the purposes of universal monition. As instances, however, of those numbers of the *Adventurer*, which, dismissing the attractions of scenic art, are strictly didactic, we may mention, as singularly worthy of notice, No. 10, illustrative of the inquiry, How far Happiness and Misery are the necessary effects of Virtue and Vice; No. 28, On the Positive Duties of Religion, as influencing Moral Conduct; No. 46, On Detraction and Treachery; No. 48, On the Precept to Love our Enemies; No. 82, On the Production of Personal Beauty by Moral Sentiment; and No. 130, On the Danger of Relapse after Purposes of Amendment.

From the observations which we have now made upon the merits of Hawkesworth's periodical writings, it may justly be inferred that he holds a high rank among our classical essayists. He takes his station, indeed, after Addison and Johnson; and the *Adventurer*, which rose under his fostering care, need not

fear a comparison with the *Rambler* and *Spectator*.

One object which Hawkesworth had in view, in the composition of his *Adventurers*, was that of proving to the world how well adapted he was, in point of moral and religious principle, for the superintendence of the school which his wife had opened for the education of young ladies. This object was fully attained; for the seminary rapidly increased, and finally became a very lucrative undertaking.

From his customary attention to the academy, however, he was for a short time diverted, by a very unexpected promotion. Herring, Archbishop of Canterbury, being highly pleased with the instructive tendency of his papers in the *Adventurer*, conferred upon him the degree of doctor of civil law; a dignity which suggested a new road to emolument, by giving him a title to practise as a civilian in the ecclesiastical courts. In the attempt, however, after some preparatory study to carry this plan into execution, he completely failed, owing to the strenuous opposition which he had to encounter.

A still more unfortunate result of his elevation was the loss of Johnson's friendship; a deprivation which, we are sorry to remark, appears to have arisen from his own ill-timed ostentation, a weakness that few could suppose attached to a mind apparently so well regulated. "His success," says Sir John Hawkins, "wrought no good effects upon his mind and conduct; it elated him too much, and betrayed him into a forgetfulness of

\* No. 157.

† Published in 1788.



his origin, and a neglect of his early acquaintance; and on this I have heard Johnson remark, in terms that sufficiently expressed a knowledge of his character, and a resentment of his behaviour. It is probable that he might use the same language to Hawkesworth himself, and also reproach him with the acceptance of an academical honour to which he could have no pretensions, and which Johnson, conceiving to be irregular, as many yet do, held in great contempt: thus much is certain, that soon after the attainment of it, the intimacy between them ceased\*."

That Hawkesworth's acceptance of this degree should cause such forgetfulness of himself, as to lead to the neglect of those who had principally contributed to his literary advancement, is certainly an instance of deplorable folly; but that Johnson was justified in reproaching him for his admission of the honour, and in ridiculing his pretensions to it, will hardly be affirmed. It was intended by Herring as the reward of exertions in support of morality and religion, not as the acknowledgment of abilities for the legal profession; and therefore the conduct of Johnson, on this occasion, might have justly roused resentment in a mind of much less irritability than Hawkesworth possessed.

The reputation which the doctor had acquired by his *Adventurer*, held out strong inducements to the prosecution of his literary career; and in the year 1756, at the request of Garrick, he turned his attention towards the stage. His first pro-

duction, in this province, was an alteration of Dryden's comedy of *Amphytrion*, accompanied by new music; and, in 1760, he brought forward his "*Zimri*, an oratorio," which was performed at Covent Garden, and set to music by Mr. Stanley. It was favourably received; and though the fable, from the peculiarity of its incidents, is by no means calculated for public representation, the poetry, which is much above mediocrity, ensured its success.

About the period of his production of "*Zimri*," he altered Southern's tragedy of "*Oroonoko*" for Drury Lane theatre; and in 1761 brought upon the same stage an entertainment, under the title of "*Edgar and Emmeline*." This is a fairy tale, and in the construction of which he has exhibited much elegance of imagination.

It is to be regretted, that the dramatic labours of our author closed with this performance; for, from his powers of language, his fertility of fancy, and his knowledge of the human heart, there is every reason to suppose that he might have attained to distinguished excellence as a disciple of Melpomene.

He had been, however, sometime employed on the composition of an oriental tale, upon a scale much larger than that of his eastern narratives in the *Adventurer*. It was published in the same year with his "*Edgar and Emmeline*," and is entitled "*Almorán and Hamet*;" it occupies two volumes 12mo. and is dedicated to the king. In this fiction, which soon became popular,

\* Hawkins's Life of Johnson, p. 312.



and passed through a second edition in a few months, will be found the united recommendations of a polished diction, an interesting fable, and an important moral.

In April, 1765, Dr. Hawkesworth undertook the office of Reviewer in the Gentleman's Magazine; a department which he filled with great ability until the year 1772. In 1765, also, he presented the public with a revised edition of Swift's Works, in 12 vols. 8vo. accompanied by explanatory notes, and a Life of Swift, of which Johnson, when he became the biographer of the dean, thus liberally speaks: "An account of Dr. Swift has been already collected with great diligence and acuteness by Dr. Hawkesworth, according to a scheme which I laid before him in the intimacy of our friendship. I cannot therefore be expected to say much of a life, concerning which I had long since communicated my thoughts to a man capable of dignifying his narration with so much elegance of language and force of sentiment."

Hawkesworth's Life of Swift is, indeed, a free and unprejudiced inquiry into the character of the dean, written with his usual correctness and beauty of style, and highly useful, from its seizing every opportunity of enforcing the purest morality. It offered, however, no new materials to the world, and, in point of information, has been superseded by the full and elaborate details of Sheridan and Nichols. To the merits of Hawkesworth, notwithstanding,

every subsequent editor has been just; and, since the encomium of Johnson, the following sketches of his biographical talents have been given to the public by Sheridan and Berkeley.

"He was an author," remarks the first of these gentlemen, "of no small eminence; a man of clear judgment and great candour. He quickly discerned the truth from the falsehood; wiped away many of the aspersions that had been thrown on Swift's character; and placed it, so far as he went, in its proper light." \*

"For the task he undertook," observes Mr. Berkeley, "his talents were fully equal; and the period at which he wrote was friendly to impartiality. Swift had now been dead some years; and Hawkesworth was the first man from whom the public could expect a totally unprejudiced account of his life. To Hawkesworth, except as a writer, Swift was wholly unknown. His mirth had never enlivened the hours, nor had his satire embittered the repose, of him who was now to be his biographer; circumstances, these, highly favourable to impartial investigation and candid decision. But, alas! Hawkesworth contented himself with such materials as the life by Orrery and the apologies of Dean Swift and Dr. Delany afforded; adding nothing to this stock of information but a few scattered remarks, collected by Johnson. Of his performance, therefore, I shall only observe, that its information is sometimes useful and amusing,

\* Introduction to the Life of Dr. Swift.



and that its misrepresentations are never intentional." \*

In a life so tumultuous and varied as was Swift's, connected with so much political transaction, and associated with the most important events and characters of the time, novelty, extent, and diversity of information, might be reasonably required; whereas in the biography of a mere literary man, the incidents are few, and generally connected with publications that fix precisely the era of their occurrence; whilst what is expected from the biographer, either as matter of utility or amusement, is in a great degree drawn from his own intrinsic resources. In a detail of this latter description, where moral reflection, criticism, and arrangement, where elegance of composition, weight of sentiment, and literary disquisition are merely demanded, Hawkesworth would have greatly excelled, and would have produced a work fully as valuable, perhaps, to the best interests of man, as the narrative of political struggle and ambitious intrigue, however connected with talent, wit, and humour. On the subject which he had chosen, however, as he failed in industry of research and originality of document, he has been nearly consigned to oblivion.

Yet, as an editor, the year following the publication of his *Life of the Dean*, enabled him to oblige the world with "*Letters of Dr. Swift and several of his Friends, published from the Originals, with Notes Explanatory and Historical,*" in three vols. 8vo.; a col-

lection which had been presented by Swift himself to Dr. Lyon, and transferred by this gentleman to Mr. Thomas Wilkes, of Dublin, and who again disposed of it to the booksellers.

The preface which Dr. Hawkesworth has written for these volumes, contains some very just observations on the instruction and amusement to be derived from familiar and confidential letters; the following passage, especially, most eloquently describes the value which should be attached to the publication of a correspondence such as he was then presenting to his readers.

"In a series of familiar letters between the same friends for thirty years, their whole life, as it were, passes in review before us; we live with them, we hear them talk, we mark the vigour of life, the ardour of expectation, the hurry of business, the jollity of their social meetings, and the sport of their fancy in the sweet intervals of leisure and retirement; we see the scene gradually change; hope and expectation are at an end; they regret pleasures that are past, and friends that are dead; they complain of disappointment and infirmity; they are conscious that the sands of life which remain are few; and while we hear them regret the approach of the last, it falls, and we lose them in the grave. Such as they were, we feel ourselves to be; we are conscious to sentiments, connexions, and situations like theirs; we find ourselves in the same path, urged forward by the same necessity;

\* Inquiry into the Life of Dean Swift.



and the parallel in what has been, is carried on with such force to what shall be, that the future almost becomes present; and we wonder at the new power of those truths, of which we never doubted the reality and importance."

Soon after the appearance of Swift's Letters, our author commenced a translation of Fenelon's *Telemachus*, which was published in 1768, in one volume, 4to. No person could have been selected better calculated to do justice to the epic romance of the amiable Archbishop of Cambray than Hawkesworth. The harmonious style, the glowing sentiment, the elegant and classical imagery of the original, were transfused without any diminution of their wonted lustre; and the version may be pronounced not only far superior to any other which we possess of *Telemachus*, but one of the most spirited and valuable in our language.

The celebrity which Dr. Hawkesworth had now attained, as a literary character, was aided by the friendship of Garrick; who recommended our author to Lord Sandwich; the mean of procuring for him one of the most honourable and lucrative engagements that has been recorded in the annals of literature.

The anxiety of the public to be acquainted with the events which had befallen the navigators of the southern hemisphere, at the commencement of the present reign, was greatly increased by the return of Lieutenant Cook from his first voyage round the globe, in May, 1771; and government, in the following year, entrusted to

Hawkesworth the task of gratifying the general curiosity.

A few attempts, in the mean time, had been made, though with little success, to anticipate the authenticated narrative, which came forth so early as 1773 under the following title: "An Account of the Voyages undertaken by the Order of his present Majesty for making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, &c. Drawn up from the Journals which were kept by the several Commanders, and from the Papers of Joseph Banks, Esq. By John Hawkesworth, LL.D. Illustrated with Cuts, and a great variety of Charts and Maps relative to Countries now first discovered, or hitherto but imperfectly known." Quarto, 3 vols.

In order that a work, which might properly be termed national, should appear with every requisite illustration, government withheld no necessary expense. Dr. Hawkesworth had the princely remuneration of six thousand pounds; and the charts, engravings, and maps, were executed in a very splendid, and, with a few exceptions, in a very correct manner. The first volume includes the journals of Byron, Wallis, and Carteret; and the second and third are occupied by the still more interesting voyage of Cook.

The merits and defects of Hawkesworth, in the execution of this work, are very prominent. Of his fidelity, as to matter of fact, there can be no doubt, since the manuscript of each voyage was submitted to the perusal of the respective commanders, and received their correction and approbation:



probation : the literary texture too is elegant, animated, and graceful.

Of the faults which have disfigured this publication, one may be deemed venial, and was to be apprehended from the previous studies and character of the man ; though the narrative is given in the first person, the colouring of the style, and many of the observations, reflections, and descriptions, are such as clearly indicate their origin, and betray the disciple of the portico, with all his professional acquirements.

Incongruities arising from this source, though they break in upon the verisimilitude which was meant to be supported, were readily forgiven ; but who could have expected from the director of female education, from the author of the *Adventurer*, from the dignified defender of morality and religion, the metaphysical reveries, the licentious paintings, of the sceptic and the voluptuary !

To the charge of inaccuracy, of nautical mistake, or defective science, he was ready and willing to reply ; but against the strong and numerous accusations of impiety and indecency, against the flagrant proofs, as taken from his preface and his journals, of his denial of a special providence, and of his wanton pictures of sensuality, he was unable to defend himself.

To the vexations which he hourly experienced from these attacks, many of which took their source rather from a spirit of malignity than a love of virtue and moral order, was added the extreme mortification of being rendered accessory to the purposes of

the most abandoned depravity ; for shortly after the publication of his *Voyages*, notice was given by the infamous editors of a certain magazine, that “ all the amorous passages and descriptions in Dr. Hawk——th’s Collection of Voyages should be selected, and illustrated by a suitable plate,” a threat which was immediately after carried into execution ; and thus was the doctor condemned, after a life hitherto spent in the support of piety and morality, to subserve the iniquitous designs of the ministers of lewdness and debauchery.

That Hawkesworth ever meant, by his doubts, his queries, and descriptions, to shock belief, or inflame the passions, cannot be admitted. His practice was correct ; but his theory, both in philosophy and theology, was often inconsistent and unsettled ; and he was apt to indulge himself in speculations, the ultimate tendency and bearings of which, could he have accurately appreciated them, he would have shrunk from with abhorrence. His descriptions of sensual indulgence too, though probably correct representations, were, he should have reflected, not calculated for a popular work ; there was no necessity for their introduction ; and the language in which they were clothed, by veiling, in a great measure, the grossness of the imagery, rendered the poison more subtle and pernicious.

The sensibility of Hawkesworth was keen, and easily wounded ; he felt through every nerve the envenomed weapons of his accusers, and his peace of mind was destroyed



destroyed for ever. No addition to his income or his consequence could now soothe his feelings; for though his circumstances were comparatively affluent, and he had the unprecedented honour of being chosen, on account of his literary talents, a director of the East India Company, in April, 1773: he died, exhausted by chagrin and disappointment, on the 16th of the November following. He was buried in the church of Bromley, in Kent, where, on an elegant marble, is the subsequent inscription, part of which, as the reader will immediately perceive, is taken from the last number of the *Adventurer*.

To the Memory of

John Hawkesworth, LL. D.

Who died the 16th of November,  
1773, aged 58 years.

That he lived ornamental and useful

To society in an eminent degree,  
Was among the boasted felicities  
Of the present age;

That he laboured for the benefit of society,

Let his own pathetic admonitions  
Record and realize.

“The hour is hasting, in which whatever praise or censure I have acquired, will be remembered with equal indifference. Time, who is impatient to date my last paper, will shortly moulder the hand which is now writing it in the dust, and still the breast that now throbs at the reflection. But let not this be read as something that relates only to another; for a few years only can divide the eye that is now reading, from the hand that has written.”

Dr. Hawkesworth was, if not a man of deep learning, sufficiently acquainted with the classical and modern languages to maintain the character of an elegant scholar. His writings, with the exception

of his last ill-fated work, have a tendency uniformly conducive to the interests of virtue and religion; and we may add, that the errors of that unfortunate production must be attributed rather to a defect of judgment, than to a dereliction of principle.

His imagination was fertile and brilliant, his diction pure, elegant, and unaffected; he possessed a sensibility which too often wounded himself, but which rendered him peculiarly susceptible of the emotions of pity, of friendship, and of love. He was in a high degree charitable, humane, and benevolent; his manners were polished and affable, and his conversation has been described as uncommonly fascinating; as combining instruction and entertainment with a flow of words, which, though unstudied, was yet concisely and appropriately eloquent.

His passions were strong, and his command over them was not such as to prevent their occasional interference with his health and peace of mind; but to the heart-withering sensations of long-cherished resentment, of revenge or hatred, his breast was a perfect stranger. He died, it is said, tranquil and resigned, and, we trust, deriving hope and comfort from a firm belief in that religion which his best writings had been employed to defend.

The following little poem, composed but a month before his death, and dictated to Mrs. H. before he rose in the morning, will prove how vividly he felt, at that period, the consolations arising from dependence on the mercy of his God.



## HYMN.

1.

In Sleep's serene oblivion laid,  
I safely pass'd the silent night;  
At once I see the breaking shade,  
And drink again the morning light.

2.

New-born—I bless the waking hour,  
Once more, with awe, rejoice to be;  
My conscious soul resumes her power,  
And springs, my gracious God, to thee.

3.

O, guide me through the various maze  
My doubtful feet are doom'd to tread;  
And spread thy shield's protecting blaze,  
When dangers press around my head.

4.

A deeper shade will soon impend,  
A deeper sleep my eyes oppress;  
Yet still thy strength shall me defend,  
Thy goodness still shall deign to bless.

5.

That deeper shade shall fade away,  
That deeper sleep shall leave my eyes;  
Thy light shall give eternal day!  
Thy love the rapture of the skies!

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*Manners and Customs of the Tupinambas, exemplified in the extraordinary Adventures of Hans Stade. [From Mr. Southey's History of Brazil]*

Hans had a German friend settled at St. Vincente, as overseer of some sugar-works, which belonged to Giuseppe Adorno, a Genoese. His name was Heliodorus, and he was son of Eoban, a German poet of great celebrity in his day; he was from the same country as Hans, and had received him into his house after the shipwreck, with that brotherly kindness which every man feels for a countryman when they meet in so remote a land. This Heliodorus came with another friend to visit Hans in his castle. There was no other market where he could send for food to regale them except the woods,

but this was well stocked. The wild boars were the finest in the whole country, and they were so numerous that the inhabitants killed them for their skins, of which they made a leather that was preferred to cow-hides for boots and chair bottoms. He had a Cario slave who used to hunt for him, and whom he never feared to accompany to the chase; him he sent into the woods to kill game, and went out to meet him the next day, and see what success he had had. The war-whoop was set up, and in an instant he was surrounded by the Tupinambas. He gave himself up for lost, and exclaimed, Into thy hands, O Lord, do I commit my spirit. The prayer was hardly ended before he was knocked down; blows and arrows fell upon him from all sides: but he received only one wound, in the thigh.

Their first business was to strip him; hat, cloak, jerkin, shirt, were presently torn away, every one seizing what he could get. To this part of the prize possession was sufficient title; but Hans's body, or carcase, as they considered it, was a thing of more consequence. A dispute arose who had first laid hands on him, and they who bore no part in it amused themselves by beating the prisoner with their bows. It was settled that he belonged to two brethren; then they lifted him up and carried him off as fast as possible towards their canoes, which were drawn ashore, and concealed in the thicket. A large party who had been left in guard, advanced to meet their triumphant fellows, showing Hans their teeth, and biting their arms to let him see what



what he was to expect. The chief of the party went before him, wielding the *izvara pemme*, the club with which they slaughter their prisoners, and crying out to him, Now, Pero (as they called the Portuguese) thou art a most vile slave! now thou art in our hands! now thou shalt pay for our countrymen whom thou hast slain! They then tied his hands; but another dispute arose, what should be done with him. The captors were not all from the same dwelling-place; no other prisoner had been taken, and they who were to return home without one, exclaimed against giving him to the two brethren, and were for killing him at once. Poor Hans had lived long enough in Brazil to understand all that was said, and all that was to be done; he fervently said his prayers, and kept his eye upon the slaughter-club. The chief of the party settled the dispute by saying, We will carry him home alive, that our wives may rejoice over him, and he shall be made a *kaawy-pepiké*; \* that is, he was to be killed at the great drinking feast. Then they tied four cords round his neck, fastened them to the ends and sides of a canoe, and pushed off.

There was a little island near, in which the sea-fowl, called goarazes, bred. The down of the young bird is of the grey colour of ashes; their feathers for the first year are brown, then they become of a bright and glowing red. These red feathers were the favourite ornament of all the savage tribes. They inquired of their prisoner whether the Tupini-

quins had been that season to take the brooding birds; and though he assured them that they had, they made towards the island. Before they reached it, they saw canoes coming in pursuit of them. The slave of Hans, who had seen his master taken, fled and gave the alarm, and the Tupiniquins, and a few Portuguese with them, were hastening to his assistance. They called out to the Tupinambas to stop and fight, if they were men. Provoked at this defiance, they turned, loosened their prisoner's hands, and giving him powder and ball, which they had got from the French, made him load his own gun and fire at his friends; the ropes round his neck prevented him from leaping overboard. They soon, however, perceived their own rashness, and fearing that other forces would speedily come against them, made off. As they passed within falcon-shot of Bertioga, two shot were discharged at them, which just fell short; boats were put out from thence, but the Tupinambas pulled for their lives and outstripped them.

About seven miles beyond Bertioga they landed upon an island where they meant to sleep. Hans's face was so swollen with the blows which he had received, that he could not see, and he could not stand because of the wound in his thigh; so he lay on the ground, and they stood round, telling him how they would eat him. Being in this condition, says he, I began to think, which I had never done sufficiently before, what a miserable life this is, and how full of

\* As we say, a Michaelmas goose, or Christmas ox.



changes and troubles ! and he began to sing the 130th psalm, *de profundis*. Lo ! said they, now he is bewailing his unhappy fate. The place which they had chosen not being a convenient station, they removed to the main land to some deserted huts of their own, drew their canoes ashore, and kindled a fire, to which they brought their prisoner. They laid him in a hammock, fastened the cords which were still kept round his neck, to a tree, and from time to time through the night informed him, in their mirth, that he was now their beast. The next day a storm arose, and they called upon him to pray that it might not destroy them. Hans obeyed, beseeching God to shew the savages that his prayers were heard, and presently he heard them say the clouds were passing off ; for he was lying along in the canoe, and could not lift his head, so severely had he been bruised. This change of weather he willingly attributed to his prayers, and returned thanks for it. A second night was passed like the first, and they congratulated each other that on the morrow they should reach home : but I, says he, did not congratulate myself.

On the third evening they came to their town, which was called Uwattibi. It consisted of seven houses (a town seldom had more), but each house contained twenty or thirty families, who, as they were generally related to each other, may not improperly be called a clan. They are about fourteen feet wide, and one hundred and fifty long, more or less, according to the number of the clan. Each family has its own

birth and its own fire, but there are no partitions whatsoever between them. The usual height of the roof is about twelve feet ; it is convex, and well thatched with palms. These houses are built to enclose an area, in which they slaughter their prisoners : to each house there are three low doors, all towards the area. The town is surrounded first with a close palisado, in which loop-holes are left for their arrows ; this palisado is so constructed as to form alternately two sides of a triangle, and three of a square ; and without this is a circular one of high, strong stakes, not so closely set as the inner, neither far enough apart to leave room for passing through. At the entrance they set up a few heads of those whom they had devoured, stuck upon spikes upon these pales.

When the canoes arrived, the women were digging mandioc. The captors made Hans cry out to them in Brazilian, Here I am, come to be your meat ! Out came the whole population, old men, children and all. Hans was delivered over to the women, who were, if possible, more cruel than the men on these occasions. They beat him with their fists, they pulled his beard, naming at every pluck and at every blow, some one of their friends who had been slain, and saying it was given for his sake. The children also were suffered to torment him at their pleasure ; and all expressed their joy to him at the thoughts of the feast they were to have. The men meantime regaled themselves with potations of *kaamy*. They brought out the rattles, which they regard as oracles, and thanked them



them for having truly said that they should return with prey. This lasted for about half an hour, during which time Hans was at the mercy of the women and children. The two brethren, Yep-pipo Wasu and Alkindar Miri, to whom he had been adjudged, then came and stated to him, that their uncle, Ipperu Wasu, last year had given Alkindar a prisoner to kill, in order that he might have the glory of making a feast; but it was with this condition, that Alkindar should repay him with the first prisoner whom he took. He was the first, and therefore the glory of making a feast of him was to be Ipperu Wasu's. Having explained this matter to him, they added that the girls would now come and lead him out to *apprasse*. What *apprasse* was he did not know; but this he knew, that it could be nothing good.

The young women came, and led him by the cords which were still round his neck, into the area: the men went their way, and all the women of the settlement gathered round him. He had been stripped naked at the time of his capture: they handled him till they had satisfied their curiosity; then some took him up in their arms, while others pulled the ropes till he was nearly strangled. Then; says he, I thought what our Lord had suffered from the perfidious Jews, and that gave me strength and resignation. They carried him to the house of their chief, Uratinge Wasu, the Great White Bird; a little hillock of earth had just been raised at the entrance, upon which they seated him, holding him lest he should

fall. This he expected was the place of death. He looked round to see if the slaughter-club was ready, and asked if he was to die now. Not yet, they told him. A woman then approached with a piece of broken glass set in a stick, with which instrument she scraped off his eye-brows, and began to perform the same operation upon his beard; but Hans resisted this, and declared that he would die with his beard. They did not persist now, but some days afterwards sheared it off with a pair of French scissars.

Then they led him before the door of the tabernacle, wherein the Maraca, or rattles of divination, were kept; they fastened a string of little rattles round each leg, and placed upon his head a square coronal of straight feathers. Two women stood on each side of him, the rest made a circle round, and bade him dance to their singing. He could scarcely stand for the pain of his wound, nevertheless dance he must, and keep time in his steps, that the anklets may rattle-in in tune. This dance was the *apprasse*: it seems to have been a religious ceremony in honour of the Maraca. After it was performed, he was delivered into the hands of Ipperu Wasu, in payment for the prisoner with which that chief had accommodated his nephew. From him Hans learned that he had yet some time to live.

All the Maraca were now brought out. This familiar oracle of the Brazilian savages is made of a fruit so called, which resembles a gourd, and is capable of containing about three pints in its cavity. This is fixed upon a handle;



handle; human hair is sometimes fastened on the top, and a slit is cut in it to represent a mouth, through which their jugglers, whom they call *Payes*, make it utter its responses. A few pebbles are inserted to make it rattle, and it is crowned with the red feathers of the *goaraz*. Every man had his *Maraca*. They were now all produced; Hans was set in the midst of them, and the captors addressed them, saying, their prediction had been verified; it had promised them a Portuguese prisoner, and lo! they had brought one home. Upon this Hans spake up, and denied that the prediction could be verified in him. The *Maraca*, he said, lied if it called him a Portuguese; he was a German, and the Germans were friends and allies of the French. The *Tupinambas* calmly replied, it was he who was the liar; for if he was the friend and ally of the French, how came he to live among the Portuguese? We know, said they, that the French are as much the enemies of the Portuguese as we are: they come to us every year, and bring us knives, scissars, axes, combs, and looking-glasses, for which we give them wood, cotton, pepper, and feathers. The Portuguese are a very different people. When they came first to the country, they went to our enemies, and made alliance with them, and built towns among them, wherein they still reside; afterwards they came in ships to us, to trade with us as the French do now, and when our people, suspecting no danger, went on board as guests, they seized them, carried them away, and gave them to our enemies to

be devoured. Many of our brethren have since been killed by their bullets, and we suffer great injuries from them. The two brethren then told him that their father's arm had been carried away by a ball, of which wound he died, and that death was now to be avenged upon him. Hans protested again; there could be no reason, he said, to revenge it upon him; he was not a Portuguese, but having been shipwrecked in a Castilian vessel, was by that means cast among them. The *Tupinambas* were not without some sense of justice. There was a lad among them who had once been taken by the *Tupiniquins*: they had surprized a settlement, and captured all its inhabitants; all who were grown up were eaten; the children were made slaves, and this boy had belonged to a Gallego at *Bertioga*. He knew Hans, and they called upon him to give evidence concerning him. The lad said a ship had been wrecked there belonging to the Castilians, who were friends to the Portuguese, and this prisoner was in the ship; but this was all he knew. Hans, when they began to inquire into the truth of his demurrer, saw some hope of escaping. He knew there were some French interpreters in the country, left there to collect pepper for the traders; he repeated, that he was the friend and brother of the French, and protested against being eaten before he could be seen by some of that nation and acknowledged by them. This was thought reasonable, and he was carefully watched till an opportunity should occur of submitting him to this proof.

It



It was not long before one of these interpreters came to Uwat-tibi; the savages hastened to their prisoner. A Frenchman is come, they cried, and now we shall see whether thou art French or not. Great was his joy at hearing this. I thought, says he, the man was a christian, and that it was not possible he could speak against me. He was led to him; the cannibals stood round; and the interpreter, who was a young Norman, addressed him in French. Hans's reply made it plain that he was no Frenchman; this the Tupinambas could not discover, but the wretch immediately said to them in their own language, Kill the rascal, and eat him; he is a Portugueze, as much our enemy as yours. Hans besought him, for the love of God; to have compassion, and save him from being devoured; but the Frenchman replied, that eaten he should be. Then, said he, I called to mind the words of the prophet Jeremiah, Cursed is he who putteth his trust in man. He had a linen cloth over his shoulders, which the savages had given him, being his only covering; in his agony he cast it off at the feet of the Frenchman, and exclaimed, If I am to die, why should I preserve this flesh of mine to be food for them! They led him back, and he threw himself into his hammock. I call God to witness, says he, what my pain was! and with a sorrowful voice I began to sing a hymn. Truly, said the savages, he is a Portugueze, for he is howling with the fear of death. That he was to die was determined, and every thing was made ready for the ceremony.

While, says Hans, I lived in this misery, I experienced the truth of the saying, that misfortunes never come alone. The new misfortune which occasioned this reflection, was a grievous tooth-ach, so grievous as to emaciate him, by his own account; but fear and suffering would have done that without the tooth-ach. His master observed with concern that he did not eat, and when he learnt the cause, produced a wooden instrument with which he would have knocked the tooth out. Hans cried out the pain was gone; a struggle ensued, and he succeeded in resisting the operation. His master, however, kindly admonished him to eat, telling him, that if he continued to lose flesh instead of fattening properly, he must be killed before the appointed time.

After some days had elapsed, Hans was sent for by Konyan Bebe, the chief of the whole tribe, who was then at a town called Arirab. When he drew nigh, there was a great noise of horns and rejoicings; and fifteen heads of the Margaias, whom they had lately eaten, and which were fixed upon stakes at the entrance, were significantly pointed out to him. One of his guards went before him into the house of the chief, crying out, We have brought your Portugueze slave, that you may behold him. He and his companions were drinking, and were heated with their drink; they looked sternly at Hans, and said, O enemy, thou art here! He made answer, I am here, but not an enemy; and they gave him of their liquor.

Hans had heard of this chief,  
who



who was famous in his day, and a cruel cannibal. He addressed himself to the one whom he judged to be him by his large necklace of shells, and asked if he was not the great Konyan Bebe? Being answered, that he was, he began to praise him as well as he could, telling him how greatly his name was celebrated, and how worthy his exploits were of all praise. A woman could not have been more delighted with flattery. The savage rose, swelling with pleasure, and strutted before him to display himself. When he returned to his place, he asked what the Tupiniquins and Portugeze were designing against him, and why Hans had fired at him from the fortress, for he knew that he had been the gunner. Hans replied, that the Portugeze had stationed him there, and ordered him to do his office; but the chief replied, that he was a Portugeze himself, and witnessed his son the Frenchman, as he called him, saying the truth was manifest, for he did not understand French. Hans admitted this, and alleged that he had forgotten it from long disuse. I have eaten five Portugeze, said Konyan Bebe, and they all said they were Frenchmen. Presently he asked what sort of man the Portugeze thought him, and if they stood in fear of him. Hans answered, that they had good reason to know what sort of man he was by what they had suffered, but Bertioga was now made a strong place. Ah, they said, they would lie in wait in the woods, and catch others as they had caught him. Hans then told him that the Tupiniquins were soon coming to attack him with five-

and-twenty canoes. He did not scruple at this sort of treachery, in hopes of winning favour by it, and saving his life. By this time all the *kaawy* in that house was exhausted; the drinkers, therefore, removed to another, and he was told to follow. The son of Konyan Bebe tied his legs together, and he was made to jump, while they laughed and shouted, See, our meat is jumping. He turned to Ipperu Wasu, and asked him if this was the place where he was to die. No, his master replied; but these things were always done with foreign slaves. Having seen him dance, they now ordered him to sing: he sung a hymn; they bade him interpret it; and he said it was in praise of God: they then reviled his God; their blasphemies shocked him, and he admired in his heart the wonderful indulgence and long suffering of God towards them. The next day, as the whole town had had a full sight of him, he was dismissed. Konyan Bebe enjoined his captors to watch him well; and they pursued him with fresh mockery as he departed, saying, they should soon come to visit his master, and settle every thing for the feast. But his master took great pains to comfort him, and assured him the time was not yet near.

The Tupiniquins made their expedition, and Uwattibi happened to be the place which they attacked. Hans besought his captors to let him loose, and give him bow and arrows, and they should see how he would fight for them, though they believed him to be their enemy. This he did, in hopes that he should be able to break



break through the palisade and escape to his friends. They let him fight, but watched him too narrowly for him to effect this. The invaders failing to win the place by surprise, and being vigorously resisted, took to their canoes and retired. Poor Hans had been frustrated in his hope, and met with no thanks for his services. They led him back to his place of confinement as soon as the assault was over; and in the evening brought him out into the area, formed a circle round him, and fixed the time for killing him, insulting him as usual with their cannibal expressions of joy. The moon was up, and fixing his eyes upon her, he silently besought God to vouchsafe him a happy termination of these sufferings. Yeppipo Wasu, who was one of the chiefs of the horde, and as such had convoked the meeting, seeing how earnestly he kept gazing upwards, asked him what he was looking at. Hans had ceased from praying, and was observing the man in the moon, and fancying that he looked angry; his mind was broken down by continual terror, and he says it seemed to him at that moment as if he were hated by God, and by all things which God had created. The question only half roused him from his phantasy, and he answered, it was plain that the moon was angry. The savage asked who she was angry with, and then Hans, as if he had recollected himself, replied that she was looking at his dwelling. This enraged him, and Hans found it prudent to say, that perhaps her eyes were turned so wrathfully upon the Carios; in which opi-

nion the chief assented, and wished she might destroy them all.

News came the next morning, that the Tupiniquins had burnt the settlement of Mambukabe, which had been deserted at their approach. Yeppipo Wasu prepared to go with the greater part of his clan and assist the inhabitants in rebuilding it. He charged Ipperu Wasu to look well to the prisoner, and said he would bring back potters clay and mandioc flour for the feast. During his absence a vessel from Bertioaga arrived, anchored off the coast, and fired a gun. The Tupiniquins had seen Hans in the battle, and given intelligence where he was, and this ship was sent to obtain his release if it were possible. See, said the captors, thy friends, the Portugueze, are come to look for thee, and offer a ransom. He replied, perhaps his brother was come, who lived with the Portugueze as he had done; and this he said to remove their persuasion that he was a Portugueze himself. A party went off to the ship, and answered their inquiries in such a manner that the master returned, concluding he had already been devoured. Hans saw her sail away, while the cannibals rejoiced over him, exclaiming, We have him! we have him! he is what we would have him to be! they have sent ships to look after him!

And now the party from Mambukabe were daily expected to return. Hans heard a howl in Yeppipo Wasu's house. It is the custom of the Brazilian savages, when their friends return after a few days absence, to welcome them with tears and cries; he therefore



therefore thought they were arrived, that the feast was now to be made ready, and that his death would no longer be delayed. Presently he was told, that one of the chief's brothers was returned alone, and all the rest were lying sick; at which he rejoiced in secret, hoping that God would miraculously deliver him. This man soon made his appearance, sat down beside him, and began to lament for his brother and family, all of whom, he said, were stricken with sickness, and he was come to request him to pray for them; for Yeppipo believed that his God had done this in anger. Hans made answer, his God was indeed angry, because they meant to eat him, who was not their enemy, and not a Portuguese: he promised, however, to do his best in prayer if the chief would return to his own house. The brother replied, he was too ill to return; but that he knew Hans could cure him if he would but pray. Hans answered, if he had strength enough to come home he would cure him there. Accordingly home they all came. Yeppipo called for Hans, and said to him, You told me that the moon looked angrily upon my house, and now behold we are all stricken with sickness. Your God has done this in his wrath. Hans had forgotten the conversation about the moon; being thus reminded of it, he himself believed it to have been prophetic, and replied, that God was angry because they meant to eat one who was not their enemy. The chief protested that he should not be eaten if he would but heal them. In these protestations Hans had but little confidence: the re-

turn of that cannibal's appetite was to be dreaded, but his death not less so; for the rest of the settlement would suppose he had occasioned it, and probably kill him, lest he should bring upon them further evil. He therefore, as they desired, tried what the imposition of hands would do for the sick, not without some faith himself in the application. A child died first; then Yeppipo's mother, an old woman who had been making drinking-pots at Mambukabe, to be used at the feast; two of his brothers died; another of his children, and in all eight of his family. Instead of shaking his faith in Hans, this only made him more urgent with him to save him and his wife. Hans told him there might be some hope if he were truly determined on no account to suffer him to be eaten, but otherwise there was none. The sick savage protested he had not the slightest intention of eating him, and called the clan together and forbade them ever to threaten him with death, or even to think of killing him. This contagion had made Hans a dreadful personage. One of the chiefs saw him menacing him in a dream, and came to him in the morning, faithfully promising, if he would be pleased to spare him, that he would never be the occasion of his death, and, even if he were killed, that he would not eat a bit of him. Another, who had never thoroughly recovered a surfeit from the last Portuguese whom he had eaten, dreamt of him also, and in like manner came and implored him not to be his destroyer. The very old women who had tormented him.



him like fiends, now called him son, and begged his favour. They said, that all the harm which they had done, or intended to do to him, was in mistake, because they supposed him to be a Portuguese, and they hated that people; but they had eaten many of them, and their god was never angry with them for so doing. The beard which Hans had been so unwilling to part with, now also appeared as good evidence in his favour; it was red, like a Frenchman's, and they observed, that the beards of the Portuguese were black. This was a happy sickness for him. Yeppipo and his wife recovered; there was no longer any talk of the feast, but he was still strictly guarded.

After some time, the French interpreter came again to Uwatibi; he had been collecting pepper and feathers, and was now on his way to the port where the ships were to meet him. Hans told him his plain story, and besought him to tell the savages what he truly was, and to take him with him to the ships; and he adjured him, if he had in him any spark of christian humanity, or any hope of salvation, not to be guilty of his death. The man replied, that he had really taken him for one of the Portuguese, and those people were so cruel that they hung every Frenchman whom they took in the country. He now, however, said to the Tupinambas that he had been mistaken, that their prisoner was a German, and a friend of the French, and proposed to take him in his company. Their gratitude did not extend so far. No, they replied, he was their slave not-

withstanding, for they had caught him among the Portuguese. Let his father or his brethren come for him in a ship, with hatchets, knives, scissars, combs, and looking-glasses, to ransom him like their child or brother, and he then should go. The Frenchman told them this should be done, and promised Hans to be his friend when the ships arrived. When the interpreter was gone, Alkindar asked if that man was his countryman, and being answered that he was, Why then, said he, did he not give you a knife, or something of that kind, which you might have presented to me? The wholesome effects of the contagion seemed to be wearing away. His mistress said, that the Anhanga, or evil spirit, came to her in the night, and asked where the slaughter-club was? where had they hidden it? There were some who murmured about him, and said, that whether Portuguese or French, the meat was the same.

The inhabitants of Tickquarippe, which was at some little distance, were about to kill a Margia slave; a party from Uwatibi went to the feast, and took Hans with them. He went to the prisoner the evening before the slaughter, and observed to him, that his time was nearly come. The man smiled, and said, Yes, every thing was ready except the mussarana (the cotton rope which was to be fastened round his waist); but the mussaranas here, he said, were nothing like what they were in his country. And he spake of what was to be done to-morrow, as if it were a festival of which he was to be



be a partaker. Hans left him, and sat down to read a Portuguese book; the savages got it from a prize taken by the French, and had given it him: but unable to drive away the thoughts of this Margaia, and not perhaps quite satisfied with himself for what he had said to him, he returned, and said, Do not think, friend, that I am come hither to devour you, for I also am a prisoner, and my masters have brought me here; and he endeavoured to give him the best comfort, by saying, that though his body would be eaten, his soul would enter into a better world, and there be happy. The savage inquired if this was true, and remarked that he had never seen God; That, said Hans, you will do in another life. A storm arose in the night. The savages cried out, it was that wicked conjuror's doing to save the prisoner, because the Margaias and the Portuguese were friends: we saw him yesterday, said they, turning over the skins of thunder (by which they meant the leaves of the book). Luckily for him, it cleared in the morning, and the feast was performed without interruption.

As Hans and his master were returning by water, the wind was violently against them, and the rain incessant, and they called upon him to give them fair weather. There was a boy in the canoe who had carried off a bone from the feast, and was now picking it. He bade him throw it away; but at this they all cried out that it was a dainty. The weather continued wet and stormy, so that having been three days on their way, though it was only a

day's distance, they were obliged at last to haul their canoes ashore, and go the remainder of the way by land. Every one took what food he had before they began their march, and the boy finished his bone, and having well polished it, cast it from him. The clouds dispersed as they proceeded, and Hans then asked them, if he had not spoken truly when he affirmed, that God was angry with that boy for eating human flesh? But, they replied, there would have been no evil consequences if he had not seen him eating it. They looked upon him as the immediate cause, and looked no further.

When he had remained five months in this miserable captivity, another vessel came from St. Vincente, for the Portuguese and Tupinambas used to carry on trade and hostilities with each other at the same time. They wanted mandioc flour for the numerous slaves who were employed in their sugar-works. When a ship was sent to procure this, a gun was fired on her arrival; two savages then put off towards her in a canoe, held up what they had to sell, and settled the price in knives, reaping-hooks, or whatever else was on board for barter. Other canoes kept at a distance till the exchange was fairly completed. As soon as that was done and the two brokers had returned, then they began to fight; a barbarous, but convenient arrangement. When the two traders went off, the Portuguese inquired if Hans was yet alive, and said that his brother was on board, and had brought some goods for him. When Hans heard this, he besought them to let him speak to his brother, saying,



ing, that he would desire him to beg his father to send a ship for him, and goods for his ransom. The Portuguese, he affirmed, would not understand their conversation. This he said, because the Tupinambas had planned an expedition on the side of Bertioaga for the ensuing August, and he feared they would suspect his intention of giving intelligence of it. They in their simplicity believed him, and carried him within stone's throw of the vessel. Hans cried out immediately, that only one must speak to him, for he had said none but his brother could understand him. One of his friends took upon him this part, and told him they were sent to ransom him if they could, and if that proposal was rejected, to seize some of the Tupinambas, and so recover him by exchange. He begged them, for God's sake, not to attempt either means; but to say he was a Frenchman, and give him fishing-hooks and knives. This they readily did, and a canoe was sent to take them in. He then told them of the projected expedition; and they on their part informed him, that their allies designed to attack Uwattibi again, and bade him be of good heart. He expressed himself thankful, that his sins were to receive their punishment in this world rather than in the next, and implored their prayers for his deliverance. The parley was then broken off. Hans gave his masters the knives and fishing-hooks, and promised them more when the ship came for him; for he had told his brother how kindly they had treated him. They were of opinion that they had treated him with great kind-

ness; but now, they said, it was plain he was a Frenchman of some worth, and was therefore to be treated still better: so they permitted him to accompany them to the woods, and bear his part in their ordinary employments.

There was a Cario slave in the town, who having been a slave among the Portuguese, had fled to these Tupinambas, and lived three years with them; a longer time than Hans had been in Brazil: nevertheless, from some strange hatred which he had conceived against him, he frequently urged his masters to kill him, declaring that he had oftentimes seen him fire at the Tupinambas, and that he was the person who had killed one of their chiefs. This man fell sick, and Hans was desired to bleed him by his master, who promised him, if he cured the patient, a share of all the game which he should kill, for his fee. Their instrument for bleeding is a sharp tooth, with which, not being used to it, Hans could not open a vein. They then said he was a lost man, and that there was nothing to be done but to kill him, lest he should die, and so become uneatable. Shocked at this, Hans represented that the man might yet recover; but it availed not: they took him out of his hammock, two men supported him upright, for he was too ill to stand, or to know what they were doing, and his master knocked out his brains. Hans then endeavoured to dissuade them from eating him, observing that the body was yellow with disease, and might produce pestilence. They threw away the head and intestines on this account, and devoured the rest. He did



did not fail to remark to them, that this slave had never been ill since he came among them, till he had endeavoured to procure his death.

The time of their expedition, for which they had been three months making preparations, was now at hand. He hoped they would leave him at home with the women, and then he had determined to fly. Before the time of their departure was come, a boat arrived from a French ship which was lying at Rio de Janeiro; it came to trade for pepper, monkeys, and parrots. One man, who spake the language of the Tupinambas, landed, and Hans intreated him to take him on board; but his masters would not permit him to go, for they were resolved to have a good ransom for him. He begged them then to go with him to the ship; this also they refused, observing, that these people were no friends of his; for though they saw him naked, they had not even given him a cloth to cover him. Oh, but his friends were in the ship, he said. The ship, they replied, would not sail till their expedition was over, and it would be time enough then to take him there. But when Hans saw the boat push off, his earnest wish to be at liberty overpowered him; he sprang forward, and ran towards it along the shore. The savages pursued, some of them came up to him; he beat them off, outstript the rest, ran into the sea, and swam off to the boat. The Frenchmen refused to take him in, lest they should offend the savages, and Hans, once more resigning himself to his evil destiny, was compelled to swim

back. When the Tupinambas saw him returning they rejoiced; but he affected to be angry that they should have supposed he meant to run away; and said he only went to bid them tell his countrymen to prepare a present for them when they should go with him to the ship.

Their hostile expeditions are preceded by many ceremonies. The old men of every settlement frequently addressed the young, and exhorted them to go to war. An old orator, either walking abroad, or sitting up in his hammock, would exclaim, What! is this the example which our fathers have left us, that we should waste our days away at home! they who went out, and fought and conquered, and slew and devoured! Shall we let the enemies, who could not formerly stand in our sight, come now to our own doors, and bring the war home to us?—and then clapping his shoulders and his hams,—no, no, Tupinambas, let us go out, let us kill, let us eat! Such speeches were sometimes continued for some hours, and were listened to with the deepest attention. Consultations were held in every town of the tribe concerning the place which they should attack, and the time was fixed for assembling and setting off.

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*Religious Ceremonies of the Tupinambas. [From the same Work.]*

Once in the year the Payes visited every settlement. They sent notice of their coming, that the ways might be made clear before them. The women of the place



place which was to receive this visitation, went two and two through every house, confessing aloud all the offences which they had committed against their husbands, and demanding forgiveness for them; and when the Payes arrived they were received with song and dance. They pretended that a spirit which came to them from the remotest parts of the world, gave them power to make the Maraca answer questions and predict events. The house was cleared, the women and children excluded, and the men were then told to produce their maracas, adorned with red feathers, that they might receive the faculty of speech. The Payes sat at the head of the room, and fixed their own in the ground before them; near these the others were fixed, and every man made a present to the jugglers, that his might not be forgotten. This essential part of the business being performed, they fumigated them with *petun* through a long cane; the Paye then took up one, put it to his mouth, and bade it speak: a shrill feeble voice then seemed to proceed from it, which the savages believe to be the voice of the spirit, and the jugglers bade them go to war and conquer their enemies, for the spirits who inhabit the maracas delight to be satisfied with the flesh of prisoners. Every one then took up his oracle, called it his dear son, and carefully replaced it. The savages, from the Orinoco to the Plata, have no other visible object of worship.

On some occasions there is a greater ceremony, at which Jean De Lery happened once to be present. He and two other French-

men went early in the morning to a town of the Tupinambas, thinking to breakfast there. They found all the inhabitants, in number about six hundred, collected in the area: the men went into one house, the women into another, the boys into a third; the Payes ordered the women not to come out, but carefully to listen to the singing, and they put the Frenchmen with them. Presently a sound was heard from the house into which the men had retired; they were singing *He-he-he-he*, which the women in like manner repeated: the singing was not in a loud key at first, but they continued it a full quarter of an hour, till it became one long and dreadful yell, jumping the whole while, their breasts shaking, and foaming at the mouth: some of them fell down senseless, and De Lery believed they were actually possessed. The boys were making the same hideous howling by themselves; and the three Frenchmen were, as they well might be, in grievous consternation, not knowing what the devil might think proper to do next. After a short pause of silence, the men began to sing in the sweetest and most delightful tones; De Lery was so charmed, that he resolved to go and look at them; and though the women endeavoured to prevent him, and a Norman interpreter said that during seven years which he had passed among them he had never dared be present, he, relying upon his intimacy with some of the elders, went out and made a hole in the roof, through which he and his companions beheld the ceremony.

The men were disposed in three  
O o 2 distinct



distinct circles, one close to another. Every one leant forward, the right arm resting on the small of the back, the left hanging down straight; they shook the right leg, and in this attitude they danced and sung; their singing was wonderfully sweet, and at intervals they stamped with the right foot, and spat upon the ground. In the middle of each circle were three or four Payes, each holding a maraca in one hand, and a pipe, or rather hollow cane, with *petun* in the other; they rattled the oracles, and blew the smoke upon the men, saying, Receive the spirit of courage, that ye may conquer your enemies. This continued two hours. The song commemorated their ancestors; they mourned for them, but expressed a hope, that when they also were gone beyond the mountains, they should then rejoice and dance with them: it then denounced vengeance upon their enemies, whom the maraca had declared they should soon conquer and devour. The remainder of the song, if the Norman interpreter is to be credited, related to a rude tradition of the deluge.

The authority of their priests and oracles was, however, to be confirmed by other modes of divination. They consulted certain of their women who had been gifted with the power of predicting future events. The mode of conferring this power was thus: The Paye fumigated the aspirant with *petun*, then bade her cry as loud as she could, and jump, and after a while whirl round, still shouting; till she dropped down senselessly. When she recovered, he affirmed that she had been dead,

and he had brought her back to life, and from that time she was a cunning woman. When these women also had promised victory, the last appeal was to their dreams. If many of the tribe dreamt of eating their enemies, it was a sure sign of success; but if more dreamt that they themselves were eaten, the expedition was given up.

About the middle of August Konyan Bebe set out with thirty canoes, each carrying about eight-and-twenty men: Hans was taken with them; they were going towards Bertioaga, and meant to lie in wait and catch others, as they had caught him. Every one carried a rope girt round him, with which to bind the prisoners whom they should take. They were armed with a wooden weapon, called the *macana*: it was from five to six feet long; its head shaped like the bowl of a spoon, except that it was flat; this blade was about a foot wide in the widest part, about the thickness of the thumb in the middle, and brought to an edge all round. Such an implement, made of the iron-wood of Brazil, was not less tremendous than a battle-axe; and they wielded it so skilfully, that De Lery remarks, a Tupinamba thus armed would give two swordsmen enough to do. Their bows were of the same wood, which was either red or black, longer and thicker than what were used in Europe, nor could any European bend them. They used a plant, called *tocon*, for a string, which, though slender, was so strong, that a horse could not by fair pulling break it. Their arrows were above a full cloth-yard in



in length, and curiously constructed in three parts, the middle part being of reed, the two others of heavy hard wood; the feathers were fastened on with cotton; the head was either of bone, or it was a blade of dry reed cut into the shape of an old lancet, or the sting of a certain species of fish. They were incomparable archers;—with leave of the English, says De Lery, who are so excellent in this art, I must say, that a Tupinamba would shoot twelve arrows before an Englishman could let fly six. Fire-arms terrified them till they comprehended their nature; but when they learnt that the gun must be loaded before it could be fired, they thought little of such a weapon, saying they could dispatch six arrows while a gun was loaded once. Nor did they consider them as more destructive than their own shafts, against which no shield or breast-plate was of sufficient strength. In fact, fire-arms were not so deadly in their hands as they were when levelled against them. The French sold them gunpowder; but it was such gunpowder that when three savages filled a barrel to the brim, one held it, another aimed it, and a third applied the match, there was no danger that the gun would burst. Their shields were pieces of the anta's hide, about the size and shape of a drum-head. Their canoes were made of bark; they worked them standing holding the paddle in the middle, and pressing its broad blade back through the water: they made no haste; but took their pleasure as they went, and stopped to fish at the mouths of rivers, some blowing horns, others a rude trumpet form-

ed of a species of long gourd, others playing upon fifes which were made of the bones of their enemies.

When Konyan Bebe halted the first night, the maracas were produced; they rattled them, and danced till it was late, and then the chief bade them go and dream. Hans was ordered to dream too; but when he said there was no truth in dreams, he was desired to prevail upon God to let them take plenty of prisoners. At sunrise they breakfasted upon fish, and when that was done every one related his dream,—it may be supposed of what materials they were composed;—blood and slaughter, and cannibal banquets. Poor Hans was trembling with hope that they might meet the stronger expedition which the Tupiniquins were preparing, or that he might effect his escape when they reached the scene of action. Unhappily, instead of this, they fell in with five canoes from Bertioga, and after a hard chase came up with them. Hans knew all the ill-fated crew; there were six christian Mamalucos, as the mixed breed are called, among them. The Tupinambas, as they gained upon them, held up their fifes of human bone, and rattled their necklaces of human teeth, shouting and exulting with the certain hope of victory. Great as was the disparity of numbers, the Mamalucos kept off the enemy for two hours, till two of them being desperately wounded, and the others having expended their shot and their arrows, they were finally made prisoners.

The conquerors, as soon as they had secured their prey, rowed



back with might and main to the place where they had swung their hammocks the last night. Those prisoners who had been mortally wounded were then killed, and cut in pieces. Four forked stakes were driven into the ground, sticks were laid across, and on this they rather dried than broiled the flesh. This wooden frame was called the *boucan*; food thus smoked and dried was said to be buccaneered, and hence the origin of the name applied to that extraordinary race of freebooters who were so long the scourge of the Spaniards in South America. Two christians were slaughtered that night, Jorge Ferreira, son of the captain of Bertioga, and one Jeronymo, a kinsman to two of the other prisoners. When the cannibals were asleep, Hans went to the survivors: there were among them Diego and Domingos de Braga, two of the brethren who first settled at Bertioga, and he had been intimate with them. Their first question was, whether they were to be eaten. He had poor comfort to give; all he could say was, it was as God pleased, in whom and in his Son they must put their trust: it had pleased God to preserve him among the savages, as they perceived. They inquired for their kinsman, Jeronymo;—his body was then upon the *boucan*, and part of Ferreira had already been devoured. Upon this they began to weep. Hans told them they ought not to despair, seeing that he had been miraculously preserved for eight months; and he not very reasonably attempted to convince them, that, at the worst, it could not be so bad to them as it would have

been to him, for he was a stranger coming from a part of the world where there were no such cruel and barbarous customs, but they were born in Brazil, and used to it. He might have fled that night, but he remembered that his flight would provoke the Tupinambas to put their prisoners instantly to death; it was his duty therefore to await some other means of deliverance, because their escape was not impossible. It is greatly to his honour that he felt and acted thus. The next day he went into Konyan Bebe's tent, and asked him what he designed to do with the christians:--- to eat them was the answer;---they were fools to come with our enemies when they might have remained at home; and he forbade Hans to have any intercourse with them. Hans advised him to ransom them; this he refused. There was a basket full of human flesh beside him, from which he took a broiled thigh, and put it to Hans's mouth, asking him if he would eat; but Hans answered, that even beasts did not devour their own kind. The savage fixed his teeth in it, exclaiming, I am a tiger, and I like it.

Konyan Bebe gave order in the evening that all the prisoners should be produced. The captors formed a circle on a level piece of ground between the woods and the river, and placed them in the midst: the maracas were rattled, and they sung. When this was over, the Tupiniquins said, We came from our land like brave men, to attack ye our enemies, and kill ye and devour ye: the victory has been yours, and you have us in your hands. We care not;



not; brave men die valiantly in the land of their enemies. Our country is wide, and it is inhabited by warriors who will not let our deaths go unrevenge. The others made answer, You have taken and devoured many of our people, and now we will revenge them upon you. On the third day they reached their own border, divided the prisoners, and separated. Eight savages, and three of the surviving christians fell to the share of Uwattibi. The remaining flesh of the two who had been buccaneered was carried home to be reserved for a solemn feast; part of Jeronymo was hung over a fire in the house where Hans was an inmate, for three weeks. They would not take him to the ship till their feast was over, and before that time she sailed. He had now no other hope than the consolation which they gave him, that ships came every year. There came, however, a time when he was grateful to Providence for this merciful disappointment. This vessel had captured a Portugueze one in Rio de Janeiro, and given one of the prisoners to the savages to be devoured: the boat's crew belonged to her who had refused to take in Hans when he swam off to them, and the Norman interpreter who had advised the Tupinambas to eat him, embarked to return in her. It may be some satisfaction to the reader, as it was to Hans, to learn that the vengeance of God was upon them, and they perished in the sea.

Hans was now transferred to another master, a chief of the settlement called Tacwarasutibi. Before he left Uwattibi, he gave the Portugueze prisoners the best

directions he could which way to travel, if they could find means to fly. He was dismissed with an excellent character for predicting future events, healing diseases, and procuring fine weather; and received with the respect which such qualifications deserved. He told his new master that his brother was to come for him; and luckily in the course of a fortnight a gun was heard from the near harbour of Rio de Janeiro. He besought them to take him to the ship, but they were in no hurry. The captain, however, heard he was there, and sent two of his men to see in what manner he could be delivered from this wretched bondage. Hans told them that one of them must be his brother, and say that he had brought out goods for him, get permission for him to go on board and receive them, and feign that he must stay in the country till next year to collect a cargo for them, because he was now the friend of the Tupinambas.

The scheme was well laid and well executed. Hans and his master went on board, and remained there five days: the savage then asked for the goods, and wanted to return. Hans ordered them to be produced, declaring that he was ready to accompany him, but begged a little longer time to feast with his friends; and thus by plying him with meat and drink, they kept the chief on board till the ship had completed her cargo. Then, as they were on the point of sailing, the captain thanked this Tupinamba for having treated his countryman so kindly, and said that he had invited them there to give him pre-



sents in acknowledgment, and likewise to deliver other goods into Hans's care, that he might remain in the country as their factor and interpreter. But he had ten brothers on board, who could not bear to part with him now that they had recovered him. Ten of the crew played their parts well; they insisted that Hans should return to his own country, that their father might see his face before he died. Nothing could have been better contrived to effect his deliverance, and leave his master satisfied. The captain said he wished Hans would remain in the country, but these brethren of his were many in number, and he was but one. Hans himself said he would willingly stay, but his brothers would not let him. The honest Tupinamba and his wife wept over him, received a rich present of combs, knives, and looking-glasses, and departed perfectly well contented.

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*Beneficial Effects of Education, illustrated by Anecdotes of the Duke of Burgundy. [From Bausset's Life of Fenelon, translated by Mr. Mudford. Vol. I.]*

Louis XIV. saw the period approaching when the education of his grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, would require the cares of a tutor. A prince, who had always connected his own grandeur with the employment of men of talents, and who had appointed Montausier and Bossuet to be the governor and tutor of his son, was well qualified to make as good a choice for his grandson. In seeking a tutor for him he had only

one wish to accomplish, which was, to confide him to the care of the most virtuous man in his court; and he had the good fortune to find a man, possessing virtue and every other quality necessary to form a great prince. This man was the Duke de Beauvilliers.

This was a choice which none could condemn. The Duke de Beauvilliers was no less distinguished for the good qualities of his heart and mind than for his birth. He was originally intended for the church. He had married the second daughter of Colbert; and he had the rare felicity of finding, in his wife, an entire conformity of opinions and of taste relatively to the discharge of the highest duties of piety. In being appointed by Louis XIV. to be the governor of the Duke of Burgundy, his post became arduous and important. In fact, the duty of providing a good king for the French nation devolved upon him. But that modesty and simplicity which were inherent in his character rendered him diffident, rather than ambitious, of an employment, the difficulties and the delicacy of which he so accurately appreciated.

Louis XIV. when he fixed upon the Duke de Beauvilliers, wished to add, to so strong a proof of his confidence, every circumstance which could at all tend to confer upon it additional importance. With the exception, therefore, of the single place of valet-de-chambre, which he reserved as a recompence for the faithful services of a domestic (Moreau), who had attended the earliest infancy of the young prince with an unusual degree



degree of propriety and of probity, he left to the Duke de Beauvilliers the unconstrained disposal of all the other places, as well as the choice of the persons who were to superintend the education of the prince.

Louis XIV. had not hesitated for a moment as to whom he should select as a governor for his grandson; nor did M. de Beauvilliers hesitate a single moment as to the choice of a preceptor. He nominated Fenelon to that office on the 17th of August, 1689, the very day after he had received his own appointment. Fenelon knew not of his elevation. Bossuet heard of it on the 18th, while at his country house at Germigny; and, in the first warmth of his joy, he wrote to the Marchioness of Laval, that letter which does both him and its object so much honour. It is here copied from the original, in the hand-writing of Bossuet:—

“Yesterday, madam, I was wholly occupied with the welfare of the church and the state; to-day, that I have had more leisure to reflect upon the cause of your joy, I am myself rejoiced. The marquis, your father, who was so sincere and meritorious a friend, presents himself to my mind. I picture to myself how he would feel on this occasion, at the illustrious dawn of that merit which has been hidden with so much care. In short, madam, we shall not lose the Abbé de Fenelon: you can enjoy him; and I, though a provincial, shall escape from here now and then to visit him. Accept, I entreat you, the testimonies of my joy, and the assur-

ances of that respect with which I am, madam, your most humble

“And most obdient servant,

“J. BENIGNE,  
Bishop of Meaux.”

“*Germigny, Aug. 19, 1689.*”

Madame de Maintenon frequently used to say, that she had contributed towards the nomination of the Abbé de Fenelon as preceptor to the Duke of Burgundy; and perhaps, indeed, connected as she was with the Duke de Beauvilliers, the new governor had taken the precaution to secure her approbation as a necessary preliminary to obtaining the sanction of the king. For it might be feared that Louis XIV. would retain some prejudices against Fenelon since the time when he was prevailed upon, by injurious reports, to refuse his being nominated to the bishopric of Poitiers and to that of Rochelle.

The choice of the new governor and preceptor was no sooner made public than all France resounded with applause. Yet this choice had fallen upon two individuals, of whom the one, though obliged, by his situation, to reside at court, lived there, however, in close retirement; and the other possessed no other title than that of superior of a convent of women. But the one, in spite of his modesty, could not elude renown; and the other had disclosed, unconsciously, the secret of his character and genius in two works, whose primary object it was to be useful to religion and to friendship.

But, in the midst of all those applauses, and of all those honourable and flattering testimonies of admiration, in the midst of all the  
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bustle of courtiers, of that delight which is often excited in the public, by an unexpected prosperity and a premature elevation; in the midst of the most sincere praises which this splendid triumph of virtue drew forth from the mouth of every friend of religion and of his country, one solemn, one austere voice was heard; a voice, which the heart of Fenelon had been accustomed to interrogate with docility for many years. It came, to guard him against the dangerous ebriety of success, and to recall his mind to serious reflections upon the duties and the dangers of his new condition. M. Tronson wrote to him the following letter:—

*“ August, 1689.*

“ You will perhaps be surprised, sir, at not finding me among the crowd of those who have felicitated you upon the recent mark of royal favour which has been bestowed upon you. But I entreat you, very humbly, not to condemn me for this little delay: I thought, that on an occasion which so greatly interested me, I could not do better than to commence, by adoring the designs of God towards you, and to implore for you the continuation of his mercies. I have endeavoured to do both according to the best of my ability; and I can assure you, that I felt afterwards a sincere joy in reflecting that you had been chosen.

“ The king has given, in this choice, a proof of his piety, and a striking testimony of his discernment; and these are surely very consolatory truths. The education which his majesty has

thought fit to confide to your care has such an important connection with the welfare of the state, and the good of the church, that every sincere lover of his country must unfeignedly rejoice that it is committed into such hands; but I very candidly confess to you, that my joy is considerably mingled with uneasiness, when I consider the perils to which you are exposed; for it cannot be denied, that in the ordinary course of events our elevation only renders our salvation more difficult. It opens the door to the dignities of the earth; but we should tremble lest it shuts us out from the eternal greatness of heaven. It is true, you may perform much good in your present situation; but you may also become guilty of great crimes. There can be no medium in such a post; the good or the bad success has, almost always, unceasing results. You are in a country where the Gospel of Jesus Christ is hardly known, and where they, who do know it, use it only as a means of recommendation among men.—You live now among persons whose language is pagan, and whose example leads too often towards things that are perilous. You will behold yourself surrounded by a variety of objects which flatter the senses, and which are only calculated for awakening the most dormant passions. A more than ordinary degree of grace, and an uncommon portion of faith, must be necessary to enable you to resist such violent and such seducing temptations. The dark mists which cloud the moral atmosphere of a court, are capable of obscuring the plainest and most evident truths. It is not  
necessary



necessary to remain there long before we learn to consider, as unnatural and excessive, those very truths which had been so often felt, and so often acknowledged, when they have meditated at the foot of the cross. The most established duties of life become gradually either doubtful or impracticable. A thousand occasions will present themselves, in which you will consider yourself as bound by prudence, and even by benevolence, to concede something to the world; and yet, what a strange state it is for a christian to be in, and still more for a priest, to behold himself obliged to enter into a compact with the enemy of his salvation! Truly, sir, your post is a dangerous one: confess, with sincerity, that it will be a difficult task to remain unweakened, and that it will require a most consummate virtue to resist temptation. If ever the study and meditation of the sacred writings have been needful to you, they are now so in an especial manner. Hitherto you have needed only to cultivate virtuous thoughts, and to nourish the love of truth; but henceforth you will have to shield yourself from evil impressions, and to avoid falsehood. It is certainly of the greatest consequence to you, that you forget not the hour of your death; that hour, when all the glory of the world will disappear as a dream, and when every creature in it, who may have been your support, will sink from beneath you.

“Your friends, no doubt, will console you, because you have not sought your employment; and this indeed is a source of just consolation, and a great mercy of God

towards you; but you must not rest too much upon it. We have often more to do with our own elevation than we are aware of. It is very seldom that we see the path which conducts to it, and that we fly from it with sincerity. Few persons have arrived at this degree of self-denial. We do not, indeed, always seek for our promotion with our usual eagerness; but, at the same time, we seldom fail to remove the obstacles which are in our way: we do not, perhaps, solicit very urgently those persons who might be able to serve us; but we are not sorry when we exhibit ourselves to them under the most favourable aspect; and it is precisely to those minute discoveries of human qualities, that we may attribute the commencement of our preferment; and thus, no person can be quite certain that he has not influenced his own promotion. This way of evincing the talents which we possess is often done without much reflection; yet it should be avoided, and it is always useful to obviate its effects by contrition and humility.

“Perhaps you will consider this letter as being somewhat too free, and a little too long; or, you may probably regard it as a sermon injudiciously made, instead of a judicious compliment. I should certainly have been more laconic and more reserved, if I had been less anxious about your salvation. Read it as the language of my heart, which cannot be otherwise than tenderly interested about your real welfare. I entreat you to believe that I shall unceasingly implore God to fill you with an inviolable love of him, in order  
that



that no temptation may change or weaken the pious sentiments with which he will inspire you. Such is the prayer made by the church to obtain the love of God for its children.

“ I am, with respect, &c.”

Fenelon was worthy of hearing such language, dictated by the best and most tender motives. He retraced in it all those principles in which he had been brought up, and which had been so useful in regulating his conduct. But this paternal voice must have awakened in him painful recollections. Of the three persons who had guided his infancy and his youth, M. Tronson was the only one that now remained. His uncle, the Marquis de Fenelon, had been dead since the year 1683; but he had to mourn a much more recent loss in the death of his other uncle, the Bishop of Sarlat, who died on the 1st of May, in 1688, in the eighty-third year of his age. There can be no doubt that two relations, so affectionate and so pious, and who had been as a father to their nephew, would have experienced the highest gratification in seeing all France applaud a choice which has justified their cares and their hopes; and Fenelon himself must have regretted that he had lost such tender witnesses of the purity of his intentions, and such useful guides to secure him from the rocks which now threatened his course.

The Duke de Beauvilliers had too much esteem for Fenelon, and too much confidence in him, to wish otherwise than that he should be perfectly free in the nomination of those who should act un-

der him in educating the young prince. The Abbé de Langeron was therefore appointed reader; he was one of the oldest of Fenelon's friends, and he deserved to be so. The Abbé Fleury was made sub-preceptor; of such a choice we need not mention the propriety. All his works are impressed with the qualities of his heart and genius. His virtue obtained the veneration of his contemporaries, and his name is still pronounced with esteem, in an age different from the one in which he lived. He knew by experience how to educate, and well educate, princes. Previously to his being called to his situation about the Duke of Burgundy, he had been entrusted with the instruction of the Prince of Conti and the Count of Vermandois. The death of the latter, in 1683, had restored the Abbé Fleury to the freedom of his own studies; but his first desire was to be useful to the church; and when, in 1685, Fenelon was charged with the missions of Poitou, he called upon Fleury, and Fleury attended at his call. The more Fenelon knew him, the more he learned to love and esteem him; and he considered it as a fortunate circumstance with regard to himself, and an invaluable advantage to the Duke of Burgundy, the concurrence of such an assistant towards such an education.

The Abbé de Beaumont, the son of a sister of Fenelon, was also associated with him in the capacity of sub-preceptor. His zeal and his assiduity sufficiently evinced that he was not influenced by motives of personal consideration. He was ten years the sub-preceptor



preceptor of the grandson of Louis XIV. without receiving, and without soliciting, the smallest mark of his favour. Included in the proscription of Fenelon, he had the glory of participating in his misfortunes, his exile, and in his labours.

All the persons who were concerned in the education of the young prince, entered upon their office in the month of September, 1689. Fenelon was then in his thirty-eighth year, and the Duke de Beauvilliers was in his forty-first.

There never was an instance, and perhaps there never will be again, of such a unanimity as reigned between all the persons about the Duke of Burgundy. They seemed to have but one heart, one mind, and one soul, and this soul was that of Fenelon.

Such was the extraordinary charm of Fenelon, and the irresistible ascendancy which he obtained over every one who approached him, that neither difference of age, nor pre-eminence of rank and titles, nor even the superiority of talents and knowledge in those branches of science with which he was unacquainted, were able to prevent his friends from becoming his disciples, and from interrogating him as an oracle, which was invested with an authority to direct all their thoughts and all their actions. Such is the character of him as it is delivered down to us by his contemporaries; and their testimony is the less likely to be partial, as it proceeded from persons, whom difference of opinion, or a certain malignity of mind, would incline to judge Fenelon with severity.

The Chancellor D'Aguesseau has given us, in his *Memoirs of the Life of his Father*, the following interesting portrait of Fenelon:—

“The Archbishop of Cambrai was one of those uncommon men who are destined to give lustre to their age, and who do equal honour to human nature by their virtues, and to literature by their superior talents. He was affable in his deportment and luminous in his discourse, the peculiar qualities of which were a rich, delicate, and a powerful imagination, but which never let its power be felt. His eloquence had more of mildness in it than vehemence, and he triumphed as much by the charms of his conversation as by the superiority of his talents. He always brought himself to the level of his company; he never disputed, and appeared to yield to others at the very time that he was leading them. Grace dwelt upon his lips; he seemed to discuss the greatest subjects with facility; the most trifling were ennobled by his pen; and upon the most barren topics he scattered the flowers of rhetoric. A noble singularity pervaded his whole person; and a certain indefinable and sublime simplicity gave to his appearance the air of a prophet. The peculiar, but unaffected mode of expression which he adopted, made many persons believe that he possessed universal knowledge as if by inspiration: it might, indeed, have been almost said that he rather invented what he knew than learned it. He was always original and creative; imitating no one, and himself inimitable. His talents, which had been long hid-

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den in obscurity, and not much known at court even at the time when he was employed upon the mission of Poitou, burst forth at length, in consequence of the king's choice of him to educate his grandson, the Duke of Burgundy. The theatre was not too spacious for the actor; and, if his predilection for the mystics had not developed the secret of his heart and the weakness of his mind, there could have been no situation to which public opinion would not have destined him, nor any which would not have appeared inferior to his talents."

A man, much more severe than the Chancellor D'Aguesseau; a man, whose misanthropy and satirical character naturally inclined him to censure rather than to praise; the Duke de St. Simon, the most observing of courtiers, and the most bitter of historians, represents Fenelon to us in the same colours.

He describes him as being "gifted with a natural, a mild, and a florid eloquence; with persuasive politeness, but yet dignified and discriminating; and with a fluent, perspicuous, and agreeable power of conversation, which was combined with that precision so necessary for rendering the most complicated and abstract subjects intelligible. He was a man who always appeared to have just as much mind as the persons he might be conversing with; he stooped to their level, but without appearing to do it: this put them at their ease, and excited in them a lively sentiment of delight, so that they could neither quit him, nor, when absent, help returning to his company. To this rare talent, which he pos-

sessed in a remarkable degree, we must attribute the steady fidelity of his friends, who remained attached to him all his life, even after his fall, and which, when they were scattered through society, re-assembled them together to speak of him, to wish for him, and to attach themselves to him more devotedly."

The celebrity of Fenelon was such, that it obtained for him, at court, several distinctions to which his birth gave him claim, but which could not be said to belong to his situation as preceptor. Louis XIV. granted him permission to eat at the same table with the Duke of Burgundy, and to ride in the same carriage with him. These, indeed, were distinctions which could add nothing to the intrinsic merit of Fenelon, and we may easily believe that he grounded no pretensions of superiority upon them over Bossuet, to whom similar honours had not been accorded; nor could Bossuet the less esteem Fenelon, or envy him for distinctions which resulted merely from the accident of birth. We should not, perhaps, have recorded so trifling an event, were it not to shew how minutely Louis XIV., who possessed so eminently the art of reigning, attended to the maintenance of those honorary distinctions, the absence of which can humiliate no reasonable mind, and which discharges the gratitude of the sovereign without costing any thing to the people. It was with this money of opinion that a king of France rewarded the blood and services of those ancient families, "who," as Montesquieu says, "not being able to acquire wealth, hoped for honours, and,



who consoled themselves for not having obtained the one by reflecting that they had acquired the other."

Fenelon was fully impressed with the magnitude and importance of his office. The idea of educating a king, the king too of a monarchy, which had obtained its highest point of splendour, and the almost absolute master of twenty millions of men, whose welfare or misery was connected with the virtues or the vices, the energy or the weakness, the talents or the incapacity, of the sovereign, must, while it exalted his imagination, communicate an involuntary terror to his mind. His own age, that of the king, and that of the young prince, must also have impressed him with the idea that he was, perhaps, destined to receive the gratitude or the reproaches of many generations.

Whatever confidence he might possess in the purity of his own intentions, in his talents, in his character, and in the fortunate concurrence of all those means, and that assistance which he saw united with him, yet he could not be without some alarm, lest he might have to contend with an untoward nature, which would countervail all his efforts. Perhaps he might have to infuse a soul, a mind, a character, into a lifeless statue; to extirpate the germs of those vices which had been fostered by the interests and passions of individuals; and to restrain the imagination of a child, whom every thing combined to impress with an idea of his present greatness, and of the power which awaited him in the future.

Fenelon had also before his eyes the father of his pupil. He was a mild and good prince; but his character, equally remote from virtue and from vice, partaking neither of good nor bad, insensible to glory, to the sciences, and to the arts, promised to France little else than an obscure and doubtful reign: yet this prince was the son of Louis XIV. and the pupil of Bossuet and Montausier. But neither of these preceptors had to struggle with alarming dispositions of nature; with an untameable character, a disgusting pride, irritable desires, and all those violent passions which native vigour of mind, and an extreme aptitude to acquire every thing that can be acquired, might render fatal to the happiness of mankind. For such is the picture of the Duke of Burgundy, as unanimously transmitted to us by all historians; and such was the prince that Fenelon had to educate. It cannot be supposed, indeed, that a child of seven years old was capable of exhibiting such decided marks of character as are above portrayed; yet, from his earliest infancy, and during the first five years of his education, he gave indications of every thing that was to be feared from him; for, they who have boasted, with admiration, of what he afterwards became, yet could not but remember, with a sort of terror, what he once had been.

"The Duke of Burgundy," says M. de St. Simon, "was by nature formidable, and in his earliest youth gave cause for terror. He was unfeeling, and irritable to the last excess, even against inanimate objects. He was furiously



ously impetuous, and incapable of enduring the least opposition, even of time and the elements, without bursting forth into such intemperate rage, that it was sometimes to be feared the very veins in his body would burst; this excess I have frequently witnessed. His obstinacy was beyond all bounds; he was passionately addicted to every kind of pleasure; to the luxuries of the table; to the chase with extraordinary avidity; music he delighted in with a sort of ecstasy; he was also fond of play, but he could not endure to be conquered, and they who played with him ran much risk. In short, he was the prey of every passion, and the slave of every pleasure: he was often ferocious, and naturally inclined to cruelty. In his raillery he was unfeeling, employing the force of ridicule with a precision which completely overwhelmed the object; inordinately proud, he looked upon men only as atoms with whom he had no sort of similarity whatever. Even the princes, his brothers, scarcely seemed, in his estimation, to form an intermediate link between himself and the rest of mankind, though it had always been studiously endeavoured to educate all three of them with perfect equality. But the brilliancy of his mind and his penetration were at all times evident, and even in his moments of greatest violence. His replies created astonishment in all who heard them: his observations were never without justness, even in his most fierce anger; the most abstract branches of knowledge cost him little trouble to acquire; the extent and vigour of his mind were prodigious, and

prevented him from steady and individual application."

Such was the prince who was confided to Fenelon. There was every thing to be feared from such a character, and every thing to be hoped from a soul possessing such energy. Let us hear, once more, St. Simon.

"So much mind, and such power of mind, joined to such sensibility, and to such passions; every quality, in fact, partaking of such ardour, must necessarily have rendered his education no easy process. The Duke of Beauvilliers, who was fully aware of its difficulties and its consequences, surpassed even himself in his application, his patience, and the variety of his remedies. Fenelon, Fleury, and the other persons connected with his education, were all brought into action; and they all, with one accord, acted under the instructions of the duke, whose plan, were it minutely detailed, would furnish a curious and interesting work. The prodigy was, that in a very short time grace and devotion transformed him into quite another man, and changed such fearful vices into perfectly opposite virtues. From that abyss issued a prince, who was affable, mild, humane, moderate, patient, modest, humble, and austere towards himself; wholly occupied with his future obligations in life, which he felt to be great, and thinking only of uniting the duties of the son and the subject with those which he saw himself destined afterwards to fulfil."

But what incessant vigilance, what art, what industry, what skill, what variety in the means adopted,



adopted, and what delicacy of observation must have concurred to produce such an extraordinary alteration in the character of a child, of a prince, and of an heir to a throne! Nay, had not his tutors been the most virtuous of men; if their pupil, possessed as he was of such intellectual perspicacity, had discovered in them the smallest appearance of weakness or tergiversation, all their skill, all their care, and all their assiduity, would have been ineffectual. They were, in fact, less indebted for their success to their genius and their talents, than to their virtues and their dispositions.

Fenelon soon perceived, that that part of education which generally excited the greatest zeal in teachers, and the most self-love in parents, was what would give him the least trouble. He foresaw that his pupil, possessing from nature such rare gifts of mind, would make a rapid progress in every branch of knowledge: but the most difficult task would be to subdue that fiery soul which he possessed; to preserve all its noble and generous qualities, and to extirpate all its undue passions: to form, in fact, a new moral being; to form a prince, such as the genius of Fenelon had conceived, for the welfare of human nature. He wished, indeed, to realize upon the throne an ideal beauty of virtue, as the artists of antiquity endeavoured to impress upon their works that ideal beauty, which gave to the human form a celestial appearance.

The child that was confided to the care of Fenelon was destined to reign; and Fenelon saw in that child the whole of France

awaiting its happiness or misery, from the success or failure of his endeavours. To obtain this success, he prescribed to himself no precise rule of action; he watched each moment the dispositions of the young prince, and followed, with a calm and patient attention, all the variations of his intemperate nature, and always extracted the lesson from the fault itself.

Such an education consisted rather in action than in instruction. The pupil never could anticipate what was to be his lesson, because he could not anticipate what faults he might commit; and thus advice and censure became the necessary result of his own excesses.

They who wish to know the method which Fenelon adopted in educating his pupil, may read his Fables and Dialogues which he wrote for him. Each of these fables, each of these dialogues, was composed at the very moment when the preceptor judged it necessary to remind his pupil of some fault which he had committed, and to inculcate at the same time the necessity and the means of amendment.

These fables and dialogues have been printed, but without any attention to a consecutive series. Such an attention, indeed, was not necessary. Fenelon composed them without order; and yet it would be easy to ascertain their chronology (so to speak) by comparing them with the gradual progress which age and instruction must have produced in the education of the Duke of Burgundy. It is immediately discernible that these fables and dialogues relate only to a prince, and to a prince



destined to ascend the throne. Every thing in them is made to connect itself with this almost exclusive object. The precision, the simplicity, and the perspicuity of some of these fables, which were probably the first that were written, evince that they were addressed to a child whose mind should not be overburthened, and to whom such things only should be presented as could easily be apprehended. Others possess a more elevated character; and they contain allusions to history and mythology, according as the young prince became better able to comprehend and to apply them.

The fables which Fenelon wrote for the Duke of Burgundy, had almost always an allusion to some circumstance that had previously happened, and the impression of which being yet fresh upon his mind, he could not mistake the application. They formed a mirror in which he could not help beholding himself, and in which he sometimes appeared in a manner little gratifying to his self-love. But then, the tenderest wishes, the mildest hopes were added to these humiliating pictures, lest the child should naturally imbibe an aversion to a species of instruction which merely recalled to him painful recollections, or which contained severe reproaches. It was thus, with such delicate propriety, and with such imperceptible advances, that Fenelon gradually rendered his pupil susceptible of the first dictates of reason, and of the first lessons of virtue.

But it was not in the power of Fenelon to subdue, all at once, so

imperious a character. It too often resisted the paternal hand which sought to restrain its impetuosity.

When the young prince broke forth into those violent excesses of passion which were so habitual to him, the governor, the preceptor, the sub-preceptor, the gentlemen in waiting, and all the servants in the house, concerted together to preserve towards him the most profound silence. They avoided answering any of his questions; they waited upon him with averted looks; or if they directed their eyes towards him, it was with an expression of fear, as if they dreaded to be in the company of a being, who had degraded himself by bursts of rage which were incompatible with reason. They appeared to attend to him only from that kind of humiliating compassion which is shewn towards persons who are insane. They merely performed those offices about him which seemed to be simply necessary for the preservation of his miserable existence. They took from him all his books and all his means of instruction, as if they would be henceforth useless to him, being reduced to such a deplorable state. They then left him to himself, to his own reflections, to his own regret, and to his own remorse. Struck with such an entire desertion, and the distressing solitude to which he was consigned, the penitent prince convinced of his fault, was eager to fly once more to the indulgence and goodness of his preceptor. He threw himself at his feet, confessed his errors, and declared his firm resolution of avoiding them in future; and he watered with his



his tears the hands of Fenelon, who pressed him to his bosom with the tender affection of a father, compassionate, and always open to the repenting child.

In these violent contests between an impetuous disposition and a premature reason, the young prince seemed distrustful of himself, and he summoned honour in aid to his promises. The originals of two contracts of honour which he placed in the hands of Fenelon are yet extant. They are as follow :

“ I promise, on the faith of a prince, to M. the Abbé de Fenelon, to do immediately whatever he shall order me ; and to obey him the moment he forbids me to do any thing. If I fail in this, I will consent to any kind of punishment and dishonour. Done at Versailles, the 29th of November, 1689.

(Signed) “ LOUIS.”  
“ who promises again, to keep his word better. This 20th of Sept. I entreat M. de Fenelon to take care of it.”

The prince, who subscribed to these engagements of honour, was only eight years old, and he already felt the force of those magic words, “ the faith of a prince, &c.”

Fenelon himself was not always secure from the exacerbations of his pupil. We have an account of the manner in which he conducted himself on a very delicate occasion. The effect which he deduced from it was a lesson to the Duke of Burgundy, which no time could efface from his heart and mind. The conduct of

Fenelon, in this affair, may serve as a model to all those who have to exercise the same functions towards the children of princes and noblemen.

Fenelon saw himself compelled to speak to his pupil with an authority, and even a severity, which the nature of his offence required ; but the young prince replied, “ No no, sir ; I know who you are, and who I am.” Fenelon answered not a word ; he felt that the moment was not arrived, and that in the present disposition of his pupil he would be unfit to listen to him. He appeared, therefore, to meditate in silence, and contented himself with shewing how deeply he was hurt, by the seriousness and solemnity of his deportment.

On the following morning, the Duke of Burgundy was hardly awake when Fenelon entered his room. He would not wait until the usual hour of meeting, in order that every thing he had to say to him might appear more marked, and strike more powerfully the imagination of the young prince. Fenelon addressed him with a cold and respectful seriousness, very different from his usual manner.

“ I know not, sir,” said he to him, “ whether you recollect what you said to me yesterday, that ‘ you knew who you were, and who I am.’ It is my duty to inform you, that you are ignorant of both one and the other. You fancy, sir, I suppose, that you are greater than I am ; some servants, no doubt, have told you so ; but I, I do not fear to tell you, since you force me to it, that I am



greater than you are. You will easily understand that I do not mean to speak of superiority of birth. You would regard that man as mad, who should aspire to any merit, because the rains of heaven had fertilized his field, and had not watered his neighbour's. But, you yourself, would not be much wiser if you sought to derive any importance from your birth, which can add nothing to your personal merit. You cannot doubt that I am far above you in knowledge and in mind. You know nothing but what I have taught you; and what I have taught you, is nothing compared to what I could have taught you. As to authority, you have none over me, but, on the contrary, I have an unbounded authority over you. This you have often been told by the king, and the prince, your father. You think, perhaps, that I account myself happy in being appointed to educate you; but undeceive yourself, sir: I undertook the office only in obedience to the king's commands, and to please your father; not for the laborious advantage of being your preceptor; and, in order to convince you of this, I am now come to conduct you to his majesty, and to beg of him to appoint you another tutor, whose endeavours I hope will be more successful than mine have been."

The Duke of Burgundy, whom a whole night, passed in painful reflections and self-reproach, added to the cold and formal deportment of Fenelon had overwhelmed with grief, was astonished at this declaration. He loved Fenelon with all the tenderness of a son; and

besides his own self-love, and a delicate deference towards public opinion, made him immediately anticipate what would be thought of him, if a preceptor, of Fenelon's merit, should be forced to renounce his education. He burst into tears, while his sighs, his shame, scarcely permitted him to utter these words:—"Oh, sir! I am sincerely sorry for what passed yesterday; if you speak to the king, I shall lose his friendship;—if you desert me, what will be thought of me? I promise,——I promise you, that you shall be content with me;——but promise me——"

Fenelon would promise nothing: he left him the whole day in a state of anxiety and uncertainty. It was not until he was well convinced of the sincerity of his repentance, that he appeared to yield to fresh supplications, and to the entreaties of Madame de Maintenon, whom he had persuaded to interfere in the business, in order to confer upon it more effect and solemnity. It was thus, by continual observation, patience, and care, that Fenelon was gradually enabled to subdue the violent disposition of his pupil, and to calm his intemperate passions. To this important object, both he and M. de Beauvilliers directed all their efforts, and they were amply rewarded by their success.

The literary education of the Duke of Burgundy caused but little trouble. The precocity of his intellect, and the brilliancy of his imagination, gave him an aptitude for acquiring whatever it was wished he should acquire. In looking over the papers which have passed into my hands, I could not



not behold, without emotion, all the different fragments in the hand-writing of Fenelon and of the Duke of Burgundy, and which formed the first endeavours towards his literary instruction.

At that time there were few elementary books of education, if we except some that had been produced by the Messieurs de Port-Royal, and Fenelon did not consider it as derogatory to his genius or to his situation, as preceptor, to draw up, with his own hands, such introductory works as were necessary. He even compiled a sort of dictionary of the Latin language, which exhibited the definitions of each word, and the degree of affinity which they had to the French word that was to be translated. And this dictionary he composed under the eyes of his pupil, and during the time of the lesson. This mutual labour served to excite the attention. Sometimes Fenelon pretended to seek for a word, which he knew was not yet effaced from the memory of the pupil, and the pupil triumphed in the idea of being able to suggest to his master a more accurate or a more felicitous expression.

Fenelon, however, never forgot that this pupil was the heir to a throne. Hence, he always contrived to take his themes and versions from mythology, which he considered as a pleasing embellishment of the mind, or from some events of modern or ancient history, which he judiciously turned to his moral instruction. He particularly endeavoured to mingle with them the most remarkable facts of sacred history. He thus fixed deeply in the heart of the

young prince, those important duties of religion, which can alone repress the pride of kings, and interpose a check upon the abuse of absolute power: and thus, while he appeared to be instructing him in merely human science, he familiarized him, in fact, with that knowledge which is intimately combined with religion and public morals.

After having given to his pupil models of composition, he excited him to elicit subjects of the same kind from his own imagination, and to discuss them with such materials only as could be within his power, from the natural progress of years and instruction. Many of these attempts are yet extant, and they display more connection of ideas than would be supposed to belong to a child of his age. Some of them are fables, and others themes and versions.

It must not be supposed, however, that the vanity of self-love induced the preceptors of the Duke of Burgundy to exact from him performances which were beyond his age and power to produce; nor did they wish to make his education remarkable for a premature degree of success which would exalt their own skill and labour. Fenelon himself relates (after the death of the young prince), “that he was always careful to make him relinquish his studies whenever he shewed any inclination for discourse, or when he could acquire useful knowledge, and this often happened. There was still time enough for study, for he was naturally inclined to it; but his preceptor had also to give him a taste for rational conversation, that he might become sociable;



and to accustom him to contemplate and to know mankind as they appeared in society. In these conversations his mind continued to make a perceptible progress upon questions of literature and politics, and even of metaphysics. All the evidences of religion were also made to form a part, by a natural and easy transition. His character was meliorated by these conversations: he became tranquil, affable, gay, and interesting; every one was delighted with him: he had no haughtiness, and he was more entertained than with his own childish amusements, for, during them, he was often angry without a cause."

It was during the pleasing familiarity of these conversations that he used sometimes to say, "I have left the Duke of Burgundy behind the door, and now I am only little Louis with you." These were remarkable words in the mouth of a child only nine years of age: they shewed how sensible he was of the rank to which he was born, even at the very moment when he wished it to be forgotten.

"He has frequently said to us," adds Fenelon, "that he should never forget the delight which he felt in being permitted to study without constraint. He has often desired to be read to during his meals, such was his fondness for whatever he needed to learn. I never knew a child who understood with such celerity, and with so much propriety, the most refined parts of poetry and eloquence. He conceived, without any difficulty, the most abstract principles: whenever he saw me doing any thing for him, he always be-

gan to do the same, and continued at it without being bidden so to do."

This young prince entered with such enthusiasm into the situations and feelings of those persons with whom he became acquainted in the course of his reading, that Fenelon delighted to recall, after the death of his pupil, the first emotions that had agitated his youthful bosom. "I have seen," says he, in his letter to the French Academy, "I have seen a young prince of eight years old, filled with terror, as he contemplated the danger of Joas; I have seen him angry because the high-priest concealed from him his name and his birth; I have seen him weep bitterly as he heard these lines:—

Ah! miseram Eurydicen anima fugiente  
vocat,  
Eurydicen toto referebant flumine ripæ.

When we consider the premature intellectual powers of the Duke of Burgundy, we shall not be surprised to learn, that in his tenth year he was able to write elegantly in Latin, to translate the most difficult authors with a precision and with a felicity of style which astonished every one; that he could explain Horace, Virgil, and the Metamorphoses of Ovid; and feel all the beauties of Cicero's Orations. At eleven years, he had read the whole of Livy; he had translated the Commentaries of Cæsar, and begun a translation of Tacitus, which he afterwards finished, but which was subsequently lost.

It would be difficult to believe an account which appears to be so exaggerated, if the Abbé Fleury, whose candour and simplicity are well



well known, and who, in the quality of sub-preceptor, had concurred to produce these miracles of education, had not himself attested, "that he never saw, in any one, so quick an apprehension, so vast and so correct a memory, so just a judgment, and so brilliant and so fruitful an imagination. His, indeed, was a mind of the first order; it did not rest satisfied with superficial attainments; he explored fully whatever he undertook; his curiosity was boundless; and, at the commencement, when his extreme vivacity prevented him from adhering to prescribed rules, he accomplished what he wished by the power of his genius."

In conducting the religious education of the Duke of Burgundy, Fenelon directed his attention to several works, the very names of which would perhaps excite a smile of contempt upon the countenance of a modern preceptor, were they mentioned to him as being fit for the perusal of a young prince. These were the select letters of St. Jerome, of St. Augustine, of St. Cyprian, and of St. Ambrose. Yet, he who recommended this course of study was Fenelon, whom no one will accuse of being unacquainted with the pleasures of profane literature, nor of having neglected to render his pupil acquainted with them.

But Fenelon knew, that as religion was the only check upon kings, it was for the welfare of the people, as well as for that of the monarch, to display it to them in the writings of those great men, who have illustrated it by their knowledge as well as by

their virtues. Towards this important object, therefore, Fenelon directed his most zealous endeavours; and he was seconded in the noble task by a man, who was, of all others, the most worthy and the most capable of producing the desired effect. Religion itself could not select a more blameless, or a more enlightened interpreter than the Abbé Fleury.

Fenelon wished that the religion of the Duke of Burgundy should be such as to secure him from the sophisms of impiety, and the illusions of superstitious credulity. He wished to form a prince who should be deeply sensible of his dependance on a being more powerful than the most powerful of kings. He wished that this prince should never cease to recollect that awful day of account, when he must render a faithful statement of his conduct, and when his own subjects will be admitted as witnesses, as accusers, and as victims of his injustice.

To accomplish this virtuous object, Fenelon strove to awaken and to cherish in the soul of his pupil, sentiments that were truly religious, and to accustom him to those sacred practices and duties which religion prescribes. Experience sufficiently shews, that without the habitual performance of these practices, the very idea of God will be lost in the midst of the turbulent passions and pleasures of life, and the remembrance of him will be reduced to a vain theory, which never reaches the heart, which has no influence upon morals, and which opposes no check of sufficient efficacy to the abuses of power.

When Fenelon was convinced,  
P p 4 that



that the Duke of Burgundy was qualified, by the progress of his reason and of his theological attainments, to receive the sacrament with that faith and piety which the church demands, he allowed him to communicate. We have found among his manuscripts the original of the following speech, which Fenelon addressed to the Duke of Burgundy on this occasion :

“ The day which you have so long and so ardently desired, sir, has at length arrived; a day which ought to influence every other one of your life, and even that of your death. Your Saviour approaches you now under the appearance of familiar food, that he may nourish your soul, even as bread daily nourishes your body. To you it will appear only as a piece of common bread; but the grace of God is hidden in it, and will manifest itself to your faith. Say to him as Isaiah said, *Vere tu es Deus absconditus*. He is a God who conceals himself from love; he hides his glory, lest our weak sight should be dazzled, and in order that we may approach him more easily; you will find there the hidden manna of various fragrance, and containing every celestial virtue. You will eat the bread which surpasses all material substance; it will not assimilate to you, vile and mortal man, but you will assimilate to it, becoming thus a living member of Christ. May faith and love render you sensible of the gift of God; *Gustate, et videte quoniam suavis est Dominus*. ”

This ceremony was of advantage to the whole court, and the Duke of Burgundy received from

it the impression of a sincere and well-grounded piety. During all his after life, he sought, in frequently communicating, that aid and consolation which princes need more than other men, to enable them to support the evils and the miseries which lie hidden beneath the exterior pomp of their station. Contemporary writers relate, that the Duke of Burgundy used “ to communicate, at least twice a month, and always with that solemnity and self-abasement which struck every one who was present, and always, in the habiliments of the order of the Holy Ghost,” as if to render a more sacred homage to the greatness of that God whom he adored.

But religion was not merely an outward ceremony in the Duke of Burgundy. It had a visible and real influence upon his conduct. Fenelon, indeed, had so meliorated his violent nature by its aid, that he could in an instant command to silence his most imperious caprices, by only pronouncing the name of God. He relates, in a letter to father Martineau, that “ one day, when the prince was in a very bad humour, and was striving to conceal the truth of something which he had done, he urged him to disclose it before God: this made him very angry, and he exclaimed, ‘ Why do you ask me about it before God? Very well: since you do ask it thus, I cannot deny that I did do such a thing.’ He was almost mad with passion, and yet religion so prevailed over him, that it extorted from him so painful a confession.”

In the same letter, Fenelon also observes, that the force of religion was so great in him, “ that he never



never knew him, except in moments of irritation, entertain a single thought which was not strictly conformable to reason and to the purest maxims of the gospel."

It must not be supposed, however, that in thus attending to religious duties, he was suffered to neglect his literary studies. It was Fenelon's object to make his pupil a pious and an enlightened prince; he wished him to ascend the throne with all the virtues of christianity, and with all the knowledge necessary to govern an extensive empire. It was with this view that he endeavoured to instil into the mind of the prince an ample acquaintance with ancient and modern history. He had himself made this branch of knowledge a particular study.—It appears, from a letter to the Duke de Beauvilliers, that before being intrusted with the education of the Duke of Burgundy, Fenelon had written an abridgement of the life of Charlemagne, and from what he has disclosed of the principles and plan upon which he proceeded in drawing up this historical work, it cannot but be regretted that it is irrecoverably lost. It is evident, from this letter to the Duke de Beauvilliers, that Fenelon wrote this work from some motives that have hitherto remained a secret, though they were known to the duke. "I am persuaded," says he, "that the life of Charlemagne will be of much use to us, in giving to the Duke of Burgundy those sentiments and those maxims with which he ought to be familiar. You know, however, that when I made this abridgment of the life of Charle-

magne, I had not the most distant idea of being concerned with his education; and no one can better declare than yourself how I came to write that work. My intentions were candid and upright. No one can read it without seeing that I go plainly forwards, and perhaps too much so."

It was the opinion of Fenelon, that there never existed, perhaps, a prince "whose history is more worthy of being studied, nor who possesses a greater weight, with regard to those maxims which they, who are destined to govern, may derive from it, than that of Charlemagne. The beauties of this history," he continues, "consist in the greatness of its events, and in the wonderful character of the prince. It would be impossible to find one more amiable, or more proper to serve as a model in all ages. There is a pleasure even in beholding some imperfections mixed with so many virtues and talents. It teaches us that he is not a hero of the imagination, like those of romances, who, by being perfect, become fabulous."

Fenelon adds afterwards a very judicious reflection, and one which is too little attended to, when we read the history of those rude ages, the great men of which are less to be censured for those errors which we are apt to consider as their own, than to be pitied, as living at a period when the manners of the times rendered it almost impossible that they should be exempt from them. "Perhaps," says he, "many things may be discovered in Charlemagne which will not please; but it may be, that he is not to blame, and our disgust arises from the extreme difference



difference between our own times and those in which he lived. The advantage which he possessed of being a christian, places him above all the heroes of pagan antiquity ; and the circumstance of being always successful in his enterprizes, renders him a more interesting model than St. Louis."

When Fenelon thought that the Duke of Burgundy had made sufficient progress in the study of ancient and modern history, he conceived the design of recalling to him, successively, all the principal personages who have distinguished themselves on the theatre of the world. In doing this, he would not only invigorate his memory, with regard to the events in which these individuals were concerned, but he intended also to fix the attention of the young prince on their real and undisguised merits. He was anxious that his pupil should not be dazzled, by that kind of illusive renown which accompanies the memory of celebrated men.

To accomplish this, Fenelon wrote his Dialogues of the Dead. They were produced in proportion as the Duke of Burgundy made such progress with historical authors and facts as enabled him to derive from them a due advantage. These dialogues are well known, and any particular observations upon them would be superfluous. Yet, it may be permitted to advert to the singular variety of subjects which Fenelon has chosen. From a casual inspection of the work, it might be supposed that he had resigned himself wholly to his imagination, or, in choosing his subjects, he had employed those which were most obviously

contrasted. Such, however, was not the case. If we accurately examine the book, we shall easily perceive, that its author was actuated by one prevailing motive, which was, the education of his pupil. This object was constantly present to him, and his attention to it may be traced even in those dialogues, which appear to have the least connection with the duties of a prince destined to ascend the throne. Such are the two dialogues between Parrhasius and Poussin, and between Leonardi de Vinci and Poussin. But Fenelon knew, that a king, and above all, a king of France, should neither be ignorant of, nor indifferent to, the progress of the fine arts.

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*Last Hours, and Character of Fenelon.* [From the same Work, Vol. II.]

We have now to behold Fenelon in the closing scene of existence. Of this awful and solemn moment we have an account written by an eye witness of the event, which faithfully records all the details; a fidelity which is due to the memory of great men.

The grief which Fenelon felt for the death of the Duke de Beauvilliers did not induce him to suspend, for an instant, the performance of those duties which his ministry exacted.

"A few weeks before he died," says the Duke de St. Simon, in his Memoirs, "he performed a short journey of episcopal visits: his carriage was overturned in a dangerous place; no one was hurt; but he perceived all the danger, and his feeble frame received the whole



whole shock of the accident. He arrived ill at Cambrai; a fever supervened, and Fenelon saw that his hour was come. Whether from a disgust of the world, which had so continually deceived him, or whether from his piety, which long exercise had strengthened, and which had been increased still more by the melancholy reflection of all the friends whom he had lost, he appeared to be insensible to every thing which he was about to quit, and wholly occupied with that which he was forthwith to find, and that so peacefully and so tranquilly, that all regret disappeared: penitence, however, remained, and an exclusive care for the spiritual affairs of his diocese."

Such was the general impression which the death of Fenelon made at Paris, and at the court. The Duke de St. Simon, however, in giving an account of it, has merely retailed the popular opinion which prevailed; but the eye witness, whom we mentioned above, has preserved minute details, which must ever be invaluable to every friend of religion, and every lover of Fenelon. These details were written by his almoner, and are now first published from the original manuscript. They are as follow:—

"It was on the evening of the 1st of January, 1715, that Fenelon was first seized with the illness which terminated his life. This illness, which lasted only six days and a half, attended with extreme pain, was a continued fever, arising from unknown causes. During the whole of those six days he was occupied wholly in having the scripture read to him; but

during the first days, his desire was only partially gratified, for it was feared that the eager application which he bestowed would increase his disease, and prevent the free operation of the remedies which he employed. At first we read to him only the book of Tobit, and but small portions at a time: to this were added, according to circumstances, some texts on the transitory nature of all worldly good, and on the hope of that which exists for ever. These we often repeated to him; and he appeared to feel peculiar delight in hearing the last verses of chapter iv. and the first nine of chapter v. of the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians. 'Repeat that passage again,' said he to me, on two different occasions. At intervals he was spoken to about some urgent business relating to his diocese, which he immediately transacted. He was asked if there were any thing which he wished to alter in his will, (which had been made in 1715), and he added a codicil, to substitute the Abbé de Fenelon in the place of the Abbé de Langeron, whom he had before nominated his executor. I then asked for his final instructions with regard to two works which he was printing.

"During the last two days and nights of his illness, he eagerly requested us to read to him those parts of scripture which were most suitable to his condition. 'Repeat, repeat to me,' he frequently said, 'those divine words.' He joined with us as often as his strength would permit. It was easy to perceive, from his countenance and his eyes, that he fervently felt those lively expressions  
of



of faith, of hope, of love, of resignation, of union with God, and of conformity to Jesus Christ, which were inculcated in those texts.' He made us frequently repeat the words which the church has applied to St. Martin, and has attributed to that eminent bishop of the Gallician church:—'Lord, if I am yet needful to thy people, I will not shrink from the labour; thy will be done. Oh, man, whom we cannot praise too much! He was unwearied in labour; he was unconquered even by death; he feared not to live, and he refused not to die.' The Archbishop of Cambrai seemed to be full of the same holy and devout submission to the will of God. On that occasion, and in imitation of the disciples of St. Martin, I ventured to ask him, 'But why do you leave us? In this state of desolation, to whom will you confide us? Perhaps the ravening wolves may come, and lay your flock waste.' He replied only with sighs.

"Though he had confessed himself on Christmas eve, before chanting the midnight mass, he confessed himself again on the second day of his illness. On the third day, in the morning, he desired me to administer the sacrament to him; in an hour afterwards he asked me if every thing was ready for that ceremony. When I told him, that I thought his danger was not so great as to require it, he replied, 'In my present condition, there is nothing more important to me.'

"He immediately caused himself to be carried from the small chamber which he usually occupied, into his large room. He de-

sired that all the members of his chapter might be present at that act of religion. Before receiving the sacrament, he addressed some pious conversation to each of the assistants, which I could not hear but confusedly, as I was too far from the bed.

"In the afternoon of the fourth day, the Abbé de Beaumont and the Marquis of Fenelon, his two nephews, arrived post from Paris. He felt evident joy at seeing them; he inquired who had acquainted them with his danger; their grief prevented them from replying a single word: they merely pointed to the Abbé de Fenelon, who was at Cambrai when the illness first manifested itself.

"Though he had shewn the most tender grief at the death of the Abbé de Langeron, his intimate friend, and at that of the Duke of Burgundy, his pupil, yet he beheld, unmoved, in his last moments, the sorrow and the tears of all those whom he most affectionately loved.

"The Abbé de Beaumont and the Marquis of Fenelon had prudently brought with them, from Paris, the celebrated Chirac, the principal physician of Louis XIV., who immediately held a consultation with the chief medical men of the place who had attended Fenelon and prescribed for his disease. They agreed that he should be bled a second time, and to give him an emetic: the effect was immediate, and he seemed to be relieved; some hopes, indeed, of his recovery began to be entertained: but it soon appeared that the disease was more powerful than the remedies. It was the will of God to take to himself one  
of



of those bishops who could have served the church most effectually, in these times of schism and insubordination.

“ On the morning of the Epiphany, having expressed to me his regret at being unable to perform mass himself, I went, by his order, to perform it for his spiritual good. During that short interval, he seemed to grow evidently weaker, and he received extreme unction.

“ Immediately afterwards he called me to his bedside, and having required every other person to leave the room, he dictated to me his last letter, which he signed, ordering me to shew it to four persons here, and to send it off the moment his eyes were closed. It was in dictating this letter, that, collecting all his strength, and feeling that he was about to appear before his God, he sought to fit himself by a declaration of his real sentiments. Short as the letter is, it would be impossible to express greater disinterestedness for his family, more respect and attachment for his king, more affection for his diocese, more zeal for the faith against the errors of the Jansenists, or a more absolute submission to the church, mother and mistress.

“ He suffered a great deal the rest of the day, and during his last night; but he rejoiced in being like Jesus Christ by suffering. ‘I am on the cross,’ said he with Jesus Christ. *Christo confixus sum cruci.* We then read those texts of scripture which relate to the necessity of suffering, to its brevity, and to its minuteness, compared to the immense magnitude of eternal glory with which

God rewards it. His pains increasing, we told him what St. Luke relates of Jesus Christ: that on those occasions he redoubled his prayers—‘*Factus in agonia, proluxius orabat.*’ ‘Jesus Christ,’ added he himself, ‘repeated three times the same prayer, *Oravit tertio eundem sermonem dicens;*’ but the violence of the pain not permitting him to finish alone, we continued with him,—‘Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me; nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done.’—Yes, Lord,’ he repeated, raising his trembling voice as much as he could, ‘thy will, and not mine.’ His fever increased at intervals, and occasioned delirium, which he himself perceived, and respecting which he was alarmed; but nothing escaped his lips that was in any manner unbecoming. When the paroxysm was passed, he was seen immediately to clasp his hands, raise his eyes to heaven, full of entire submission, and peacefully resigned to God. That religious submission had been, from his youth, the prevailing sentiment of his heart, and he always reverted to it in his most familiar discourses. It was, as it were, his food and nourishment, and he loved that they should taste of it who lived in intimacy with him.

“ I still recollect, with anguish, the affecting scene of that last night. All the individuals of his pious family, who were assembled at Cambrai: the Abbé de Beaumont, the Marquis of Fenelon, the Abbé de Fenelon, the Chevaliers de Fenelon, M. de l’Eschelle, formerly one of those who conducted the education of the Duke of Burgundy, the Abbé de l’Eschelle, his brother,



brother, and the Abbé Devisse, their nephew, came, successively, during his lucid intervals, to implore and receive his benediction, to present him the crucifix to kiss, and to address to him some words of pious consolation. There were also some persons of the town, who came to receive his last benediction. His servants then approached altogether, and bathed in tears, to ask it of him, and he gave it them with friendly kindness. The Abbé le Vayer, (of the congregation of St. Sulpice), superior of the seminary at Cambrai, received it also for the seminary, and for the diocese. He then recited the *prières des agonisants*, intermingling occasionally short and affecting passages from scripture, most suitable to the condition of the dying man, who was about half an hour without giving any sign of consciousness: after which he gently expired, at a quarter past five in the morning, on the 7th of January, 1715.

“ We believe that our holy and pious archbishop died, as he had lived, with perfect sanctity. Every one who had been most intimate with him, was eager to possess something which had belonged to him. He left behind him no ready money; the losses and the great expense which the vicinity of the armies, during the last three campaigns, had occasioned, was the cause of it; for, notwithstanding them, he retrenched none of the alms which he gave to the convents of the town, to the poor ordinands of his seminary, to the nuns of charity for the indigent sick, to the parishes which he visited, to the students of his diocese whom he supported at the univer-

sities, and to various other purposes. Hence, his revenues were absolutely exhausted. He appointed, by his will, the Abbé de Beaumont, his nephew, his sole heir, to execute his pious intentions, which were communicated to him alone; and M. de Beaumont continued to dispense the same alms to the poor, as the archbishop had done, till the arrival of his successor.

“ Such are the things which I observed respecting the conduct of our holy archbishop, during the last days of his life. His nephews, and the other persons, who scarcely ever quitted him during his illness, may have noticed things which I did not, or which I cannot now recollect.”

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The death of Fenelon excited sincere and universal regret through the whole of the Netherlands; and, notwithstanding the clamours of party which divided the church, every heart was ready to deplore the death of a bishop who had won the respect, the esteem, and the affection even of his adversaries. We have already said, that notwithstanding his opposition to the doctrine of the Jansenists, and though he had encountered them with great success in numerous writings, he had always turned from them the hand of power, and had preserved them, by his zeal, from the personal dangers to which they might have been exposed. Far from detracting from the general love which was felt for Fenelon, they were the more afflicted at his loss, as they were ignorant what might be the dispositions of his successor with regard to them, and as they could scarcely expect, under exist-

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ing circumstances, a continuation of such kind conduct towards them.

As to the friends of Fenelon, it were superfluous to say, in the words of the Duke de St. Simon, "that they were plunged into an abyss of the most severe sorrow."

When the news of his death arrived in foreign countries, it was perhaps felt with greater sensibility than in France itself, in which the minds of men were incensed, and divided by considerations of party, in which a recent peace still left the smart of a long and calamitous war, in which the yoke of authority had become irksome to every one, and in which the love of innovation led every mind to contemplate a future change of things. But, in all the rest of Europe, they were sensible only to the loss of a man who had shed a lustre upon the age in which he lived, by his talents, his virtues, and his writings, which will endure as long as the language in which they are written. Such men had begun to be rare in every country, and the name of Fenelon was, perhaps, the only one at that time which enjoyed a universal reputation.

Pope Clement XI. shed sincere tears of sorrow at his death, and seemed to regret that he had not nominated him a cardinal, from the fear of displeasing Louis XIV. It was the wish nearest his heart, and he disclosed the wish to the celebrated Cardinal Quirini, at a time when it was still in his power to gratify it. The cardinal himself has recorded this circumstance in his writings, where he gives an account of a conversation which he had with Clement XI. before it was known at Rome that

Fenelon had ceased to exist. "*Eos de doctrinâ et pietate Feneloi sensus e sanctissimo pectore deprompsit; unde facile mihi innotesceret cogitationem de illo præsule ad cardinalatum evehendo pontificiâ mente jam repositam manere.*"

John Baptist Rousseau, who was then retired to a foreign land, witnessed the regret which was every where expressed at the death of Fenelon. He wrote to a protestant. (Crousaz), eminent for the works which he had published, in the following manner, upon the occasion:

"Great talents are of all countries and of all persuasions, and I am not surprised to find you so grieved at the loss which the church and the republic of letters have sustained in the death of the Archbishop of Cambrai. In an age when true merit is so rare, there is no honest man who ought not to mourn for so truly great a personage. His reputation will live as long as there shall be upon the earth men who are sensible of true genius and of true virtue; and, to the shame of our nation be it said, it will perhaps be among us that his death will be least mourned."

It appeared to be so difficult to appoint a successor to Fenelon, who was worthy of filling his place, that Louis XIV. who survived him eight months, died without having nominated any one to the Archbishopric of Cambrai.

"Fenelon," says the Duke de St. Simon in his Memoirs, "was a tall man, thin, well-made, and with a large nose; from his eyes issued the fire and animation of his mind like a torrent; and his countenance was such, that I never



ver yet beheld any one similar to it, nor could it ever be forgotten if once seen.

"It combined every thing, and yet there was nothing in opposition: it was grave and yet alluring, it was solemn and yet gay; it bespoke equally the theologian, the bishop, and the nobleman. Every thing which was visible in it, as well as in his whole person, was delicate, intellectual, graceful, becoming, and above all, noble. It required an effort to cease looking at him; all the portraits of him are strong resemblances, though they have not caught that harmony which was so striking in the original, and that individual delicacy which characterised each feature; his manners were answerable to his countenance; they had all that ease which communicates itself to others, that air, and that urbanity which can be derived only from intercourse with the best society, and with the world, and which diffused itself over all his discourse."

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*Amusements of the American Spaniards. [From Mr. Walton's Present State of the Spanish Colonies.]*

If it be a fact, that the style of amusements indicates the character of a nation, it may not be thought foreign to my subject to give those of the American Spaniards a brief consideration. A principal one is cock-fighting, but without spurs, and the English game are much esteemed. The right of holding the cock-pit is rented by government, and Sunday is the day of exhibition. The

proceeds of admittance-prices go to support hospitals of the poor.

The general and national taste, however, here, as in Old Spain, runs principally on bull-feasts; and in those places where there are no amphitheatres, the avenues to a square are palisadoed, the doors of the houses are closed, the ladies crowd the grated windows and flat roofs; yet, though the natives of South America are extremely active and nimble, these representations consist more in jading and harassing the poor animal, than in any display of dexterity, and are very unlike those of Spain.

The Spanish national dances have been marked by most travellers amongst their peculiarities, and appear beyond the imitation of other people; for though they are attempted on our theatres in England, being unaccompanied with a certain association of ideas, they cannot be relished by any other audience, or represented by any other performers than natives; nay, in Spain itself, the sedate Castilian does not exquisitely enjoy the graceful and animated movements of the Andalusian, though he crowds to the dance.

Of all these, the most elegant, scientific, and peculiarly characteristic, is the Bolero. It affords to the well-formed female the most graceful display of person, as well as dexterity and agility of motion; the dancers beat the castenets with their fingers in time to their feet, going through varied interesting changes and positions, accompanied by the guitar and voice. A great merit in this dance is the *bien parado*, or peculiar position of the two dancers opposite each other



other, with their arms extended, and one foot in the air; this posture they suddenly seize, and hold the moment the different changes have exhausted the tune, and in perfect accord with the last sound of the guitar; the applauses of the audience then most resound. The suitable dress to this national dance is *a-lo-majo*, as used in the bull-feasts, and any other would be out of character. This dance partakes of the hornpipe of the English, the trescone of the Tuscans, the furlana of the Venetians, the corrente of the Monserrines, and the minuet of the French, and is varied both by slow and quick time.

The fandango is another of their national dances, also performed by a couple, but difficult to conceive by any but a spectator. It is of much quicker time than the bolero, but equally accompanied by the voice and guitar, and a quick rolling time beat by the castenets at every cadence. The dancers wheel about, approach each other with a fond eagerness, then quickly retire, again approach, whilst every limb appears in such motion as may be called, with propriety, a regular and harmonious convulsion of the whole body; but it is rather a quick equal striking of the feet and toes on the ground, than graceful and continued steps. The *chandé* is the outré of this dance, but cannot be looked upon with the eye of modesty. Tonadillas, seguedillas, boleros, and tyranas, are the general national songs; but there are many provincial styles, such as the Malagueña, &c.—These dances, though sometimes met in Spanish America, are not those ge-

nerally used in society; they have adopted the waltz, besides the Spanish country dance, which is extremely graceful, and more complicated, but not so monotonous as our own, though the time is slower.

To visit the dances of the people of colour, particularly those of Haiti, or many who are mixed and blended with the natives of Hispaniola, is to be transported into a circle of lascivious bacchantes; the motion of the foot is no longer attended to, the time is beat with a rapid precision of movement and volubility of reins, that would almost bid defiance to the powers of mechanism; which, though it disgusts by obscenity, astonishes by the gesture and activity displayed.

The lower order of the Spanish people of colour, accompany their grotesque dances with yells, and music created out of slips of hard sounding wood, or a furrowed calabash, scraped quickly with a thin bone; the baujo, rattles made by putting small pebbles into a calabash, the teeth fixed in the jawbone of a horse, scraped with rapid motion, and the drum. The steps are singular and obscene, the whole accompaniment and style appear to be derived from the African Congos and Indian Din mixed, and is the usual ceremony on the death of a relation, which they solemnize like the gypsies in Spain, with dances and music. The greatest compliment the lover pays his favourite in the dance for her graceful action, is to put his hat from his own, on her head, to wear during the evening, and which she generally returns by presenting him with a lighted segar, from her own stock.



The dresses of the ladies at their balls or tertulias are fanciful, and generally consist of a muslin dress, sometimes worked in colours, with handsome fringe and tassels at the bottom. Over this they wear a close body or spencer of coloured, often red taffeta, or velvet, embroidered with gold. Their slippers are of embroidered silk, their stockings are of the finest, and often with gold clocks, or sandalled; and the well-formed leg and foot, by the shortness of the petticoats, are displayed in luxuriant advantage to the admiring partner. Their hair is generally braided with chains of pearls or flowers, which forms a contrast with the dark glossy dye, and is confined with several ornamental or gold combs. The women, though not handsome, have a playful voluptuousness about them which cannot fail, at first sight, to please an European, accustomed to the more distant and demure manners of the society of his own clime; but though they thus attract, they seldom continue to interest. The care of domestic convenience and comfort by no means enters into their department; and they think of little else than dressing to go to the church, or processions in a morning, and the assemblies in the evening.

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*Characteristic Sketches of the American Spaniards. [From the same Work, Vol. II.]*

Marriages, either in Spain or Spanish America, were never generally exhibited as models of conjugal felicity; and though there are many happy exceptions to this

remark, they too often serve as examples of irregularity to the children. That warmth of passions, that effervescence and impetuosity of feeling, frequently the result of romance, and delusive anticipations of hope, but not founded on congeniality, or matured by reason, too often bring a couple together. The parents having little hold on the actions of their progeny, cannot control their choice; they marry at an early age, but unlike our own quakers, who think this custom the greatest guardian to the morals of the rising generation, satiety and disgust too generally ensue; appearance and considerations of propriety make their home indeed mutual, but fidelity is a clog they both hasten to throw off. A *cortejo*, like the *cicisbeo* of the Italians, becomes the right of the wife; he leads her to the *tertulias* and public walks, dances with her, orders her carriage, and is entirely and exclusively attendant on her call; whilst the husband consoles himself in the arms of a mistress, and heeds little, nor interferes with what passes in his family. The lover, who had, previous to marriage, passed entire nights under the window of his intended, muffled in a cloak, to discover if she had more suitors than himself, scarcely trusting to her own professions, after the marriage ceremony is over becomes indifferent, and lays aside that jealousy we in our novels ascribe to the Spanish husband instead of the lover. Certainly Montesquieu, when he asserted, that the fewer marriages the less fidelity in them, must have made this people a wide exception.

We have already remarked, that they



they marry at an early age; and I cannot here resist the temptation of citing the testimony of a late foreign author, little known to us, on the characteristics of the Spanish Americans.

“The females in the Spanish dominions are marriageable at the age of twelve years, and the boys at fourteen; so that we often see the united ages of a wedded pair fall short of thirty, and the latter considers himself only a man when he is a husband. The study or accordance of disposition seldom precedes matrimony; the sympathy of humour is often mistaken for that of feeling and passion; an eternal attachment is anticipated, where nothing but a slight and passing fancy in reality exists. They enter the bonds of wedlock as if its duration had an optional limit.”

In all civilized nations, the parents have an absolute authority over their children till a certain age, prescribed by a positive law. In Holland it formerly continued to the age of twenty for the female, and twenty-five for the male. In England both have arrived at the legal age of puberty at twenty-one years. In France the minority is limited at twenty-five for the women, and thirty for the men; though, by a late law, they have the free administration and disposal of property at twenty-one. Till that time they are considered under the tutelage of their parents, and every engagement previously contracted of this nature is held null and void. This custom appears to have been wisely established as a check on the morals and passions of youth, and to frus-

trate and counteract the snares frequently set for its inexperience. It is not uncommon in Spain for a daughter who has been refused alliance to her choice, and whose connection is opposed by the parents, to take refuge in the house of the curate, or some other respectable secular, where she places herself out of the reach of her natural guardians: the bans are then published three successive Sundays, and though the parents of neither party concur, the ceremony is performed, unless any degradation to either family be proved.

To suppress emigration to South America, and hinder persons of bad character from being introduced there, it became necessary even for Spaniards to obtain passports in Europe and grants of residence; and, by the *tarifa de gracias*, drawn up in 1801, the council of the Indies had the right of disposing of this grant to foreign persons, previously naturalized according to law in Spain: in that case the naturalization act cost 450 dollars, and the passport or certificate of residence, 400; but this was granted under some stipulations, particularly as to a similarity of religion. The Spaniards, who once get established there, seldom return home, though even married before their emigration; they form new alliances, often leaving their former wife and family in poverty in their native villages. Their little ventures they carry out prosper and increase in a country where every necessary of life is cheap, and they acquire a consistency and importance they would lose by revisiting their



their mother country. The Catalans and Biscayans form the greatest body of emigrants.

Few Creoles visit Europe, against which, both distance and prejudice operate; and they acquire little more than a local education, which some, however, accomplish by the energy of their own minds. The attachment that might arise from schooling her colonial youth in the mother country, Spain seems to have considered as undeserving her notice; but the French thought it of material consequence. They suppressed all colleges abroad, in order to monopolize the education of male and female children in Europe, that they might there form connections; and civil and military promotions were to be obtained there only. This created alliances and connections which lasted through life, and contributed to a union of interests. Even the spurious descendants of planters in St. Domingo received this mode of education.

The traveller through Spain and Portugal, has at all times been astonished at the superabundant quantity of friars and clergy that are met with, and has considered them the greatest tax possible upon the working poor communities, from whom they derive their principal support. This remark holds equally good on South America; for the numbers seem to vie with those of the mother country, so much so, that the higher ranks are filled with little else than friars, seculars, nuns, lawyers, and nominal officers; and it is the best criterion of the size and consequence of a town, to sum up

the quantity of convents it has within its precincts. The clergyman, who assists at the dying moments of the sick, and the notary called to draw up his last wishes, equally remind him of the church; and if he be considered rich, not to leave a legacy or prebend, were an act of irreligion that would shock the good pastor and his flock, so that if this practice continues in successive ages, they will exclusively become the principal owners of property in the country, and are, indeed, amongst the first now.

The Creoles are particularly attached to their own country, which they think the best of any in the world, from its having been in every war a point of attack to England; the great object of French intrigue, the subject of envy and enterprize to their free neighbours on the north, and, in short, a bone of contention for them all. When they contrast it with European Spain, they see nothing but poor adventurers, who come amongst them with a view to get riches, by filling the most menial offices; and as ease and affluence are their chief good, they judge of all by the species that come amongst them. They feel pride and consequence from being born in a new hemisphere, and conceive that to Creolism is attached a degree of dignity and honour. It will not, therefore, appear singular, that a nation which has no emigrations, but receives those from her mother country, is drained by no wars, and is blessed with a genial climate and prolific people, should have risen, from the time of its discovery;



discovery, to an inconceivable degree of population, the more difficult accurately to calculate, as it is scattered over immense regions, and its census is attended with the incorrections we have alluded to in speaking of Hispañola.

To prove how far the want of intercourse tends to the formation of false notions, and how much the French have studied to engraft a good opinion of themselves on other nations, to the prejudice of their rivals, I will mention the peculiarities remarked in a young Creole Spaniard, who accompanied me lately to England, as it may be considered a faithful outline of the general bias in their way of thinking, and will evince what erroneous predispositions exist, and with what subtlety and design the malignant misrepresentations of the French have been spread. His *maitres d'agremens* had been all of the Gallic tribe, and had generally led him to think that England was the very tomb of existence, her cities scenes of want and plodding enterprize, her public buildings devoid of design, and confined to ranges of galleries and halls for the purposes of manufacture; the people, in short, distant, dull, inhospitable, and egotists.

With such a schooling, one may judge of the feelings of a native youth, set down in the midst of London; gazing at its curiosities and buildings, and enjoying every delight or luxury it affords. He could scarcely believe that the music and representations at Covent Garden, were by English performers, or that dancing so exquisite, could be produced by such drones as they had been represented to him; that the delicious

viands of which he partook, and the great display of pastry in the shops, could be prepared by any but an élève at Paris.

When he saw a beautiful, well-formed, well-dressed, and elegant female trip by him, "Is she not French," was the first and spontaneous question, for English ladies had always been delineated to him as resembling Dutch housewives, and devoid of taste, grace, and animation. Science could not be cultivated amongst us, since all works of that nature which the Spanish language boasted, were borrowed from the French; even the novels of Richardson, which so much delight the Spanish reader, with difficulty would he place to the credit of the nation to whom they belonged, because the editions he had read in his own language, were preceded by a "translated from the French." He had, indeed, heard of such a building as St. Paul's, and of some others that equally filled him with astonishment; but had never met with any printed description to enable him to form a correct idea of their magnificence, or of the talents and exhibitions of English painters and statuaries. The acquirements of the English in the arts had been limited to their manufactures, to the moulding of buttons, the grinding of razors, and such like handicraft; what he at first only allowed them to possess was, a good breed of horses, and well-trained sailors. A small intercourse with the nation, however, soon obliterated the prejudices he had received from French influence and tutoring; and, as his ideas enlarged, he discovered that his early notions had been founded on misrepresentations and rival



rival envy; and in his letters home, he lamented the delusion of so many of his countrymen, to whom a simplicity of manners had been represented as boorish coldness and apathy; the disuse of insincere and gesticulated expressions of forced friendship, a want of polish and civility, and, in short, that the portrait generally held out to them, was merely a blending of dark shades.

A French author, speaking of the dress and appearance of Spanish youths, says, "they have gained the acme of perfection as soon as they have acquired our style of dress, manners, and accomplishments, and can act and carry themselves *a la Francoise*."

The Creoles have certainly an aptitude for the sciences and general learning, but not for the deep researches of the plodding Dutch commentator. Their minds are active, their imaginations lively and penetrating, they easily receive an impression, though they do not so long retain it as the European, owing to the flexibility of their corporeal structure, which produces a correspondent volatility of mind.

The greatest part of their artists and handicraftsmen are Creoles of colour, descendants of Indians, sometimes mixed with white and black blood. Oviedo himself was born in South America, and is the best and most correct author that has ever written on that country; but many other men of equal merit might be named. From their most trustworthy records we find, that thirty years after the conquest, there were Indians in the colleges of Mexico, who were preceptors of Greek and Latin,

professors of painting; and to their ingenuity and address, the missionaries owed a good comprehension of their language and history, derived from symbols, characters, and figures.

In jurisprudence and civil law, we find many illustrious characters; hence we may easily infer, that if their minds received a right bias, and their education were properly formed, their national prejudices would subside, and they would no longer look with scornful disregard on the acquirements of other nations.

They begin, however, to pierce with a steady eye the mist of fanaticism and prejudice, with which they have been clouded and obscured; they assume a more modified state of social existence; they gradually discover, that there is something in other nations worthy their adoption and imitation; they shake off that lethargy which serves but to debilitate and emasculate the human frame, and it may be expected there will be a happy change in their systems, and that the generation now on its decline, will be succeeded by one possessing features of moral amelioration, harmonized and illuminated by the useful principles of other nations.

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*Anecdotes of the Mexicans, including a Description of Mexico, its Lakes, &c. [From the same Work, Vol. II.]*

Anahuac was the original name given to the vale of Mexico, and signifies near to the water. The city of Mexico was anciently called Tenochtitlan; it was founded A. D.



1325, and is, beyond a doubt, much the largest and most beautiful city in the New World. It is situated in latitude  $20^{\circ} 2'$  north, and in longitude  $100^{\circ} 34'$  west, from the meridian of London.

The finest district in the kingdom of Mexico is the vale itself of Mexico, crowned by beautiful and verdant mountains, whose circumference, measured at their base, exceeds one hundred and twenty miles. A great part of this vale is occupied by two lakes; the water of Chalco, the upper lake, is sweet; that of Tezcuco, the lower lake, is brackish. They communicate by a canal. In the lower lake (on account of its lying in the very bottom of the valley) all the waters running from the mountains collect; from thence, when extraordinary abundance of rains raised the waters of the lake of Tezcuco over its bed, it overflowed the city of Mexico, which is situated on an island in the lake of Tezcuco. These inundations happened not less frequently under the Mexican monarchy, than since it has been in possession of the Spaniards.

These two lakes, the circumference of which united is not less than ninety miles, represent the figure of a camel, the head and neck of which are formed by the lake of sweet water, or Chalco; the body, by the lake of brackish water, or Tezcuco; the legs and feet are represented by the rivulets and torrents which run from the mountains into the lakes. Between these there is the little peninsula of Iztapalapan, which divides them.

The mountains make the air de-

lightfully cool and pleasant, with gentle breezes descending and spreading themselves all around, so that its climate is one of the finest and most salubrious that nature ever formed; so remarkably temperate, and the variation of the seasons so very small, that the slightest precautions are sufficient to prevent inconvenience from either heat or cold, and woollen clothing is worn there all the year round. Charles V., who was at the same time emperor of Germany and king of Spain, asked a witty Spanish gentleman, on his arrival at court from Mexico, how long the interval was in the city of Mexico between summer and winter? "Just as long," replied the Spaniard, with great truth and humour, "as it takes to pass out of sun-shine into the shade."

The circumference of the island on which the city stands, is about twelve miles. For the convenience of passing from this island to the main land, there are three great causeways, formed of earth, stone, and timber, raised in the lake. The causeway of Iztapalapan, towards the south, is about seven miles in length. The causeway of Tepejacac, towards the north, is about three miles in length. The causeway of Tlacapan, towards the west, is about two miles in length. They are each about thirty feet in breadth. Besides them, there is another or fourth causeway, a little narrower, in continuation of the double aqueduct of Chapoltepec, two miles distant, by which the fresh water is brought to the entrance of the city, and from thence distributed to the fountains, and all parts of the city and the island.



All the water which collects in the lake of Tezcucó, is sweet when it first enters; but it afterwards becomes so very brackish and unwholesome, that if drank, or used in cooking by the inhabitants, it gives them fluxes, and complaints in the bowels. This bad property arises from the salt and nitrous bed of this lake; hence the island entirely depends on this double aqueduct of Chapoltepec for its supplies of fresh water.

The churches and houses are built of stone and of bricks, and the houses in general, where the ground will bear their weight, are three stories high. The foundations of the large houses of the capital, as at first built by the Mexicans, were laid upon a floor of large beams of cedar, fixed in the earth, on account of the want of solidity in the soil, which example the Spaniards have found it necessary to imitate and adopt. The great square is in the centre of the city, from whence the streets run quite through the whole in a direct line, either north and south, or east and west, crossing each other at right angles, so that the length and breadth of the city may be plainly discerned at the corner of any of the streets, all of which are wide and well paved. There is a public walk, with a *jet d'eau*, where eight avenues meet, which is very grand, and the principal squares have each a fountain of water in their centre.

Every morning at sun-rise, innumerable boats, canoes, and craft of various descriptions, laden with a vast variety of fruits, herbs, flowers, garden-stuff of all kinds, fish, fowls, turkies, geese, ducks, venison, game of all kinds, flesh

meat of all kinds, and a variety of other provisions, are seen arriving by the lake at the great marketplace of the city, where the inhabitants are supplied with the greatest abundance, and at moderate prices.

The natural strength of the city is great, there being no approaches to it but by the causeways, which may easily be obstructed, by breaking them down at intervals, or by destroying the whole of the causeways, if necessary. All other modes of capture must be by boats, canoes, &c. and cutting off their supplies of provisions, and fresh water, &c. which they receive by the aqueduct of Chapoltepec.

Mexico is an archbishop's see, and contains, one most magnificent cathedral, thirty-four public churches, thirty-six monasteries of men, and twenty-nine nunneries of women, with each a church. The cathedral possesses a revenue of ninety thousand pounds sterling per annum, of which the archbishop receives thirty thousand pounds, besides casual fines, which make him fifteen to twenty thousand pounds a year more. The remainder, amounting to sixty thousand pounds, is divided amongst the dignitaries and other clergy belonging to this cathedral, which amount to upwards of four hundred, without including organists, musicians, singers, &c.

The cathedral is built in the form of a cross, is lofty and spacious, the windows numerous, the paintings, gilding, and carving, are in a heavy style, and it contains a great number of chapels and superb altars. The high altar stands in the middle of the choir; the  
riches



riches and treasures therein are great beyond description. The custodia is made of silver, and contains thirty thousand ounces of of that metal; it took sixty-four ounces of pure gold to gild it. It contains a great number of silver pillars, and one hundred little images of different saints, all of most rare workmanship. In the centre of the cathedral stands the image of St. Hypolito, the patron of Mexico, as large as life, made of pure gold, and placed on a shrine of silver. In another silver shrine stands an image of the infant Jesus, made of pure gold, and adorned with eight hundred precious stones; likewise a grand silver throne, on which is placed the image of the Blessed Virgin, made of silver, wearing a superb crown, and adorned with a profusion of valuable and precious stones, the whole weighing sixty arrobas of silver, which at twenty-five pounds in each arroba, make fifteen hundred pounds weight. In the chapel of the Blessed Virgin is a beautiful altar, made of silver and richly inlaid with gold, worked in the most curious manner, by an ingenious artist.

In this cathedral, there are forty-eight candlesticks, all made of silver, each measuring six feet in height, and of curious workmanship. There are three hundred masses said every day in this cathedral. They consume annually at the altars and in the processions, eight hundred arrobas of oil, making 2,500 Spanish gallons; twelve hundred arrobas of wax, making 30,000 Spanish pounds; one thousand arrobas of wine, making 3,125 Spanish gallons. Ten large gold lamps, and thirty large silver

lamps, burn oil both night and day. The vestments and other ornaments of the archbishop and the rest of the clergy, as likewise the ornaments exhibited on the altars, are beautiful beyond description, and as rich as can be made, with gold and silver, covered with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, pearls, and other precious stones, of dazzling lustre: gold and silver stuffs; embroidered velvets, satins, silks, &c. are the richest and most valuable that money can purchase and procure, in any part of the world, and were brought from Europe by the register ships. The rest of the churches, the monasteries, and the nunneries, are proportionably rich and splendid, and their revenues are great.

Their warehouses and shops, from their great display of precious metals and massive jewellery, are the richest and most valuable that can be imagined, though art has done little for their arrangement. Many of their household utensils are made of gold and silver.

The great market-place is a superb and spacious square, in the centre of the city; on one side of it runs an arcade, under which are some of the richest shops, and on the other side stands the magnificent palace of the viceroy of Mexico, built with a large square in the centre, so that it forms four magnificent fronts; the grand front presenting itself to the market-place.

In this city there is a royal mint, for the coining of dollars and other silver coins, as likewise of gold coins. There is also a royal university, conducted by some of the most able and learned clergy, masters,



masters, and instructors, sent out from Old Spain, which contains upwards of three thousand students, sent from all parts of Mexico, Peru, and the other Spanish settlements. It has eleven hospitals and houses of asylum, all most amply and richly endowed; amongst the rest is an asylum for the reception of young female orphans, who are maintained and educated in a very decent and handsome manner, whilst they remain therein unmarried; and they have five hundred dollars each, given to them as a portion, when they leave this asylum, and marry to a decent proper person, approved of by the managers.

There is a beautiful park, well planted with trees, and ornamented with fountains and water-works, where the nobility, gentry, and gay part of the inhabitants assemble every evening, some in coaches, great numbers of gentlemen on horseback, with multitudes of men and women on foot; and it is here, that the young bucks, cavaliers, and majos endeavour to attract the notice and favour of the ladies, by feats of activity, and the superb fancy dresses, in which they make their appearance, when mounted on their lively and beautiful horses. Several hundreds of coaches, drawn by two or by four mules or horses, parade here every fine evening, attended by numerous retinues of black slaves, dressed out in the richest liveries, and in which they keep up great state and form; the carriages move very slowly and gently along, in order that those within them may see and be seen the better. The ladies within the carriages make their appearance

without veils, in their richest dresses, decorated out, and ornamented with gold, pearls, jewels, diamonds, emeralds, rubies, and other glittering ornaments in their hair, ears, round their necks, and round their wrists, with superb gold watches and equipages, fitted up in the highest style. They take great pride in having fine heads of hair, which they preserve with the greatest care and attention, in order to make it very thick and very long behind; they wear it plaited down their backs, and in general so long, even when pendant, it reaches down to their feet. They wear no caps, but in their tertulias, or visits, they have ornamental head-dresses. The Mexican ladies, in general, are about the middle stature, very few of them are tall; the greatest part of them have beautiful black hair, fine eyes, and the most regular sets of teeth, remarkably white and even, which they take great pleasure in shewing when they laugh; they are remarkably lively in their manner and address, talk a great deal, dance remarkably well, enter a room in the most graceful manner, and no women whatever, in any country in the world, not even those of Cadiz, walk better. They are fond of music, singing, and dancing; the Spanish guitar, in particular, is universally played by them. Their favourite dances are el fandango, which is as much the rage here as in Old Spain; the young, the old, the brisk, the grave, the gay, nay, even the most stupid and dull people, become all alive, and put themselves into motion the very moment the guitar strikes up and begins to play.



play. Las seguidillas, or couplets, are in great vogue, as songs ; and minuets, boleros, waltzes, &c. as dances.

The Mexican ladies in general are handsome, polite, genteel, and particularly attentive to strangers. Great numbers of them have naturally fair complexions. They are not inferior to the ladies of Old Spain in personal charms : they speak the Spanish language remarkably well, their minds and ideas are clear and comprehensive, their expression pure and just, their manners and their behaviour inimitably graceful and affable.

One of the favourite diversions of the citizens of Mexico is fishing in boats on the lake, whither they carry with them cold provisions, wine, liquors, &c. with which to regale themselves on the water. The neighbourhood of this fine city is rendered remarkably pleasant and beautiful by the numerous palaces, country seats, monasteries, nunneries, churches, large and beautiful towns and villages, which are within view of the city, and built upon the banks of the lakes, to which the citizens go in boats, when they are inclined to retire from the hurry and bustle of the town. Mexico is the most populous city of all those which the catholic king has in his vast dominions, and contains upwards of two hundred thousand inhabitants, which are comprehended under five different classes.

Those who invariably hold the first rank are Spaniards, born in Old Spain, who have settled in Mexico. All offices, places, and appointments, under the Spanish government, are filled and held by them, the court of Spain being

jealous in the extreme of all the other descriptions of people.

The second class, in point of rank, is that of the Criollos, Creoles, or descendants from Spaniards who formerly settled in America. Great numbers of these Creoles are very rich, have most elegant houses and furniture, and very large estates in land, which give them greater influence in the colonies than the court of Spain approves of ; therefore she adopts such plans as she thinks will lessen their consequence. She never employs them in offices of power and trust under her government, whence arise jealousies of preference given to the first class. These Creoles in general are too indolent and luxurious to engage in trade of any kind ; the commerce and navigation to and from Old Spain, as well as the internal traffic of the colonies, have always been carried on by the natives of Old Spain, who accumulate immense fortunes thereby, and generally return with them to their native country.

The third class, in point of rank, is that of the people of colour, under the denomination of Mullattoes, Mestizoes, Sambos, and Quadroons ; they are the offspring of Europeans and Creoles, with negroes, Indians, Mullattoes, &c. and may properly be styled a mixed breed of such a diversity of heterogeneous gradations from the white to the black, that among a hundred faces, scarcely two are of the same colour. The handicraft and mechanic trades are carried on by them, in all which kinds and descriptions of labour both the Spaniards and the Creoles disdain to employ themselves, and depend upon



upon this third class of people for the supply of the various articles which they may want, and which are not procured from Europe.

The fourth class, in point of rank and of real utility, is that of the negroes. They are employed as menial servants: on gala and parade days, and visits, they drive the carriages and attend their masters and mistresses, dressed out in their richest liveries. They work in the fields, in the mines, &c. The free negroes receive, as their own private property, rewards and wages, and whatever they may gain by their own labour. The negro slaves are generally employed to work by their own masters and mistresses; in case they are hired out to work for other people, their wages and gains belong to their owners, by whom they are clothed, fed, and supported; in case of sickness and inability to work, every assistance is rendered to them. The negroes look upon themselves as a race of people superior to the Indians, in point of knowledge and abilities, and treat them as their inferiors. This kind of supercilious conduct and contemptuous behaviour is carried to so great an extreme by the negroes, that they and the Indians have a mutual and violent hatred and aversion to each other.— Though there is a great number of blacks in the province of New Spain, they are mostly free people; and the slaves are comparatively few.

The fifth, and most inferior class, in point of rank, is that of the proper-Americans, or native Indians, descended from the ancient peoplers of America. They

are those who have not mixed their blood with the people of the old continent. They are a free people (except a small annual tribute of about one hard dollar, or four shillings and sixpence English, which each male Indian from the age of eighteen to fifty years, pays to the Spanish government), and cannot be compelled to work, but in such time, manner, and kinds of work, as are agreeable to themselves. When disposed to work, they are employed in cultivating the lands, and in raising the various kinds of produce, as cacao, wheat, maize, rice, beans, &c. and as herdsmen, shepherds, &c. They likewise work in the mines of gold, silver, copper, &c. and whatever they gain by their labour is their own property. Their employers pay them a very fair and reasonable price in proportion to the value of their labour: when working in the fields they gain from one to two English shillings per day, and when in the mines, they gain from half a dollar (two shillings and threepence English,) to one hard dollar (four shillings and sixpence English,) per day. In Spanish America, no European whatever is to be seen employed in the labours of the field.

The Mexican Indians are of a good stature, generally rather exceeding than falling short of the middle size, and well proportioned in all their limbs: they have good complexions, narrow foreheads, black eyes, clean, firm, regular white teeth, thick, black, coarse, glossy hair, thin beards, and generally no hair upon their legs, thighs, and arms. Their skin is of an olive colour. There is scarcely a nation, perhaps upon earth,



earth, in which there are fewer persons deformed; and it would be more difficult to find a single hump-backed, lame, or squint-eyed man, amongst a thousand Mexicans, than among a hundred of any other nation. Their appearance neither engages nor disgusts; but among the Indian young women, there are many very handsome and fair: they have a sweetness of manner and expression, and a pleasantness and natural modesty in their whole behaviour. The men are very moderate in eating; but their passion for strong liquors is carried to the greatest excess.

A peculiar feature in the description of Mexico is, the celebrated artificial fields and gardens which float in the lakes, and add to their picturesque appearance. The original method of forming them is extremely simple: they plat and twist willows, and the roots of marsh plants, or other materials together, which are light, but capable of supporting the earth of the garden firmly united. Upon this foundation they lay the light bushes which float on the lake, and over all, the mud and dirt which they draw up from the bottom. The regular figure of these islands is quadrangular, their length and breadth various, but in general they are about eight perches long, and not more than three perches in breadth, and have less than a foot of elevation above the surface of the water. These were the first fields which the Mexicans owned after the foundation of the city of Mexico; there they first cultivated the maize, great pepper, and other plants necessary for their support. In pro-

cess of time, as these fields grew numerous, from the industry of those people, there were cultivated among them gardens of flowers and of odoriferous plants, which were used in the worship of the gods, and likewise served for the refreshment of the nobles. At present they cultivate flowers, herbs, and every kind of garden-stuff. Every day of the year at sun-rise, innumerable boats laden with flowers, fruits, and vegetables, which are cultivated in these gardens, are seen arriving by the canal at the great market-place of that capital. All kinds of plants thrive therein surprisingly; the mud of the lake is an extremely fertile soil, and requires no irrigation. In the largest gardens there is commonly a little tree, and even a little hut, to shelter the cultivator, and defend him from rain or the sun. When the chinampa, or owner of a garden, wishes to change his situation, to remove from a disagreeable neighbour, or to come nearer to his own family, he gets into his little vessel, and by his own strength alone, if the garden is small, or, with the assistance of others if it is large, he rows it after him, and conducts it wherever he pleases, with the little hut and tree upon it. That part of the lake where the floating gardens are, is a place of infinite recreation and amusement, where the senses receive the highest gratification, and multitudes of people are constantly visiting them in boats, on parties of pleasure.

The fields and gardens round the city of Mexico are wonderfully productive of maize, called by the Mexicans huoli, which the Spaniards



Spaniards first carried from America, and introduced into Spain. There abounds also wheat, barley, oats, and every kind of grain that Europe produces, as well as pease, beans, vetches, and other kinds of pulse; lettuces, cabbages, turnips, carrots, artichokes, potatoes, lentils, mint, marjoram, balm, sage, French beans, radishes, garlick, asparagus, onions, and, in short, every sort of kitchen herbs; carnations, roses, tulips, violets, ranunculuses, jonquils, jessamines, and other flowers, and odoriferous plants brought from Europe, all prosper there in the highest perfection.

The city of Mexico is the emporium, or grand magazine, in which are collected all the gifts of nature, wherein are found apples, pears, plums, apricots, peaches, quinces, cherries of all kinds, currants, grapes, water melons, figs, almonds, olives, walnuts, chestnuts, filberts, hazel-nuts, dates, pomegranates, oranges, lemons, limes, pine-apples, guanas, citrons, melons, cucumbers, plantains, cassava roots, yams, and many other fruits which cold or hot countries equally produce.

At all seasons of the year their market is plentifully provided; even in the winter vessels daily enter their market by one of the innumerable canals of the city, laden with such an abundant variety of fruits, flowers, and herbs, that it seems as if all the seasons of the year offered their productions simultaneously.

The gulf and the sea-coasts of Mexico abound with a great variety of fish, viz. whales, dolphins, porpoises, manatis, sword-fish, saw-fish, bonitos, thornbacks,

flying-fish, sharks, mullets, shad, cod, polypus, sponges, soles, several species of tortoises, sturgeons, pike, congers, turbot, carp, nautili, lampreys, sardinias, haddock, eels, crabs, lobsters, shrimps, prawns, and shell-fish. In the lakes and rivers there are upwards of one hundred species of fish, as various kinds of white fish, carp, trout, barbels, mullet, eels, pike, salmon, bobos, &c. Sea-shells are found on these coasts in prodigious numbers, and some of them of extraordinary beauty.

The ancient quadrupeds common to Mexico, are lions, tigers, wild cats, bears, wolves, foxes, common stags, white stags, bucks and does, wild goats, several species of apes and monkeys, polecats, badgers, weazels, martens, squirrels, hares, rabbits, otters, and rats.

The modern quadrupeds, which have been imported and introduced from the Canaries and from Europe, are camels, horses, mules, asses, bulls, cows, sheep, goats, hogs, dogs, and cats, all of which, except camels, have multiplied and increased in a most wonderful manner. There are private persons who are masters of fifty thousand head of cattle. In the country round the city of Mexico, a pair of large oxen for the plough are sold for 14 to 18 dollars, and bulls are sold by wholesale, at four to six dollars each. The multiplication of sheep is most surprising, there being in New Spain individual persons who own four and five hundred thousand sheep each, and with respect to size, there are no rams in Europe larger than the rams in Mexico. The size of the horses of Mexico is that of the common



common horses of Europe; their saddle-horses, although they are geldings, for the most part have an amazing spirit. Mules, which through the whole country of Mexico are employed to draw their carriages of all kinds, and to carry burdens, are equal in size to the mules of Europe. The mules for burdens are conducted by drivers, and carry loads of about 500lbs. weight each. They do not usually travel more than twelve to fifteen miles per day (the Mexican day's journey for loaded mules); but at this rate they make journies of five hundred to two thousand miles. Carriage-mules travel at the rate of four miles per hour, and besides the passengers, draw great weights in their baggage. Saddle-mules are made use of for very long journies; it is common to make a journey on the same mule from the city of Mexico to the city of Guatemala, which is upwards of one thousand miles distance, over a country that is mountainous and very rough, at the rate of thirty miles per day.

Mexico in general, as it is extremely extensive, and divided into so many various provinces, different in their situation, is consequently subjected to a variety of climate. The maritime parts being low and flat when compared with the inland country, are hot, and generally moist and unhealthy, and in particular districts, mountains of sand gather on the sea-shore. This moisture proceeds not less from the sea, than from the abundance of waters descending from the elevations that command the coast. The inland parts being extremely high, are tempe-

rate, dry, and healthy, rendered cool and delightful by the plentiful showers which frequently fall after mid-day, from April and May to September and October, and by breezes from the high mountains continually covered with snow, scattered here and there through the country of Mexico.

The greatest cold of any of the inhabited places does not equal the cold of England, or even the cold of Spain; nor can the greatest heat be compared even to the heat felt during the dog-days, in many countries of Europe. The difference between summer and winter is actually so little felt in any part, that the most delicate persons wear the same clothing in June and in January; no other relief is wanted in the hottest season but to retire to the shade, and the animals sleep all the year round under the open sky.

But the agreeableness of the climate is counterbalanced by thunder-storms, which are frequent in summer, as likewise by earthquakes, which are felt at all times, although in general producing less real danger than terror; yet it may be remarked, that they have been sometimes attended with most dreadful consequences, as was experienced on the 29th day of July, in the year 1773; when the large and populous city of St. Jago de Guatemala, at that time the capital of the audience and province of Guatemala, in New Spain, and one of the largest cities in Spanish America, was totally destroyed by a dreadful earthquake, accompanied with an eruption from a neighbouring volcano. By this terrible earthquake  
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one hundred and twenty thousand persons are supposed to have perished. There are an infinity of nitrous, sulphureous, vitriolic, and aluminous mineral waters, some of which spring so very hot, that in a few moments any kind of fruit, eggs, or animal food is boiled in them. There are also abundance of petrifying waters.

Mexico is most singularly fertile in plants, which yield balsams, gums, rosins, and oils; among these are the huitziloxitl, from which is distilled a balsam no wise inferior to the celebrated balsam of Meccha, and the Mexican tree, xochiocotzotl, from which is extracted that precious rosin, called by the Spaniards amber; likewise the oil called liquid amber, which is still more odorous and estimable than the rosin. From the Mexican tree, copalli, is extracted gum copal; it is used in Europe in medicine and in varnishes, and a great quantity of it is consumed as incense on the altars in catholic churches. The caragna and the tecamaca are rosins well known to the apothecaries in Europe, and are distilled from two Mexican trees. The thorny shrub, mizquitl, yields the true gum arabic. Gama laca runs in such abundance from a tree like the mizquitl, that the branches are covered with it. Expatli, or dragon's blood, runs from a large Mexican tree, named exquahuitl. Olli, or the elastic gum, distils from the Mexican tree, olquahuitl; those who gather it can model it to any form: the Mexicans make their foot-balls of this gum, which, though heavy, rebound more than those filled with air. Besides other uses to

which they apply it, they varnish their hats, their boots, cloaks, and great coats with it, which makes them all water-proof.

Mexico may be justly styled the country of birds, there being upwards of two hundred species peculiar to that kingdom. Among the birds of prey are several species of eagles, the most powerful and valuable of which is, that named by the Mexicans itzquauh-tli, which not only pursues the larger birds and hares, but will even attack men and beasts.

The Mexican falcons are so excellent in their nature, that they were sent as presents to the king, and the nobility of Spain. There are two kinds of kestrels, birds of prey; the one called cenotzqui is particularly beautiful: likewise goss-hawks and sparrow-hawks; zapilots, or gallinazos, which are larger than the raven; these not only clear the fields of carrion, which they discover by the acuteness of their sight and smell, when flying at the greatest heights, but they likewise attend the female crocodiles, and destroy their eggs. It is illegal to kill them. There are upwards of seventy species of birds which afford a wholesome and agreeable food; amongst which are woodcocks, partridges, snipes, pheasants, cranes, turtle-doves, pigeons, quails, wild turkeys, &c. with a vast variety of others that are esteemed in Europe.

Of aquatic and other fishing-birds which live chiefly on the sea-shore, upon the sides of lakes and rivers, and seek their food in the water, the numbers are prodigious; geese in wonderful quantities



tities, at least twenty species of ducks, several kinds of herons and egrets, with vast flocks of swans, gulls, water-rails, divers, kingfishers, palmipedes, zimantopedes, pelicans, and others.

There are 37 species of Mexican birds that are superlatively beautiful for their plumage, of which the hacuiloltototl, or painted bird, justly deserves its name, for its beautiful feathers are variegated with red, blue, purple, green, and black. Its eyes are black, with a yellow iris, and its feet are ash-coloured. The huitzitzilin is that wonderful little bird, so often celebrated by the historians of America for its smallness, its activity, the singular beauty of its plumage, the sparseness of its food, and the length of its sleep in the winter; it lives by sucking a plant similar to a myrtle. There are nine species of this bird, differing in size and in colour; the Spaniards call it chupamirto, or myrtle-sucker.

There are in Mexico twenty-six species of singing birds, amongst which are included nightingales, goldfinches, &c. but all the singing birds that are as yet known, are surpassed by the very famous centzentli (four hundred), so named by the Mexicans, to express the wonderful variety of its notes. The centzentli, or polyglot, is to be found in all parts of Mexico in great numbers, where they are held in such estimation, that twenty dollars have been paid for a superior one. It is impossible to give any idea of the sweetness and mellowness of its song, of the harmony and variety of its tones, or of the facility with which it learns to imitate whatever it

hears. It counterfeits naturally not only the notes of other birds, but even the different noises of quadrupeds. It is of the size of a common thrush; its body is white upon the under side, and grey above, with some white feathers, especially about the head and tail. It eats any thing, but delights chiefly in flies, which it will pick from one's finger with signs of pleasure. Attempts have been often made to bring it to Europe, but without success; it always died on the passage by change of climate, or the hardships of a voyage. The birds, called cardinals, are not less delightful to the ear from the sweetness of their song, than to the sight by the beauty of their scarlet plumage and crest. The Mexican calandra sings very sweetly also, and its song resembles that of the nightingale. The tigrillo, or little tiger (tigret), is so named from its feathers being spotted like the skin of a tiger, and its music is sweet. The Mexican sparrows, called gorrones, have a song most delightful and various. There are great numbers of these singing birds in the capital, and in the other cities and villages of Mexico.

In speaking-birds, the parrots hold, perhaps, the first place; there are four principal species of them in Mexico, namely, the huacamaya, the toznenltl, the cochotl, and the quiltototl.

The madrugadores, or twilight-birds, called by the Mexicans tzacua, are the last among the day birds to go to roost at night, and the first to leave it in the morning, and to announce the return of the sun. They never cease to sing and frolic till an hour



after sun-set, begin again long before the dawn, and never seem so happy as during the morning and evening twilight. The *madrugadores* are about as large as sparrows. Among the night birds are several kinds of owls and bats.

The reptiles of Mexico are of two classes, the four-footed and those without feet. The first class are crocodiles, lizards, frogs, and toads; in the second class are all kinds of serpents. The Mexican crocodiles resemble the African crocodiles in size, form, voracity, way of living, and in all the other peculiarities of their character; they abound in many of the lakes and rivers of Mexico, and sometimes destroy men as well as animals. Among the greater lizards is the *acaltetepon*; the bite of this animal is painful, but not mortal. The *iguana* is a harmless lizard. Among the poisonous lizards, the worst is the *teizauhqui*. Of serpents, the most considerable in point of size is the *canauhcoatl*, which is about 20 feet long, and five to six feet in thickness. Among the poisonous serpents is the *teclacozauhqui*, which is the famous rattlesnake: its colour and size are various, but it is commonly three or four feet long; the rattle sounds whenever the snake moves, and particularly when he is in motion to bite; the bite is attended with certain death, unless remedies are speedily applied, of which the most efficacious is thought to be, the holding of the wounded part some time in the earth. The *ahueyactli* is three to four feet long; it communicates a kind of poison which occasions the blood to burst from the mouth, nose and eyes of the person bit. The *cuicuilcoatl*,

so named from the variety of its colours, is not quite eight inches long, and of the thickness of the little finger, but its poison is most active and deadly. The *teiximinani* is of a long slender form, with a grey-coloured back, and purple belly; it moves always in a straight line, never coils, but springs from the trees upon passengers; its poison is most fatal. The *cencoatl* is also a poisonous snake, is about five feet long, and eight inches round at the thickest part. The most remarkable quality of this snake is its shining in the dark.

Of harmless snakes there are several kinds, of which the *tricatlinan*, or mother of ants, is very beautiful, about a foot in length, and of the thickness of the little finger; it lives always in ant-hills, and feeds upon the ants. The *maquizcoatl* is about a foot in length, and an inch in thickness; it is of a shining silver hue, the tail is thicker than the head, and it moves progressively with either extremity at pleasure.

Of insects, in Mexico, there are three classes, viz. the flying, the terrestrial, and the aquatic:

Among the flying insects are beetles, bees, wasps, flies, gnats, butterflies, and grasshoppers. The beetles are of several kinds, and mostly harmless. Some of them are of a green colour, called by the Mexicans *majatl*; they make a great noise in flying. There are others black, of a disagreeable smell and irregular form, called *pinacatl*. The *cucullo*, or shining beetle, is more than an inch in length, and, like other flying beetles, is furnished with double wings. It shews much light when



it flies, but none at all when it sleeps, as the phosphorus part is then covered with opaque membranes. Near the eyes are two small webs of fibres, and upon the belly is one somewhat larger, of a thin, transparent substance, which are full of luminous matter, affording a light strong enough to read by, and to shew the way to those who travel at night. The luminous matter is a white, mealy, viscid substance, which preserves its quality after it has been taken from the body of the cucullo, and one may draw shining characters with it upon a hat. There are great numbers of these flying phosphori upon the sea-coasts, which, seen on the neighbouring hills at night, form a very beautiful and brilliant spectacle. The boys easily catch them by waving a light in the evening; the insects drawn or attracted by it, come into their hands. The temolin is a large beetle, of a most disagreeable form, and a reddish chesnut colour, with six hairy feet, and four toes upon each.

Of bees there are six kinds. The first is like the common bee of Europe in size, shape, colour, disposition and habits, and in the quality of its honey and wax. The second species is without a sting; it makes the fine clear honey of estabentun, of an aromatic flavour, superior to all the other kinds which are at present known. The honey is taken from them six times a year, that is, once in two months; but the best is that which is got in November, being made from a fragrant white flower like the jessamine, which blows in September, and is called in that country estabentun, from whence

the honey has derived its name. The third species of bee is smaller than the bees of Europe, and without a sting; it forms nests in size and shape resembling sugar-loaves. The populousness of these hives is much greater than those of the common bee. The honey is of a greyish colour, but of a very fine flavour, and greatly esteemed. The fourth species is a yellow bee, smaller than the common bee, but is furnished with a sting; its honey is not equal to the three species of bees before mentioned. The fifth species is a small bee, without a sting, which constructs hives of an orbicular form, in subterraneous cavities, and the honey is sour, and somewhat bitter. The halpipolli, which is the sixth species, is black and yellow, of the size of the common European bee, but has no sting; its honey has a very disagreeable taste and flavour.

Of wasps, there are at least four kinds. The quetzalmiahuatl is the common wasp of Europe. The tetlatoca, or wandering wasp, so called from its frequent change of habitation, has a sting, but makes no honey or wax. The xicotli, xicote, is a thick black wasp with a yellow belly, which makes a sweet honey, in holes made by it in the walls; it is provided with a strong sting, which gives a very painful wound. The cuicalmiahuatl has likewise a sting, but does not make honey.

The quauhxicotli, is a black hornet with a red tail, whose sting is so large and strong, as not only to go through a sugar-cane, but even to pierce into the trunk of a tree.

Among the flies, besides the common fly, which is neither so



troublesome nor in such numbers, as are found generally in Europe during summer; there are some luminous ones, as the glow-fly. The axayacatl is a marshy fly of the Mexican lake, the eggs of which, being deposited in immense quantities upon the rushes and corn-flags of the lake, form large masses, which are taken up by fishermen, and carried to market for sale, for the purposes of fishing.

Gnats abound in the maritime parts, and in all places where heat, standing water, and shrubs encourage their propagation. They are in immense numbers in the lake of Chalco; but the capital, although near to that lake, is entirely free of that great nuisance. Cucarachas, or cock-roaches, are in immense quantities; and also bugs, which the cucarachas eat up, and totally destroy.

The butterflies of Mexico are much more numerous, and of greater variety than in Europe. It is impossible to give an idea of their variety and beauty, and the finest pencil is unable to imitate the exquisite colouring and design, which the almighty Author of nature has displayed in the embellishment of their wings.

Locusts are at times numerous beyond conception; sometimes darkening the air like thick clouds, they fall upon the sea-coast, and lay waste all the vegetation of the country.

Among the land insects, there are worms of several kinds, scorpions, scolopendræ, spiders, ants, niguas, chegoes, or jiggers, and the famous and celebrated cochineal insect of Mexico.

Of worms, some are useful, and

some are pernicious. The Ileo-culin, or burning worm, has the same qualities with the cantharides; its head is red, the breast green, and the rest of the body is of a tawny colour. The temahuani is a worm covered with yellow venomous prickles. The temictli resembles the silk-worm, both in its operations and in its metamorphoses. The silk-worm was brought from Europe, and propagated with success, till the court of Spain discouraged it, for fear the Mexicans should make silk goods, to supply Mexico themselves, and supersede the silk goods brought from Old Spain. Scolopendras are sometimes seen in the temperate parts of Mexico, but more frequently in the warm and moist parts, some as large as two feet in length, and two inches thick. Scorpions are common through the whole of Mexico. but in the cold and temperate parts they are not numerous, nor very hurtful; they abound in the hot parts, or where the air is very dry, although the heat is but moderate, and their poison is so active as to kill children, and occasion terrible pains to adults; their sting is the most dangerous in the hours of the day, when the sun gives most heat.

Of spiders, the tarantula is a very large one, the back and legs of which are covered with a fine soft blackish down, like that upon young chickens: it is peculiar to hot countries, is found in houses as well as in fields, and is supposed to be poisonous. The casampulga, is a small spider of the size of a chick pea, with short legs and a red belly; it is venomous and common in Chiapa. The most



most common ants of Mexico are of three kinds; the small black ants are the same with the ants of Europe. The second species are the large red ants, called bravas, or fierce, which give very painful wounds with their stings. The third species are the large brown ants, called arrieros, or carriers, because they are continually employed in carrying grain for their provisions, and for that reason they are more hurtful to the country than the common ant.

Ticks are very common in the fields of Mexico: they fix in the skins of sheep, horses, and other quadrupeds, and get into their ears, and sometimes even into the ears of men.

The celebrated cochineal is an insect peculiar to Mexico, and is the most useful of all that the land produces. The cochineal at its utmost growth, in size and figure, resembles a bug: the female is ill proportioned and sluggish. The eyes, mouth, antennæ, and feet, are so concealed among the wrinkles of its skin, that they cannot be discovered without the assistance of a microscope. The males are not so numerous, and one male serves for three hundred females; they are likewise smaller and thinner than the females, but more brisk and active. Upon the heads of this insect are two articulated antennæ, in each articulation of which are four small bristles, regularly disposed. It has six feet, each consisting of three parts. From the hind part of the body grow out two hairs, which are two or three times as long as the whole insect. The male has two large wings, which are wanting in the female: these wings are

strengthened by two membranes, one external, stretching along the circumference of the wing; the other internal, which runs parallel to the former. The internal colour of this insect is a deep red, but darker in the female, and the external colour is a pale red. In the wild cochineal, the internal colour is still darker, and the external is whitish, or ash-coloured. The cochineal is reared upon a species of nopal, opuntia, or Indian prickly fig, which grows to the height of about eight feet, and bears a fruit like the figs of other opuntias, but not eatable. It feeds upon the leaves of that tree, by sucking the juice with a trunk situated in the thorax, betwixt the two fore-feet; there it passes through all the stages of its growth, and at length produces a numerous offspring. This insect so greatly valued in Europe on account of its dyes, and especially those of scarlet and crimson, being not only extremely delicate, but also assailed by several enemies, demands a great deal more care from the breeders than is necessary for the silk-worm. Rain, cold, and strong winds destroy it. Birds, mice, and worms persecute and devour it; hence it is absolutely necessary to keep the rows of opuntia, or nopal, where these insects are bred, always clean, to attend constantly to drive away the birds which are destructive to them, to make nests of hay for them in the leaves of the opuntia; and when the season of rain approaches, to take them along with the leaves of the plants, and keep them in houses. Before the females are delivered, they cast their skin, to obtain which spoil, the breeders



make use of the tail of the rabbit, brushing most gently with it, that they may detach the insects from the leaves, without doing them any hurt. On every leaf they make three nests, and in every nest they lay about fifteen cochineals. Every year there are three gatherings, with a reserve, however, each time, of a certain number for the future generation; but the last gathering is the least valued, the cochineals being then smaller, and mixed with the shavings of the opuntia. They kill the cochineal, most commonly, with hot water. On the manner of drying it afterwards, the quality of the colour which is obtained from it chiefly depends. The best is that which is dried in the sun. Some dry it in the comilla, or pan in which they bake their bread of maize. Others dry it in the temezcalli, or Mexican vapour-bath, which is usually built of raw bricks, in the form of ovens for baking bread; its greatest diameter is about eight feet, and its greatest height six feet. The entrance, like the mouth of an oven, is wide enough to allow a man to creep easily in. In the place opposite to the entrance, there is a furnace of stone or raw bricks, with its mouth outwards, to receive the fire, and a hole above it to carry off the smoke. Cochineal, when it has been garbled, will produce in Europe, from twenty shillings to thirty shillings per pound.

Among the water insects of Mexico, the atetepitz is a marsh beetle, resembling in shape and size the beetles that fly; it has four feet, and is covered with a hard shell. The atepinan is a

marsh grasshopper, of a dark colour, about six inches long, and two broad. The ahuihuítla is a worm of the Mexican lake, four inches long, and of the thickness of a goose quill; it stings with its tail, which is hard and poisonous.

For the excellence, variety, and plenty of its timber, Mexico is equal to any country in the world. Besides oaks, firs, pines, cypresses, beeches, ashes, hazels, poplars, palm trees, and many others common in Europe, there are entire woods of cedars and ebonies; the two woods which were the most valued by the ancient Indians.

There is an abundance of agaloco, or wood of aloe, which produces a most delightful odour, especially when it is fresh cut. Camote, also a wood of a most beautiful purple. Grandillo, or red ebony, of a dark red colour. Guayacan, or lignum vitæ, well known in Europe for its hardness. The palogateado; the caoba, or mahogany, and a variety of others odorous, ornamental, and useful.

In Mexico, there are upwards of two hundred species of trees; numbers of which are prodigious in their height and thickness. In the capital, as well as in other places, there are very large tables to be seen, made of cedar, consisting of one single piece, and in some of the houses there are beams of cedar, which measure upwards of forty English yards long.

His excellency Don Fernando Lorenza, who was at that time archbishop of Mexico, and was afterwards archbishop of Toledo, in Old Spain, attests in his annotations, printed in Mexico, in the year



year 1770, that he went himself in company with the archbishop of Guatemala and the bishop of Angelopoli, to view the ancient and celebrated fir-tree in the valley of Atlixo, known by the Mexican name of aheuhentl: which he found to be so very large, that into a cavity of its trunk, which was occasioned by lightning, he made one hundred young lads enter. This fact must be true, beyond a doubt, when related on the personal testimony of so highly respectable and venerable a prelate.

The ceibas, Mexican. pochctl, or cotton trees, grow the highest of any trees yet known, and their thickness is proportioned to their prodigious elevation; they have a most delightful appearance at the time they are adorned with new leaves and loaded with fruit, enclosing a particular species of white, fine, and most delicate cotton, with which the Mexicans make various kinds of goods for their own consumption.

They have a certain species of wood fig, which grows in the country of Cohuixcas, and in some other places: it is a lofty thick tree, similar in leaves and fruit to the common fig. From its branches, which extend horizontally, spring certain filaments, taking their direction towards the earth, and growing till they reach it; they then strike root, and form so many new trunks, that from one single fig a whole wood may be generated. The fruit of this tree is altogether useless, but its timber is good.

The mines of Mexico produce sulphur, alum, vitriol, cinnabar,

ochre, quicksilver, iron, lead, tin, copper, silver, and gold.

With respect to precious stones, diamonds are still to be found, though but few in number. There are amethysts, cats-eyes, turquoises, cornelians, and some green stones which resemble emeralds, and are not much inferior to them in quality. There are mountains of loadstone; immense quarries of the finest stones for buildings: quarries of various kinds of marble, of alabaster, of jasper; and great abundance of the famous stone called itztli, or piera del galinazzo; it is semi-transparent, of a glossy substance, and generally black, but is found also white and blue; the Indians made looking-glasses, &c. of it. There are also infinite quantities of lime-stone, of plaster, and of talc.

The most common diseases in Mexico, in the hottest parts, and on the sea-coasts, are intermittent fevers, spasms, consumptions, agues, catarrhs, fluxes, pleurisies, and acute fevers. The black vomiting is very common, and fatal in the towns on the sea-coast, as in La Vera Cruz, &c. In the city of Mexico, the diarrhæa is very frequent. The small-pox was originally brought to Mexico by the Spaniards from Old Spain: it is not so frequent there as in Europe; but generally appears after an interval of a certain number of years, and then attacking all those who had not been affected by it before, it makes much havoc.

The method which the Mexicans use to catch ducks, &c. is artful and curious. The lakes of the Mexican vale, as well as all  
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the other lakes of Mexico, are frequented by prodigious multitudes of wild ducks, wild geese, and other aquatic birds. The Mexicans leave some empty gourds to float upon the water where those birds resort, that they may be accustomed to see and to approach them without fear. The bird-catcher goes into the water so deep as to hide his body, and covers his head with a gourd; the ducks, &c. come to peck at it, and then he pulls them by the feet under water, and in this manner secures as many as he pleases.

The Mexicans take serpents alive, either by twisting them with great dexterity, or by approaching them intrepidly, and then seizing them with one hand by the neck, and closing their mouths with the other. Every day, in the apothecaries' shops of the capital, and those of other cities, may be seen live serpents which have been taken in this manner.

The lake of Chalco abounds with a great variety of fish, and, from its vicinity to the city of Mexico, affords great amusement to the citizens, who constantly frequent it in boats, in order to enjoy that most pleasing and favourite diversion; they make use of nets, as well as hooks, harpoons, &c. and they are wonderfully dexterous in catching the fish.

Among the eatables, the first place is due to maize, which they call haolli, a grain granted by providence to that part of the world, instead of the corn of Europe, the rice of Asia, and the millet of Africa, over all which it possesses some advantages; as, besides its being wholesome, relishing, and more nutritive, it multiplies more,

thrives equally in different climes, does not require so much culture, is not so delicate as corn; stands not in need, like rice, of a moist soil, nor is it hurtful to the health of the cultivator. They have several species of maize: the large and the small, the white, the yellow, the blue, the purple, the red, and the black. Of maize they make their bread, which is totally different to the bread of Europe in taste, in appearance, and in its preparation. They put the grain to boil in water, with a little lime; when it becomes soft, they rub it in their hands to strip off the skin, then pound it in the metlatl, or stone in which they grind their maize; then they take out a little of the paste, and stretching it by beating with both hands, they form the bread, after which they give it the last preparation in the comalli, which is a round, and rather hollow pan, about an inch thick, and fifteen inches in diameter. The form of the bread is round and flat, about eight inches in diameter, some less than a quarter of an inch in thickness, and some as thin as strong paper. The making of bread, as well as the preparing and dressing of every kind of meat, is the peculiar occupation of their women. The atolli is a gruel made of maize, after it has been boiled, well ground, dissolved in water, and strained. They give it commonly to sick persons, as a most salutary food, sweetening it with a little sugar, instead of honey, which is used by the Indians. To them it is so grateful, that they cannot live without it; it forms their breakfast, and sustained by it, they bear the fatigues of agriculture, and other servile offices



offices in which they are employed.

The maguei, called by the Mexicans metl, by the Spaniards pita, is one of the most common and most useful plants of Mexico. From it is made a kind of wine, which is called octli by the Mexicans, and by the Spaniards pulque. Pulque is neither a Spanish nor a Mexican word, but is taken from the Araucan language, which is spoken in Chili, in which the pulcu is the general name for the beverages these Indians use to intoxicate themselves: it is difficult to say how the term has passed into Mexico. The method of making it this: when the maguei, or Mexican aloe, arrives at a certain height and maturity, they cut the stem, or rather the leaves, while tender, of which the stem is formed, after which there remains a certain cavity. They shave the internal surface of the large leaves which surround the cavity, and collect the sweet juice which distils from them in such abundance, that one single plant generally yields in the space of six months, six hundred, and in the whole time of its fruitfulness, more than two thousand pounds weight. They gather the juice from the cavity with a long narrow gourd, and pour it into a vessel where it ferments in less than twenty-four hours. To assist the fermentation, and make the beverage stronger, they infuse a certain herb, which they name ocapali, or remedy of wine. The colour of this wine is white; the taste is a little rough, and its strength sufficient to intoxicate, though not so much as wine of the grape. In other respects it is

a wholesome liquor, and valuable on many accounts, as it is an excellent diuretic, and a powerful remedy against the diarrhœa. The consumption made of pulque is most surprising, as well as profitable, for the Spaniards become rich by it. The revenue produced by the pulque alone, which is consumed in the capital city of Mexico, amounts annually to three hundred thousand dollars, one Mexican rial only being paid as duty for every twenty-five Castilian pounds weight. The quantity of pulque which was consumed in the capital, in the year 1774, was 2,214,294 arrobas. Every day are brought into the city of Mexico upwards of six thousand arrobas of pulque; but in this computation we do not comprehend what is introduced by smuggling, nor that which the Indians, who are privileged, sell in the principal square of the city. Pulque will not keep above one day, and therefore what is made is daily consumed.

The daily consumption of tobacco for smoking, in the capital, is reckoned at one thousand two hundred and fifty dollars, or thereabouts, which in one year makes the sum of four hundred and fifty thousand dollars. But it is necessary to be understood, that among the Indians very few use tobacco; among the Europeans, Creoles, Mulattoes, and negroes, great numbers also do not use it.

Tobacco is a name taken from the Cuban language. The Mexicans had two species of it very different in the size of the plant, leaves, and in the figure of the flower, as well as in the colour of the seed. The smallest plant, which



which is the common one, was called by them picietl, and the largest quaujetl. The quaujetl grows as high as a moderate tree. Its flower is not divided into five parts, like that of the picietl, but only cut into six or seven

angles. These plants vary much, according to clime, not only in the quality of the tobacco, but also in the size of the leaves and other circumstances, on which account several authors have multiplied the species.



# NATURAL HISTORY.

*Directions for taking care of  
growing Plants at Sea, by Dr.  
W. Roxburgh, of Calcutta.*

[From Transactions of the Society of  
Arts, Vol. XXVII]

**P**ARTICULAR care, - if not placed in a cabin, must be taken, that they are kept covered during stormy weather, or such as raises the least saline spray into the air; for the chief danger, plants are liable to at sea, is occasioned by the saline particles with which the air is then charged. These, falling on the plants, quickly evaporate, but leave the deadly salt behind: every care must therefore be taken, to guard against salt water, and the spray at sea. During moderate weather, it will be proper to keep the boxes open, for plants cannot long exist without air and light; also during moderate rain, which is much better for plants than water from the cask; but too much moisture is more dangerous than drought. When the weather is dry, it will be necessary to give them a little fresh water now and then; the periods and quantity cannot be pointed out in any in-

structions, as the state of the weather must be the guide.

Directions where to place the chests, cannot be well given; as that will, in a great measure, depend on the size, structure, &c. of the ship. In our Indiamen, round the capstan, on the quarter-deck, seems the best, on many accounts. The greatest danger in such a situation is, while the deck is washing in the mornings, the boxes must then be shut, and covered with a piece of canvas, or something to prevent the salt water getting in between crevices.

When plants from a cold climate get into a warm one, they shoot most luxuriantly, and often kill or choke one another: the larger shoots must therefore be frequently shortened, and as many of the leaves thinned as will give the rest air and room. Insects, particularly caterpillars, often make their appearance about the same time; they must be carefully picked off.

Baskets with roots, (such as potatoes, &c.) or succulent plants, may be hung up in any cool, airy place; such, for example, as the  
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projecting part of the deck which covers the wheel in an Indiaman, or hung over the stern; but, in that case, they must be covered with a tarpaulin, or painted canvas.

Seeds ought to be kept in a cool dry place, and never put below in the gun-room, hold, or lower deck.

Roots ought to be packed in dry sand, after being moderately dried, and dispatched in any ship that sails about the close of the year.

*Account of the Mahogany Tree, and of the cutting thereof at Honduras.*

[From Captain Henderson's Account of the British Settlement of Honduras.]

There are two seasons in the year for cutting of mahogany: the first commencing shortly after Christmas, or at the conclusion of what is termed the *wet season*, the other about the middle of the year. At such periods all is activity; and the falling of trees, or the trucking out those that have been fallen, form the chief employments. Some of the wood is rough-squared on the spot, but this part of the labour is generally suspended until the logs are rafted to the entrance of the different rivers. These rafts often consist of more than two hundred logs, and are floated as many miles. When the floods are unusually rapid, it very frequently happens, that the labour of a season, or perhaps of many, is at once destroyed by the breaking asunder of a raft, and the whole of the mahogany being hurried precipitately to the sea.

The gangs of negroes employed

in this work consist of from ten to fifty each; few exceed the latter number. The large bodies are commonly divided into several small ones, a plan which, it is supposed, greatly facilitates labour.

Each gang of slaves has one belonging to it, who is styled the *hunter*. He is generally selected from the most intelligent of his fellows, and his chief occupation is to search the woods, or, as in this country it is termed, the *bush*, to find labour for the whole. A negro of this description is often valued at more than five hundred pounds.

About the beginning of August the *hunter* is dispatched on his errand; and if his owner be working on his own ground, this is seldom an employment of much delay or difficulty. He cuts his way through the thickest of the woods to the highest spots, and climbs the tallest tree he finds, from which he minutely surveys the surrounding country. At this season the leaves of the mahogany tree are invariably of a yellow reddish hue, and an eye accustomed to this kind of exercise can discover, at a great distance, the places where the wood is most abundant. He now descends, and to such places his steps are directed; and without compass, or other guide than what observation has imprinted on his recollection, he never fails to reach the exact point to which he aims.

It not unfrequently happens, when the hunter has been particularly successful in this journey of discovery, in finding a large body of wood in some remote corner, that it becomes a contest with his



his conscience, whether he shall disclose the matter to his master, or sell it to his master's neighbour : a liberal equivalent for this breach of fidelity being always punctually discharged. Those, however, who afford encouragement to such practices, by such impolitic temptation, are perhaps not more mindful of the old adage than of their interest, as it cannot but indirectly sanction their own slaves to take equal advantage whenever the opportunity presents itself.

On some occasions no ordinary stratagem is necessary to be resorted to by the huntsman to prevent others from availing themselves of the advantage of his discoveries ; for if his steps be traced by those who may be engaged in the same pursuit, which is a very common thing, all his ingenuity must be exerted to beguile them from the true scent. In this, however, he is not always successful, being followed by those who are entirely aware of all the arts he may use, and whose eyes are so quick, that the lightest turn of a leaf, or the faintest impression of his foot, is unerringly perceived : even the dried leaves which may be strewed on the ground often help to conduct to the secret spot. Patents for discovery having never been contemplated by the Honduras wood-cutters, any invasion of the right appertaining to it has therefore seldom been very scrupulously regarded by them. And it consequently happens, that persons so engaged must frequently undergo the disappointment of finding an advantage they had promised to themselves seized on by others.

The mahogany tree is commonly

cut about twelve feet from the ground, and a stage is erected for the axe-man employed in levelling it. This, to an observer, would appear a labour of much danger, but an accident rarely happens to the person engaged in it. The body of the tree, from the dimensions of the wood it furnishes, is deemed the most valuable ; but for purposes of ornamental kind, the branches or limbs are generally preferred, the grain of these being much closer, and the veins more rich and variegated.

The last day of falling the trees, if the negroes have not been disturbed in their labour, is always one of festivity and merriment ; and these people may now anticipate a short interval of leisure that will allow them to think of comforts in which they seldom can indulge at the commencement of their work. Some are busily employed in the improvement of their dwellings, which are nothing more than huts composed of a few sticks and leaves, that of the master being seldom better, whilst others search the woods for game, in which they generally are abundantly successful. The more ingenious turn their attention to the manufacture of a variety of small articles from the less valuable mahogany, for domestic use ; and which, either as presents to their wives, or as matters for sale, are disposed of on their return from the woods.

The mahogany tree is seldom found in clusters or groups, but single, and often much dispersed ; what, therefore, is denominated a mahogany work, comprehends an extent of several miles. The growth of this tree is considered rapid, but



but that of the logwood much more so, which, it is said, attains maturity in five years.

It has been remarked, by those of most experience in this occupation, that the mahogany which is fallen between the months of February and September is very liable to split; the same observation extends to that also which grows in rocky or mountainous situations. This is the *bay-man's* greatest evil, for the wood more particularly subject to this inconvenience is invariably the largest and of the finest quality. There is but one precaution against this, whenever the tendency towards it is discovered, which is to keep the tree immersed as closely as possible, in deep water, until the time for shipping or otherwise disposing of it arrives.

The logs of mahogany are generally brought out by cattle and trucks to the water side, or to the *barquadier*, as it is termed in this country, which has been previously prepared by the foreman of the work for their reception. When the distance is great, this is a labour of infinite and tedious difficulty. As soon as a sufficient number to form a raft is collected, and the waters have gained the necessary height, they are singly thrown from the banks, and require no other aid or guidance than the force of the current to float them to the booms, which are large cables placed across the rivers at the different eddies or falls. Here they are once more collected, each party claiming his own from the general mass, and formed into separate rafts for their final destination. Sometimes more than a thousand logs together are sup-

ported by the booms; and the catastrophe attendant on their breaking asunder, which during extraordinary floods often happens, has been previously noticed.

The mahogany, when disposed of at Honduras, produces from sixteen to thirty pounds, Jamaica currency, per thousand feet: the price of this article, however, can seldom be fixed, and must always fluctuate as it may be governed by quality or size. The shipping of it to Europe, especially during war, has seldom been found advantageous, excepting to a few individuals, who have succeeded in establishing a kind of preference in the London market. The exporting of it to the American States would, it is considered, be highly beneficial to the settlers generally, were there less restriction in the way of the dimensions of that which is permitted to be carried to them: this renders the intercourse, as it exists at present, of insignificant importance.

To give some idea of the profit, though perhaps the instances of such success are not numerous, which has been known to attend the cutting of mahogany: a single tree has been found to contain 12,600 superficial feet, and this to produce upwards of one thousand pounds sterling. This certainly is a most flattering view of the subject; but, unquestionably, many more examples of opposite advantage might be produced. The great expense the settler must incur in the purchase, feeding, and clothing a number of slaves; the tools, cattle, and furniture, he must supply for the purpose of draught, exclusive of a variety of miscellaneous



neous disbursements, are all material drawbacks from any thing like such extraordinary gain commonly happening in this undertaking.

The annual cost of the negroe alone is estimated by each proprietor at Honduras, at something more than thirty-five pounds Jamaica currency: an expense which, in the history of slavery, is probably without parallel. As a fact so unusual may require more than naked assertion to support it, it may not be unnecessary to particularise what is commonly granted on such occasions, and which custom has long since brought into regular exaction. First, therefore, of provisions:

Of Irish salt pork, to each negro, 5lb. per week, which, on an average of price, may be estimated for 365 days at.....	£. s. d.	
Of flour, always the finest, 1lb. per day each, estimated at ..	8 10 0	
Of rum, supposing a gill to be allowed to each slave per day, during the days that work is carrying on, which may be numbered at 260: the spirits at 10s. per gallon ....	4 1 3	
Of sugar, 12lb. allowed to each, at 1s. 3d. per lb. ....	0 15 0	
Of clothing: two suits of fatigue, or working clothes, usually of osnaburgs, at about 1s. 8d. per yard to each, and making..	1 3 4	
Carried forward ..	£24 9 7	

	£. s. d.	
Brought forward ..	24 9 7	
One pair of coarse shoes ditto ditto.....	0 13 4	
Miscellaneous: tobacco and pipes to each negroe.....	1 10 0	
Medical attendance, or medicine, per contract, to each. ....	0 13 4	
Saturday's labour, invariably the privilege of the slave, and which is generally engaged by his owner: established rate 3s. 4d. per day .....	8 13 4	
Jamaica currency	£35 19 7	

Equal in sterling for each slave, per ann.	£25 13 11 $\frac{1}{4}$
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If the slave be not employed in regular mahogany cutting, he is at least engaged in some occupation by his master, which gives him a claim to this compensation. This allowance, however, though it be paid at the nominal rate of 3s. 4d. per day, seldom actually amounts to any thing like so much; it being in most instances accounted for in slops, trinkets, or liquors, of the most inferior kind; and which no doubt are given out in this way at a profit of more than 200 per cent. Besides the principal number of the persons engaged in the cutting of mahogany being also in trade, of course the above is provided for in the way of business. To those who may not be so situated, of whom there are likewise several, and who must depend on the merchant for such supplies, this expense consequently



consequently bears a very different proportion.

The cutting of logwood is not so important or extensive an undertaking as that of mahogany. It does not require, in the first instance, any thing like the same number of slaves and cattle; nor, in the second, so great an expense in various articles of machinery, tools, provisions, &c. &c. The persons who embark in it are usually beginners in life, and frequently possess little other capital to carry it on but their industry. Though an inferior, it may in some shape be viewed as a necessary occupation to the other, as large quantities of logwood are continually required by the shippers of mahogany for the purpose of securely stowing their vessels; and who find an advantage in purchasing it, rather than in detaching their own labourers in search of it.

It does not often occur that logwood and mahogany are found growing in the neighbourhood of each other; the situations which they inhabit being extremely different. The former may, perhaps, be almost classed among productions of an aquatic kind, as it can seldom be obtained in any abundant way but in a low swampy soil, or contiguous to fresh-water creeks and lakes, on the edges of which the root, the only valuable part of the tree, spreads to a very wide extent. After this remark, it need scarcely be added, that this pursuit is found of a most unpleasant and unhealthy description. It may likewise be observed, that it is a production of local growth, and but rarely discovered in any di-

rection southwardly from the settlement of Balize.

The price of logwood at Honduras is still more fluctuating than that of mahogany, the demand for it being much more unequal. This commonly vibrates between 7l. and 14l. Jamaica currency per ton. The most advantageous market for it has usually been found in the United States, to which it is frequently permitted to be carried without restriction. As an article of export to Britain, it has not generally been profitable.

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*Memoir on the Tunis broad-tailed Sheep, by Richard Peters, Esq. President of the Philadelphia Society for promoting Agriculture.*

[From the Memoirs of the Society.]

I obtained the original stock of these sheep from Colonel Pickering, then secretary of state, to whom they were sent by William Eaton, Esq. when consul of the United States at Tunis. For this estimable proof of his patriotism he merits the thanks of all who profit by its advantages. I deemed myself bound, though no terms were made with me, to distribute many of their progeny gratuitously, and gave away lambs for several years, with a view to encourage and spread the breed. My pastures were overburthened with ewes, sent to my rams when no charge was made. Those who received the benefit were not sufficiently conscious of its value, save that they found the broad tail excited curiosity, and procured a ready



ready sale for the lambs. The original ram, after I had bred from him some excellent sheep, was sent, for his own, and the use of the farmers of Lancaster county, to my late friend General Hand. I was offered what was then deemed a high price for the ram, by some victuallers, who wished to breed lambs for the market; but I did not think it consistent with my ideas of propriety to accept it. Nor did I wish the lambs killed, and my object of increasing the numbers, and spreading the breed, defeated. I gave up the management of my farm to a tenant, on shares, and with it the full-blooded sheep. Neither he, nor those who succeeded him, held the sheep in proper estimation, though every endeavour was made to impress it upon them. The lambs were sold year after year to the butchers, at the prices, or nearly so, given for those bred from common sheep. It is only very lately that the present tenant has discovered their value, by the demand for them, which is now much greater than can be supplied. This demand is created by the experience of those who have been convinced, by their own observation, of their superior excellence. My flock is so reduced, that, in a pecuniary point of view, this late conviction of the value of this breed is to me of very little importance. My tenant is now taking some pains to recover his lost time and opportunity. I am happy to know that others have been more careful to preserve this highly valuable race. I mention these, and other circumstances, to account for these sheep not being very extensively

known and estimated for a length of time.

My endeavours at getting the sheep into credit, were for a long time very unpromising. I had insensibility as well as prejudice to combat; nor do I believe them yet entirely overcome. The trouble I now give to the society, by a long, though just, detail of the character and qualities of these valuable sheep, is my last effort to remove and conquer what remains of this insensibility and prejudice. Experience in the affairs of the world often shews, that whatever intrinsic merit a saleable article may possess, the price in the market is the criterion by which its value is generally estimated. It is not unlikely that my object of spreading this breed of sheep, and inducing care and attention to them, would have been (taking mankind as we find them) more effectually accomplished, by demanding large sums for even the few I could have sold, or hired out as tups, at high prices. If any new proofs of this view of the subject were wanting, the daily instances of purchases, at prices novel and astonishing in this country, made of another highly valuable race of sheep, would afford them. The zeal now prevalent for the breeding this, or any other estimable addition to our stock of domestic animals, did not exist at the time the Tunis sheep made their first appearance. I am highly gratified by present prospects on this subject. I am by no means desirous that it should be repressed in its application to the favourite race of sheep now endeavoured, almost exclusively, to be brought into fashion. I am



fully impressed with the value of Merino wool. No other wool, within my knowledge, can compete with it. Nor do I mean in any way to lessen the estimation in which the Spanish sheep of this breed are held. I say, of this breed (in which there are varieties, some whereof are much inferior to others), because, in Spain there are sheep of as coarse carcase and wool as any of the worst we have. And it is very well known, that the mutton of all breeds there is so indifferent, that the tables of the wealthy are supplied from Barbary: wool of valuable breeds being the primary object, is no doubt the cause of inattention to the other uses of sheep, added to other circumstances.

Our country is extensive enough for many different races; and some, in parts of this, as in all other countries, may thrive where others will not. In South Carolina the Tunis sheep, obtained from my stock, are preferred to all others. In England, and other sheep-countries, that some breeds are better adapted to local circumstances than others, is verified indisputably, as will be seen in the accounts of their best writers; though sheep may be indigenated, with proper care, in any country. In England I have never heard of the Tunis mountain sheep. Their writers do not mention it, though they have broad-tailed sheep; and I am persuaded this species is there unknown. I therefore wish that the Tunisian broad-tailed mountain sheep may have its share of attention, without interfering with the views of those who prefer others. I have

mentioned emphatically their specific distinction, because the broad-tailed African sheep in general, so far as my knowledge extends, are much inferior to these. All I have known (except some Persian sheep) with broad tails, have been an unprofitable race; though no doubt, as they occupy so great a portion of the habitable globe, there must be among them many valuable kinds.

My experience and observations as to the Tunis sheep, are founded on a knowledge of them for a period of thirteen years. The benefits arising from their propagation have accrued in the greatest degree to others. For it may be seen, that my advantages—except in the real pleasure and solid satisfaction I derive to myself from even the partial success of my efforts—have been small indeed. I see no cause to claim any merit over others on this account. Reasonable emolument is the just reward of all who risk or labour in laudable pursuits. I do not aim at establishing this on the depreciation of other good breeds; being only desirous that it should take its proper rank among them.

There should be varieties of races and kinds, to suit not only local circumstances, but also different objects for which they are intended. I believe with Cully (on live stock, p. 153), “that breed is the best that brings the most profit, in fleece and carcase together from the same ground, in equal times.” I do not hesitate to avow my persuasion, that the Tunis mountain sheep will, in the long run, compete with any in this view of the subject. The temporary price of better wool, with  
all



all that has been said of its presumed stability, does not alter my opinion. Plenty or scarcity of an article, and shifting demand for it, operate on price. These are circumstances perpetually fluctuating. That breed is most generally desirable which is best suited to all common circumstances, and requires no more care and attention than good common farmers can, and will, bestow.

I have never seen better home-made cloth than the selected parts of the Tunis fleeces, and especially the cut next the pelt, will afford. Some of them will bear three cuts, of about an inch and an half to two inches long each. Many of the fleeces are of this description, and more are short and fine. Of worsted and fleecy hosiery, I have not seen any other wool produce superior fabrics, for common use. For the latter, the cut next the pelt has been used. I have seen some fleeces apparently furry next the pelt, like beaver, but consisting of very fine-fibred wool.

The mutton is known to be among the finest and best in our market. The proportion of flesh to size of the animal, is, I think, remarkably great. There is little offal in this sheep. It is, when pure, hornless; and its bones are small. It lays the fat on profitable points. Though it does not shew the suet on the kidneys as much as do some other sheep, yet the fat is mixed with the flesh, which is of the most inviting colour, and marbled in a striking degree. Its tail (which I have known, when prepared for cooking, to weigh from six to eight pounds) if properly dressed,

is a feast for an epicure. The tail of a young beaver, which I have enjoyed when I dared to indulge in such food, (when free from a fishy or sedgy taint, to which, at certain seasons, the flesh of amphibious animals is subject,) is the only rival I know.

The following additional account of these sheep can be verified by myself, and others who have gained a practical knowledge of them.

1. The Tunis sheep are better set with wool than any others generally known here. The Merino may be an exception; but it remains for experiment, in a common course of keeping sheep, by farmers here. There is no part of its body uncovered. It does not shed its wool like common sheep; so that I have never seen a ragged Tunis sheep, where the blood of the stock predominated. If the wool of the mixed breed is deciduous, it shews that the sheep partakes of the cross more than the stock. I have known one kept unshorn for a year after the fleece might have been taken off; and the fleece continued entire and thriving, and the sheep remained in high health; but I would not recommend this as an eligible practice. For very fine fabrics the Merino wool can be used alone, and such are only within the purchase of the wealthy. It is most generally mixed with fine wool of other fleeces, and it is in such case worked to most profit. The Tunis wool is sufficient for all common purposes, and can be applied without mixture with other wool, to more uses than that of the Merino, or any other sheep generally known here.



here. The average weight of fleeces is from five to five and a half, and I have known some flocks to average six pounds; I speak of a selected flock, well fed, and attended to with care. From individual sheep of the full blood I have shorn eight, nine, and ten pounds. I mean in this estimate washed wool, or from sheep washed before shearing. I have generally, but not always, practised this, and I have never found any disadvantage either as to cleanness of wool or health of the sheep. In the crosses, pains should be taken to select breeders of the best forms and fleeces. From carelessness in this respect, many persons have injured the character of this sheep and its fleece. It is as vain to expect good fleeces from a starved, neglected, or ill-assorted flock, as it is to count on a good crop from a poor and ill-managed field. I am convinced that the wool of this sheep has never been properly known or appreciated, the mutton having been the object. I have now as fine and as white home-made blankets, and have seen as fine flannel, made from the white wool of spotted fleeces, as those made from any other wool usually devoted to such purposes; there being always as much white wool as will answer for every fabric requiring it. In the dressing of blankets and flannels, we are yet much behind the Europeans.

2. They are hardy, and will bear either cold or heat better than any others within my knowledge. I have, on a small scale, (never less in number than one or two score, and frequently from 80 to 100) had an interest in, and

kept sheep of every breed known in this country, for a period of forty-five years—some breeds recently introduced, and the Merino excepted, I never knew a hardier sheep than are those of the Tunis breed. Were I to point out, in my estimation, the proper form, size, and valuable points and qualities of a sheep, I could not more justly designate them, than by exactly describing my old ram Caramelli.

3. They fatten with less food, and much quicker, than any other sheep. That other sheep become as fat, I know; but more time and food are required, so to make them. They will bear to be kept fat, without being diseased, far beyond any others within my knowledge. The carcase is heavy, but not coarse, as are many other sheep of large sizes. The heaviest ewe of this breed I have known weighed 182 pounds alive, when sheared. Her fleece, clean washed, weighed eight and one half pounds; she was half blood. A half-bred ram, a twin, at eighteen months old weighed 214 pounds.

4. Their character is that of gentleness and quietude; and they live in health, vigour, and usefulness, to greater ages than other sheep. I never saw a breachy Tunis sheep. Some exceptions there may be, but they are rare. Yet they are not inactive, but use sufficient exercise for health, without wandering and fickleness as to pastures. In these they are not over nice; and will keep in good condition upon coarser and less food than any sheep I am acquainted with.

5. Their general healthfulness enables



enables them to retain their fleeces. A diseased Tunis sheep is rare, even in a mixed flock, in which other sheep have been subject to every disease known in that animal. I have had them disordered in the feet with the fouds, but not the foot-rot. If the hoofs of sheep are examined, there will be found a small opening near and above the fore part of the cleft. It is the mouth of a duct, running up the shank, and calculated for the emission of a mucilaginous oil, which lubricates, supports, and assists in the growth and renewal of the corneous parts of the hoof. Perhaps it is also a drain for humours, which, when confined, become morbid and peccant. If this closes the disease appears. Examine well, and rub briskly the parts together; assist the opening of the duct, and the discharge of the morbid and stagnated matter in every way. Poke-juice I have found efficacious. Few are acquainted with this part of the animal structure, though I believe all cloven-footed animals are thus formed. Swine have the duct in the hinder part of the leg; cattle in the cleft, which, when diseased, is lacerated often by a hair rope drawn between the clefts, when gentler means would effect the purpose.

6. A Tunis tup couples with a ewe of other breeds with more certainty and effect, than a tup of the common species with a Tunis ewe. The broad tail is the impediment. This must be managed by an adroit pander. I have known frequent failures in projected crosses, owing to inattention in this particular; but the Tunis tup finds no difficulty with

a ewe of his own race. However whimsical it may appear, the colour of the tongue of any breed is said to be important in the selection of a tup. The third georgic of Virgil records the fact, which I have seen verified in several instances. I give Dryden's translation of the passage:—

“ Even though a snowy ram thou shalt behold,  
Prefer him not in haste for husband to thy fold,  
But search his mouth; and if a swarthy tongue  
Is underneath his humid palate hung,  
Reject him, lest he darken all thy flock;  
And substitute another from thy stock.”

If this should seem to some improbable, it will be no difficult task for the incredulous to avoid the black tongue, lest, per chance, the denunciation of Virgil may turn out well founded.

7. The tail is the true test of purity of blood; and horns are a bad symptom, especially if large. The tufts on the thighs, and crest, or forelock, are also marks of blood.

Those who find this race preferable, under all its circumstances, must balance advantages and comparative defects. It is, like the Merino, a peculiar genus and race of sheep. Those who value them must reconcile themselves to coloured wool; though the greatest proportion is white. But I have not found, that whiteness is the criterion of quality or fineness, and I have often found the tawny the finest wool. Every part, of every colour but black, will take dyes equal to any wool of any species; whiteness is therefore of little substantial importance or benefit. If the Merino



wool had no other excellencies, real or fanciful, its whiteness or cleanliness would not recommend it, as it is not, so far as I have seen, remarkable for either. We must take things as God made them, if we would have them according to their kind; art as often fails as succeeds in attempts to ameliorate. The lambs of the Tunis breed are white, red, tawney, bluish, and black, but the fewest of the latter. All, except the black, grow white in the general colour of the fleece, though most commonly coloured in spots; and either tawney or black generally marks the cheeks and shanks, and sometimes the whole head and face. A perfectly white Tunisian is as much deteriorated by this singularity of departure from stock, as is an Albino negro, who is an anomaly in the African race of men. I have seen some nearly white sheep of this breed, and tolerably high-blooded, after three or four crosses with this object; but I never liked them the better for this circumstance, which I always considered a departure from blood and race. The whiteness of fleece was obtained from the sires or dams of the crosses. The sire commonly gives the character to the progeny. I would not, however, be understood to say, that mixtures, or crosses with well-selected sheep of other kinds, are prejudicial. On the contrary, I have had, and have seen with others, fine sheep of half, three-quarters, and seven-eighths blood. But not all of these crosses (especially where white fleece is the object) shew the tail in perfection; and I think many are defi-

cient in some of the best qualities of the sheep, and that in proportion to defect of tail and whiteness of fleece.

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*Method of preserving and keeping in vigour Fruit Trees, planted in Orchards or Fields.*

[From Mr. Nicholson's Journal of Natural Philosophy.]

It has been observed, that the numerous roots of the herbage growing round fruit trees, recently planted in fields and orchards, are injurious to the vegetation of these young trees; and their fruit is smaller and inferior in quality, in proportion to the quantity of the herbage that covers their roots. This is particularly the case with peach trees. In Germany, to prevent this, they surround the fresh transplanted trees with the refuse stalks of flax, after the fibrous part has been taken off, spreading it over the ground as far as their roots extend; and this gives them surprising vigour. No weeds will grow under this flax; and the earth remains fresh and loose.

This experiment has been tried on an old peach tree, languishing in an orchard. Refuse flax stalks were spread at its foot, and far enough round to cover all its roots, when it soon recovered its strength, pushed out vigorous shoots, and was loaded with larger and better fruit than before.

The leaves of trees, falling in autumn, may be employed in the same way with advantage; but dry branches, or something else, should be laid over them, to prevent their being blown away by the



the wind. The leaves of walnut trees appear to produce the best effect.

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*Observations upon Luminous Animals. By James Macartney, Esq.*

[From the Transactions of the Royal Society for the Year 1810.]

The property which certain animals possess of emitting light is so curious and interesting, that it has attracted the attention of naturalists in all ages. It was particularly noticed by Aristotle and Pliny amongst the ancients, and the publications of the different learned societies in Europe contain numerous memoirs upon the subject. Notwithstanding the degree of regard bestowed upon the history of luminous animals, it is still very imperfect; the power of producing light appears to have been attributed to several creatures which do not possess it; some species which enjoy it in an eminent degree have been imperfectly described, or entirely unobserved; the organs which afford the light in certain animals have not been examined by dissection; and lastly, the explanations that have been given of the phænomena of animal light are unsatisfactory, and in some instances palpably erroneous.

As this subject forms an interesting part of the history of organized beings, I have for some years availed myself of such opportunities as occurred for its investigation. Having communicated the result of some of my researches to the Right Honourable Sir Joseph Banks, he immediately offered me

his assistance, with that liberality which so eminently distinguishes him as a real lover of science. I am indebted to him for an inspection of the valuable journal he kept during his voyage with Captain Cook; for permission to copy the original drawings in his possession, of those luminous animals discovered in both the voyages of Cook; and for some notes upon the luminous appearance of the sea, that were presented to him by Captain Horsburg, whose accuracy of observation is already known to this learned Society.

In the following paper, I shall first examine the grounds on which the property of showing light has been ascribed to certain animals, that either do not possess it, or in which its existence is questionable. I shall next give an account of some luminous species, of which some have been inaccurately described, and others quite unknown. I shall endeavour to explain from my own observations, and the information communicated to me by others, many of the circumstances attending the luminous appearance of the sea. I shall then describe the organs employed for the production of light in certain species; and lastly, I shall review the opinions which have been entertained respecting the nature and origin of animal light, and relate the experiments I have made for the purpose of elucidating this part of the subject.

The property of emitting light has been reported to belong to several fishes, more particularly the mackarel, the moon-fish (tetraodon mola), the dorado, mullet, sprat, &c.



Mr. Bajon observed during the migration of the dorados, &c. that their bodies were covered with luminous points. These, however, proved upon examination to be minute spherical particles that adhered to the surface of these fishes; and, he adds, appeared to be precisely the same sort of points that illuminated the whole of the sea at the time. They were therefore in all probability the minute kind of medusa, which I shall have occasion to describe hereafter.

Godeheu de Riville states, in a paper sent to the Academy of Sciences at Paris, that on opening the scomber pelamis while alive, he found in different parts of its body an oil which gave out much light: but it should be observed, that Riville had a particular theory to support, for which this fact was very convenient, and that other parts of his memoir bear marks of his inaccuracy. It may be added, that if the oil of fishes were usually luminous, which Riville supposed, it would be almost universally known, instead of resting on a solitary observation.

As far as I am able to determine, from what I have seen, the faculty of exhibiting light during life does not belong to the class of fishes. It appears probable, that some fishes may have acquired the character of being luminous, from evolving light soon after death.

Some species of *lepas*, *murex*, and *chama*, and some star-fish have been said to possess the power of shining; and the assertion has been repeated by one writer after another, but without quoting any authority.

Brugueire upon one occasion saw,

as he supposed, common earthworms in a luminous state; all the hedges were filled with them; he remarked that the light resided principally in the posterior part of the body.

Flaugergues pretended to have seen earthworms luminous in three instances: it was at each time in October; the body shone at every part, but most brilliantly at the genital organs.

Notwithstanding this concurrence of testimony, it is next to impossible, that animals so frequently before our eyes as the common earthworms should be endowed with so remarkable a property, without every person having observed it. If they only enjoyed it during the season for copulation, still it could not have escaped notice, as these creatures are usually found joined together in the most frequented paths, and in garden walks.

In different systems of natural history, the property of shining is attributed to the cancer pulex. The authorities for this opinion are Hablitzl, and Thules and Bernard. The former observed, upon one occasion, a cable that was drawn up from the sea exhibit light, which, upon closer inspection, was perceived to be covered by these insects. Thules and Bernard reported that they met with a number of this species of cancer on the borders of a river, entirely luminous. I am nevertheless disposed to question the luminous property of the cancer pulex, as I have often had the animal in my possession, and never perceived it emit any light.

The account given by Linnæus of the *scolopendra phosphorea* is



so improbable and inconsistent, that one might be led to doubt this insect's existence, particularly as it does not appear to have been ever seen, except by Ekeberg, the captain of an East Indiaman, from whom Linnæus learnt its history.

I now proceed to the description of those luminous animals that have been discovered by the Right Honourable Sir Joseph Banks, Captain Horsburgh, and myself.

On the passage from Madeira to Rio de Janeiro, the sea was observed by Sir Joseph Banks to be unusually luminous, flashing in many parts like lightning. He directed some of the water to be hauled up, in which he discovered two kinds of animals that occasioned the phænomenon; the one, a crustaceous insect which he called the cancer fulgens; the other a large species of medusa, to which he gave the name of pel-lucens.

The cancer fulgens bears some resemblance to the common shrimp; it is, however, considerably less, the legs are furnished with numerous setæ. The light of this animal, which is very brilliant, appears to issue from every part of the body.

The medusa pellucens measures about six inches across the crown, or umbrella; this part is marked by a number of opake lines; that pass off from the centre to the circumference. The edge of the umbrella is divided into lobules, which succeed each other, one large and two small ones alternately. From within the margin of the umbrella, there are suspended a number of long

cord shaped tentacula. The central part of the animal is opake, and furnished with four thick irregularly shaped processes, which hang down in the midst of the tentacula.

This zoophite is the most splendid of the luminous inhabitants of the ocean. The flashes of light emitted during its contractions, are so vivid as to affect the sight of the spectator.

In the notes communicated to Sir Joseph Banks by Captain Horsburgh, he remarks that the luminous state of the sea between the tropics is generally accompanied with the appearance of a great number of marine animals of various kinds upon the surface of the water; to many of which he does not, however, attribute the property of shining. At other times, when the water which gave out light was examined, it appeared only to contain small particles of a dusky straw colour, which dissolved with the slightest touch of the finger. He likewise observes, that in Bombay, during the hot weather of May and June, he has frequently seen the edges of the sea much illuminated by minute sparkling points.

At sunrise on April 12, 1798, in the Arabian sea, he perceived several luminous spots in the water, which conceiving to be animals, he went in the boat and caught one. It proved to be an insect somewhat resembling in appearance the wood-louse, and was about one-third of an inch in length. When viewed with the microscope, it seemed to be formed by sections of a thin crustaceous substance. During the time that



that any fluid remained in the animal, it shone brilliantly like the fire-fly.

In the month of June in the same year, he picked up another luminous insect on a sandy beach, which was also covered with a thin shell; but it was of a different shape, and a larger size than the animal taken in the Arabian sea.

By comparing the above description with an elegant pen-and-ink drawing, which was made by Captain Horsburg, and accompanied his paper, I have no doubt that both these insects were monocoli; the first evidently belongs to the genus *limulus* of Muller; I shall therefore beg leave to distinguish it by the name of *limulus noctiluc*.

My pursuits, and the state of my health, having frequently led me to the coast, I have had many opportunities of making observations upon the animals which illuminate our own seas. Of these I have discovered three species: one of which is a *beroe* not hitherto described by authors; another agrees so nearly with the *medusa hemispherica*, that I conceive it to be the same, or at least a variety of that species; the third is a minute species of *medusa*, which I believe to be the luminous animal so frequently seen by navigators, although it has never been distinctly examined or described.

I first met with these animals in the month of October 1804, at Herne Bay, a small watering-place upon the northern coast of Kent. Having observed the sea to be extremely luminous for several nights, I had a considerable quantity of the water taken up. When perfectly at rest, no light was

emitted, but on the slightest agitation of the vessel in which the water was contained, a brilliant scintillation was perceived, particularly towards the surface; and when the vessel was suddenly struck, a flash of light issued from the top of the water, in consequence of so many points shining at the same moment. When any of these sparkling points were removed from the water, they no longer yielded any light. They were so transparent, that in the air they appeared like globules of water. They were more minute than the head of the smallest pin. Upon the slightest touch, they broke and vanished from the sight. Having strained a quantity of the luminous water, a great number of these transparent corpuscles were obtained upon the cloth, and the water which had been strained did not afterwards exhibit the least light. I then put some sea water that had been rendered particularly clear, by repeated filtrations, into a large glass, and having floated in it a fine cloth, on which I had previously collected a number of luminous points, several of them were liberated, and became distinctly visible in their natural element, by placing the glass before a piece of dark coloured paper. They were observed to have a tendency to come to the surface of the water, and after the glass was set by for some time, they were found congregated together, and when thus collected in a body, they had a dusky-straw colour, although individually they were so transparent as to be perfectly invisible, except under particular circumstances. Their substance was indeed so extremely tender



tender and delicate, that they did not become opaque in distilled vinegar or alcohol, until immersed in these liquors for a considerable time.

On examining these minute globules with the microscope, I found that they were not quite perfect spheres, but had an irregular depression on one side, which was formed of an opaque substance, that projected a little way inwards, producing such an appearance as would arise from tying the neck of a round bag, and turning it into the body.

The motions of these creatures in the water were slow and graceful, and not accompanied by any visible contraction of their bodies. After death they always subsided to the bottom of the vessel.

From the sparkling light afforded by this species, I shall distinguish it by the name of *medusa scintillans*.

The night following that on which I discovered the preceding animal, I caught the two other luminous species. One of these I shall call the *beroe fulgens*.

This most elegant creature is of a colour changing between purple, violet, and pale blue: the body is truncated before, and pointed behind; but the form is difficult to assign, as it is varied by partial contractions, at the animal's pleasure. I have represented the two extremes of form that I have seen this creature assume: the first is somewhat that of a cucumber, which, as being the one it takes when at rest, should perhaps be considered as its proper shape: the other resembles a pear, and is the figure it has in the most contracted state. The body is hol-

low, or forms internally an infundibular cavity, which has a wide opening before, and appears also to have a small aperture posteriorly, through which it discharges its excrements. The posterior two-thirds of the body are ornamented with eight longitudinal ciliated ribs, the processes of which are kept in such a rapid rotatory motion, while the animal is swimming, that they appear like the continual passage of a fluid along the ribs. The ciliated ribs have been described by Professor Mitchell, as arteries, in a luminous *beroe*, which I suspect was no other than the species I am now giving an account of.

When the *beroe fulgens* swam gently near the surface of the water, its whole body became occasionally illuminated in a slight degree; during its contractions, a stronger light issued from the ribs: and when a sudden shock was communicated to the water, in which several of these animals were placed, a vivid flash was thrown out. If the body were broken, the fragments continued luminous for some seconds, and, being rubbed on the hand, left a light like that of phosphorus: this, however, as well as every other mode of emitting light, ceased after the death of the animal.

The hemispherical species that I discovered, had a very faint purple colour. The largest that I found, measured about three quarters of an inch in diameter. The margin of the umbrella was undivided, and surrounded internally by a row of pale brown spots, and numerous small twisted tentacula: four opaque lines, crossed in an arched



arched manner from the circumference, towards the centre of the animal: an opaque irregular shaped process hung down from the middle of the umbella: when this part was examined with a lens of high powers, I discovered that it was inclosed in a sheath in which it moved, and that the extremity of the process was divided into four tentacula, covered with little cups or suckers, like those on the tentacula of the cuttle-fish.

This species of medusa bears a striking resemblance to the figures of the medusa hemispherica, published by Gronovius and Muller; indeed it differs as little from these figures, as they do from each other. Its luminous property, however, was not observed by these naturalists; which is the more extraordinary, as Muller examined it at night, and says it is so transparent that it can only be seen with the light of a lamp. If it should be still considered as a distinct species, or as a variety of the hemispherica, I would propose to call it the medusa lucida.

In this species, the central part and the spot round the margin are commonly seen to shine on lifting the animal out of the water into the air, presenting the appearance of an illuminated wheel; and when it is exposed to the usual percussion of the water, the transparent parts of its body are alone luminous.

In the month of September 1805, I again visited Herne Bay, and frequently had opportunities of witnessing the luminous appearance of the sea. I caught many of the hemispherical and minute species of medusa, but not one of the *beroe fulgens*. I ob-

served that these luminous animals always retreated from the surface of the water, as soon as the moon rose. I found also, that exposure to the day-light took away their property of shining, which was revived by placing them for some time in a dark situation.

In that season I had two opportunities of seeing an extended illumination of the sea, produced by the above animals. The first night I saw this singular phenomenon was extremely dark; many of the medusa scintillans and medusa hemispherica had been observed at low water, but on the return of the tide they had suddenly disappeared. On looking towards the sea, I was astonished to perceive a flash of light of about six yards broad, extend from the shore, for apparently the distance of a mile and a half, along the surface of the water. The second time that I saw this sort of light proceed from the sea, it did not take the same form, but was diffused over the surface of the waves next the shore, and was so strong, that I could for the moment distinctly see my servant, who stood at a little distance from me; he also perceived it, and called out to me at the same instant. On both these occasions the flash was visible for about four or five seconds; and, although I watched for it a considerable time, I did not see it repeated.

A diffused luminous appearance of the sea, in some respects different from what I have seen, has been described by several navigators.

Godeheu de Riville saw the sea assume the appearance of a plain of snow on the coast of Malabar.

Captain



Captain Horsburg, in the notes he gave to Sir Joseph Banks, says, there is a peculiar phænomenon sometimes seen within a few degrees distance of the coast of Malabar, during the rainy monsoon, which he had an opportunity of observing. At midnight the weather was cloudy, and the sea was particularly dark, when suddenly it changed to a white flaming colour all around. This bore no resemblance to the sparkling or glowing appearance he had observed on other occasions in seas near the equator, but was a regular white colour like milk, and did not continue more than ten minutes. A similar phænomenon, he says, is frequently seen in the Banda sea, and is very alarming to those who have never perceived or heard of such an appearance before.

This singular phænomenon appears to be explained by some observations communicated to me by Mr. Langstaff, a Surgeon in the city, who formerly made several voyages. In going from New Holland to China, about half an hour after sun-set, every person on board was astonished by a milky appearance of the sea: the ship seemed to be surrounded by ice covered with snow. Some of the company supposed they were in soundings, and that the coral bottom gave this curious reflection; but on sounding with 70 fathoms of line no bottom was met with. A bucket of water being hauled up, Mr. Langstaff examined it in the dark; and discovered a great number of globular bodies, each about the size of a pin's head, linked together. The chains thus formed did not exceed three inches

in length, and emitted a pale phosphoric light. By introducing his hand into the water, Mr. Langstaff raised upon it several chains of the luminous globules, which were separated by opening the fingers, but readily re-united on being brought again into contact, like globules of quicksilver. The globules, he says, were so transparent, that they could not be perceived when the hand was taken into the light.

This extraordinary appearance of the sea was visible for two nights. As soon as the moon exerted her influence, the sea changed to its natural dark colour, and exhibited distinct glittering points, as at other times. The phænomenon, he says, had never been witnessed before by any of the company on board, although some of the crew had been two or three times round the globe.

I consider this account of Mr. Langstaff very interesting and important, as it proves that the diffused light of the sea is produced by an assemblage of minute medusæ on the surface of the water.

In June 1806, I found the sea at Margate more richly stored with the small luminous medusæ than I have ever seen it. A bucket of the water being set by for some time, the animals sought the surface, and kept up a continual sparkling, which must have been occasioned by the motions of individuals, as the water was perfectly at rest. A small quantity of the luminous water was put into a glass jar, and on standing some time, the medusæ collected at the top of the jar, and formed a gelatinous mass, one inch and a half thick, and of a reddish or  
mud



mud colour, leaving the water underneath perfectly clear.

In order to ascertain if these animals would materially alter their size, or assume the figure of any other known species of medusæ, I kept them alive for twenty-five days, by carefully changing the water in which they were placed; during which time, although they appeared as vigorous as when first taken, their form was not in the slightest degree altered, and their size but little increased. By this experiment I was confirmed in the opinion of their being a distinct species, as the young actinæ and medusæ exhibit the form of the parent in a much shorter period than the above.

In September 1806, I took at Sandgate a number of the *beroe fulgens*, but no other species: they were of various dimensions, from the full size down to that of the *medusa scintillans*: they could, however, be clearly distinguished from the latter species, by their figure.

Since that time, I have frequently met with the *medusa scintillans* on different parts of the coast of Sussex, at Tenby, and at Milford haven. I have likewise seen this species in the bays of Dublin and Carlingford in Ireland.

In the month of April, last year, I caught a number of the *beroe fulgens* in the sea at Hastings; they were of various sizes, from about the half of an inch in length to the bulk of the head of a large pin. I found many of them adhering together in the sea: some of the larger sort were covered with small ones, which fell off when the animals were handled;

and, by a person unaccustomed to observe these creatures, would have been taken for a phosphoric substance. On putting a number of them into a glass containing clear sea water, they still showed a disposition to congregate upon the surface. I observed that when they adhered together, they showed no contractile motion in any part of their body, which explains the cause of the pale or white colour of the diffused light of the ocean. The flashes of light which I saw come from the sea at Herne Bay, were probably produced by a sudden and general effort of the medusæ to separate from each other, and descend in the water.

The *medusa scintillans* almost constantly exists in the different branches of Milford Haven that are called pills. I have sometimes found these animals collected in such vast numbers in those situations, that they bore a considerable proportion to the volume of the water in which they were contained: thus, from a gallon of sea water in a luminous state, I have strained above a pint of these medusæ. I have found the sea under such circumstances to yield me more support in swimming, and the water to taste more disagreeably than usual; probably the difference of density, that has been remarked at different times in the water of the sea, may be referred to this cause.

All my own observations lead me to conclude, that the *medusa scintillans* is the most frequent source of the light of the sea around this country; and by comparing the accounts of others with each other, and with what I have myself seen, I am persuaded that it



it is so likewise in other parts of the world. Many observers appear to have mistaken this species for the *nereis noctiluca*, which was very natural, as they were prepossessed with the idea of the frequent existence of the one, and had no knowledge of the other. Some navigators have actually described this species of medusa, without being aware of its nature. Mr. Bajon, during his voyage from France to Cayenne, collected many luminous points in the sea, which, he says, when examined by a lens, were found to be minute spheres. They disappeared in the air. Doctor Le Roy, in sailing from Naples to France, observed the sparkling appearance of the sea, which is usually produced by the *medusa scintillans*. By filtering the water, he separated luminous particles from it, which he preserved in spirits of wine: they were, he says, like the head of a pin, and did not at all resemble the *nereis noctiluca*, described by Viannelli; their colour approached a yellow brown, and their substance was extremely tender, and fragile. Notwithstanding this striking resemblance to the *medusa scintillans*, Le Roy, in consequence of a preconceived theory, did not suppose what he saw were animals, but particles of an oily or bituminous nature.

The minute globules seen by Mr. Langstaff in the Indian ocean, were, I think, in all probability, the scintillating species of medusa; and on my showing him some of these animals I have preserved in spirits, he entertained the same opinion.

Professor Mitchell, of New

York, found the luminous appearance on the coast of America to be occasioned by minute animals, that from his description plainly belonged to this species of medusa, notwithstanding which, he supposed them to be a number of the *nereis noctiluca*.

The luminous animalcule discovered by Forster off the Cape of Good Hope, in his voyage round the world, bears so strong a resemblance to the *medusa scintillans*, that I am much disposed to believe them the same. He describes his animalcule as being a little gelatinous globule, less than the head of a pin; transparent, but a little brownish in its colour; and of so soft a texture that it was destroyed by the slightest touch. On being highly magnified, he perceived on one side a depression, in which there was a tube that passed into the body, and communicated with four or five intestinal sacs. The pencil drawings he made on the spot are in the possession of Sir Joseph Banks.—By comparing these with the representations of the *medusa scintillans*, and some of this species rendered visible, by being a long time preserved in spirits, which I have laid before this learned Society, it will be found, that the only difference between Forster's animalcule, and the *medusa scintillans*, is in the appearance of the opaque parts, shown in the microscopic views.

Many writers have ascribed the light of the sea to other causes than luminous animals. Martin supposed it to be occasioned by putrefaction: Silberschlag believed it to be phosphoric: professor J. Mayer



Mayer conjectured that the surface of the sea imbibed light, which it afterwards discharged. Bajon and Gentil thought the light of the sea was electric, because it was excited by friction. Forster conceived that it was sometimes electric, sometimes caused from putrefaction, and at others by the presence of living animals. Fougereux de Bondaroy believed that it came sometimes from electric fires, but more frequently from the putrefaction of marine animals and plants.

I shall not trespass on the time of the Society to refute the above speculations: their authors have left them unsupported by either arguments or experiments, and they are inconsistent with all ascertained facts upon the subject.

The remarkable property of emitting light during life is only met with amongst animals of the four last classes of modern naturalists, viz. mollusca, insects, worms, and zoophytes.

The mollusca and worms contain each but a single luminous species; the *pholas dactylus* in the one, and the *nereis noctiluca* in the other.

Some species yield light in the eight following genera of insects: elater, lampyrus, fulgora, pausus, scolopendra, cancer, lyncens, and limulus. The luminous species of the genera lampyrus and fulgora are more numerous than is generally supposed, if we may judge from the appearance of luminous organs to be seen in dried specimens.

Amongst zoophytes we find, that the genera medusa, beroe, and pennatula, contain species which afford light.

The only animals which appear to possess a distinct organization for the production of light, are the luminous species of lampyrus, elater, fulgora, and pausus.

The light of the lampyrides is known to proceed from some of the last rings of the abdomen, which, when not illuminated, are of a pale yellow colour. Upon the internal surface of these rings there is spread a layer of a peculiar soft yellow substance, which has been compared to paste; but by examination with a lens I found it to be organized like the common interstitial substance of the insect's body, except that it is of a closer texture, and a paler yellow colour. This substance does not entirely cover the inner surface of the rings, being more or less deficient along their edges, where it presents an irregular waving outline. I have observed in the glow-worm, that it is absorbed, and its place supplied by a common interstitial substance, after the season for giving light is past.

The segments of the abdomen, behind which this peculiar substance is situated, are thin and transparent, in order to expose the internal illumination.

The number of luminous rings varies in different species of lampyrus, and as it would seem at different periods in the same individual.

Besides the luminous substance above described, I have discovered in the common glow-worm, on the inner side of the last abdominal ring, two bodies, which to the naked eye appear more minute than the head of the smallest pin. They are lodged in two slight depressions



pressions, formed in the shell of the ring, which is at these points particularly transparent. On examining these bodies under the microscope, I found that they were sacs containing a soft yellow substance, of a more close and homogeneous texture than that which lines the inner surface of the rings. The membrane forming the sacs appeared to be of two layers, each of which is composed by a transparent silvery fibre, in the same manner as the internal membrane of the respiratory tubes of insects, except that in this case the fibre passes in a spiral instead of a circular direction. This membrane, although so delicately constructed, is so elastic as to preserve its form after the sac is ruptured and the contents discharged.

The light that proceeds from these sacs is less under the control of the insect than that of the luminous substance spread on the rings: it is rarely ever entirely extinguished in the season that the glow-worm gives light, even during the day; and when all the other rings are dark, these sacs often shine brightly.

The circumstance of there being points which give a more permanent light than the other parts of the luminous rings of the abdomen, has been noticed before by the Comte G. de Razoumowski. He states the number of these luminous points to vary from two to five.

I must however remark, that I never saw more than two of these luminous points, which were always upon the last ring of the body, and that the figures which accompany the memoir of the Comte de Razoumowski, bear

scarcely any resemblance to the insect they are intended to represent; from which we may fairly suspect him of inaccuracy in other particulars.

As far as my observation has extended; the small sacs of luminous substances are not found in any species of lampyris, except the glow-worm of this country. Thunberg mentions that the lampyris japonica has two vesicles on the tail, which afford light.

The organs for the production of light in the genus elater are situated in the corcelet; these likewise consist of a peculiar yellow substance, placed behind transparent parts of the shell, which suffer the natural colour of this substance to be seen through them in the day, and when illuminated give passage to the light.

On dissecting the organs of light in the elater noctilucus, I found that there is a soft yellow substance, of an oval figure, lodged in the concavity of the yellow spots of the corcelet, which parts are particularly thin and transparent in this species. This substance is so remarkably close in its structure, that at first view it appears like an inorganic mass, but with a lens it is readily perceived to be composed of a great number of very minute parts or lobules closely pressed together. Around these oval masses, the interstitial substance of the corcelet is arranged in a radiated manner, and the portion of the shell that immediately covers the irradiated substance is in a certain degree transparent, but less so than that which lies over the oval masses: it is therefore probable, that the interstitial substance in this situation may be



endowed with the property of shining. A fasciculus of the muscles of the corcelet arises in the interior of the oval masses of the luminous substance, but not apparently with any design, as it contributes, with the adjacent fasciculi, to move the anterior feet.

In the elater ignitus, the masses of luminous substance are extremely irregular in their figure: they are situated nearly at the posterior angles of the corcelet, and are more loose in their texture than the oval masses of the noctilucus, resembling rather in composition the interstitial substance which surrounds these masses in that species. The shell of the corcelet is somewhat thinner, and more transparent along both sides of the margin, than at other places; but it is not, as in the noctilucus, elevated, and peculiarly clear and thin immediately over the seat of the luminous organ: consequently, the light emitted by the elater ignitus cannot be very brilliant.

I have not been able to procure any specimen of the elater phosphorea, but from the accounts of naturalists it appears to resemble in every respect the elater noctilucus; indeed I have great doubts of the phosphorea being a distinct species.

I have had an opportunity of examining, preserved in a moist way, two species of fulgora, the candelaria and lanternaria. The light in this genus has been observed to issue from the remarkable proboscis on the fore-part of the head. This part has always been described by authors as hollow or empty, which I have found to be perfectly correct; and what

is more extraordinary, that the cavity communicates freely with the external air, by means of a chink or narrow aperture, placed on each side of the root of the proboscis. This projection is covered internally by a membrane, between which and the horny part or shell there appears to be interposed a pale reddish coloured soft substance, that is arranged in the candelaria in broad lines or stripes; but it is so thin, that I could not distinctly examine its structure, or absolutely determine, whether it should be considered as a substance intended to furnish the light of these insects, or the pigment upon which the colour of the proboscis depends.

The globes of the antennæ constitute the organs of light in the pausus spherocerus. Dr. Afzelius, who discovered the luminous property in this species, compares them to lanterns spreading a dim phosphoric light. The rarity of the insect put it out of my power to examine its structure; but from the form and situation of its organs of light, it is most probable they are constructed like those of the fulgoræ.

It has been conjectured by Caradori and others, that the lampyrides were enabled to moderate or extinguish their light, by retracting the luminous substance under a membrane; but neither in them, or any of the other luminous insects, have I found an apparatus of this sort. The substance furnishing the light is uniformly applied to corresponding transparent parts of the shell of the insect from whence it is not moved; indeed a membrane, if it did exist, would have but little effect in obscuring the



the light, and never could serve to extinguish it. The regulation of the kind and degree of the luminous appearance does not depend upon any visible mechanism, but, like the production of the light itself, is accomplished by some inscrutable change in the luminous matter, which in some animals is a simple operation of organic life, and in others is subject to the will.

It is worthy of remark, that in all the dissections I have made of luminous insects, I did not find that the organs of light were better or differently supplied with either nerves or air tubes than the other parts of the body. The power of emitting light likewise exists in many creatures which want nerves; a circumstance strongly marking a difference between animal light and animal electricity.

With the exception of the animals above mentioned, the exhibition of light depends upon the presence of a fluid matter.

In the *pholas dactylus*, the luminous fluid is particularly evident, and in vast quantity; it is recorded by Pliny, that this fluid is like liquid phosphorus, and renders every object luminous with which it comes into contact. Reaumur also found that it was diffusible in water, or any other fluid in which the animal might be immersed.

The shining of the *scolopendra electrica* I have always observed to be accompanied by the appearance of an effusion of a luminous fluid upon the surface of the animal, more particularly about the head, which may be received upon the hand, or other bodies

brought into contact with the insect at the moment, and these exhibit a phosphoric light for a few seconds afterwards. This fluid, however, I never could discover in the form of moisture, even upon the clearest glass, although examined immediately with the most scrupulous attention by a lens: it must therefore be extremely attenuated.

The same appearance has been observed during the illumination of the *neréis noctiluca* by Fougereux de Bondaroy.

The animal discovered by Riville shed a blue liquor, which illuminated the water for a distance of two or three lines.

Spallanzani relates, that the medusa which he examined communicated the property of shining to water, milk, and other fluids, on being rubbed or squeezed in them.

The luminous fluid is in some instances confined to particular parts of the body, and in others is diffused throughout the whole substance of the animal.

In the *scolopendra electrica*, it appears to reside immediately under the integuments. In the *lynceus* discovered by Riville, it is contained in the ovary. If I may judge from my own observations, every part of the body of the medusæ is furnished with this fluid, as there is no part I have not seen illuminated under different circumstances; but Spallanzani affirms that it is only found in the large tentacula, the edges of the umbella, and the purse, or central mass; which he proved, he says, by detaching these parts successively, when they shone vividly, while the rest of the body neither



gave light or communicated any luminous appearance to water.

Spallanzani discovered a mucous luminous fluid in the plumule of the pennatula phosphorea.

The phænomenon of animal light has been attempted to be explained in different ways. By many persons it was formerly ascribed to a putrefactive process; but since the modern theories of combustion became known, it has been generally believed to depend upon an actual inflammation of the luminous substance, similar to the slow combustion of phosphorus. Others have accounted for the luminous effect, by supposing the matter of light to be accumulated, and rendered latent under particular circumstances, and afterwards evolved in a sensible form,

The opinion of the light of living animals being the consequence of putrefaction, is evidently absurd, and contradictory to all observation on the subject. It has been proved by the experiments of Dr. Hulme and others, that even the luminous appearances of dead animals are exhibited only during the first stages of the di-solution of the body, and that no light is emitted after putrefaction has already commenced.

Spallanzani, who was the most strenuous advocate for the phosphorescent nature of animal light, stated that glow-worms shone more brilliantly when put into oxygen gas; that their light gradually disappeared in hydrogen, or in azotic gas, and was instantly extinguished in fixed air; that it was also lost by cold, and revived by the application of a warm temperature. He conjectured that the

luminous matter of these insects was composed of hydrogen and carbonated hydrogen gas.

Forster relates, in the *Lichtenberg Magazine* for 1783, that on putting a *lampyris splendidula* into oxygen gas, it gave as much light as four of the same species in common air.

Carradori has made some experiments upon the *luciole* (*lampyris italica*), which led him to deny its phosphorescence. He found that the luminous portion of the belly of the insect shone in vacuum, in oil, in water, and different liquids; and under different circumstances, where it was excluded from all communication with oxygen gas. He accounts for the result of Forster's experiment, by supposing that the worm shone more vividly, because it was more animated in oxygen gas than in common air.

Carradori adopts on this subject the doctrine of Brugnatelli, and ascribes the luminous appearances of animals to the condensation and extrication of light in particular organs, which had previously existed in combination with the substance of their bodies. He supposes the light to be originally derived from the food, or the atmospheric air taken into the body; in short, that certain animals have the peculiar property of gradually imbibing light from foreign bodies, and of afterwards secreting it in a sensible form.

The following experiments which I made upon this subject, would lead me to make different conclusions than those of the preceding authors.

*Experiment 1.*—A glow-worm was put into a glass of water, in which



which it lived nearly two hours, and continued to emit light as usual until it died, when the luminous appearance entirely ceased.

*Experiment 2.*—The luminous substance was extracted from the before-mentioned glow-worm, and from others killed in different ways, but it afforded no light.

*Experiment 3.*—The sacs containing the luminous matter were cut from the bellies of living glow-worms, and shone uninterruptedly for several hours in the atmosphere, and after their light became extinct, it was revived by being moistened with water; some of these were put into water in the first instance, in which they continued to shine unremittingly for forty-eight hours.

*Experiment 4.*—The luminous substance of a glow-worm was exposed to a degree of heat which would have been sufficient to inflame phosphorus, without increasing the brilliancy of its light; and farther, it could not be made to burn by being applied to a red-hot iron, or to the flame of a candle.

*Experiment 5.*—A delicate thermometer was introduced amongst some living glow-worms during the time they gave out much light: the temperature of the room being 69, the instrument rose to 75, 76, and 77, according to circumstances, as the warmth was reflected from the hand, or dissipated by the worm crawling over cold substances. The luminous portion of the tail, when very brilliant, appeared to raise the thermometer more quickly than the other parts of the body, but it was not invariably the case. When shining strongly, I thought

that the luminous rings communicated the sensation of warmth to the hand; but this was probably a deception, as the actual degree of heat was not sufficient for such an effect. It should, however, be mentioned, that in Templar's observations on the glow-worm, he said his feelings deceived him, if he did not experience some heat from the shining of the insect.

*Experiment 6.*—To satisfy myself how far the evolution of heat during the shining of glow-worms depended upon the life of the animals, I cut off the luminous portion of the tail from several living worms, and I found that if the thermometer was applied to them immediately, it was raised by them one or two degrees; but after these parts were dead, although they continued to emit light, they produced no effect whatever upon the instrument.

*Experiment 7.*—Some hemispherical medusæ were put into a spoon containing a small quantity of sea water, and held over a burning candle. As soon as the water became heated the medusæ appeared like illuminated wheels, the spots at the margin and centre alone emitting light; in which manner they shone vividly and permanently for about 20 seconds, when they shrunk and died, after which they were no longer luminous.

*Experiment 8.*—Some of the same species were put into spirits: a strong and unremitting light was instantly given out, which issued from the central and marginal parts, as in the preceding experiment, and continued until they died.



*Experiment 9.*—Some of the scintillating and hemispherical species of medusæ contained in a small glass jar were introduced into the receiver of an air-pump, and the air being exhausted, they shone as usual when shaken; if any difference could be perceived, the light was more easily excited, and continued longer in vacuum.

I wished next to try the influence of electricity on the luminous property of animals.

*Experiment 10.*—A medusa hemispherica was placed in a small glass dish, containing a quantity of water merely sufficient to allow the animal to preserve its figure; being insulated, it was electrified, and sparks drawn from it, which had not the slightest effect; the experiment was repeated several times with different individuals, but without exciting the animals to throw out light.

*Experiment 11.*—Some hemispherical medusæ were placed in contact with the two ends of an interrupted chain, and slight electric shocks passed through them. During the very moment of their receiving the shock no light was visible, but immediately afterwards the medusæ shone like illuminated wheels, which appearance remained for some seconds. Upon closest inspection with a magnifying glass, no contractile motion could be perceived to accompany the exhibition of the light. The application of electricity in this instance seems to have acted merely as a strong mechanic shock.

The above experiments on the luminous medusæ were made at Herne, with the assistance of Geo.

May, Esq. of Stroud-house, and in the presence of a large company, capable of accurately distinguishing their results.

It seems proved by the foregoing experiments, that so far from the luminous substance being of a phosphorescent nature, it sometimes shews the strongest and most constant light, when excluded from oxygen gas; that it in no circumstances undergoes any process like combustion, but is actually incapable of being inflamed: that the increase of heat, during the shining of glow-worms, is an accompaniment, and not an effect of the phenomenon, and depends upon the excited state of the insect; and lastly, that heat and electricity increase the exhibition of light, merely by operating like other stimuli upon the vital properties of the animal.

In confirmation of these opinions, I may quote the high authority of the secretary of this society, who has found that the light of the glow-worm is not rendered more brilliant in oxygen, or in oxygenated muriatic gas, than in common air; and that it is not sensibly diminished in hydrogen gas.

I may farther add, that Spallanzani's experiments of diffusing the luminous liquor of the medusa in water, milk, and other fluids, are in direct contradiction of his own theory, as is also the extinction of the light of these mixtures by the application of a high degree of heat.

If the light emitted by animals were derived from their food, or the air they respire, as supposed by Carradori, the phenomenon should



should be increased or diminished, according to the quantity of food or air that the creatures consume; but we do not find this to be the case; for in those situations where they are sometimes found to be most luminous, they are deprived, in a great measure, of these assumed sources of their light.

In fact, the luminous exhibitions of living animals are not only independent of all foreign light, but are frequently destroyed by the latter. I have always found the shining of the medusæ to cease upon the rising of the moon, or at the approach of day; and when out of the sea, I never could excite them to throw out light until they had been kept for some time in the dark; all the luminous insects likewise secrete themselves as much as possible during the day time, and go abroad only at night. I have, it is true, found that the *scolopendra electrica* will not shine unless it has been previously exposed to solar light; but I have observed that it shone as brilliantly and as frequently after being kept a short time in a light situation, as when left uncovered the whole day. The circumstance of the *scolopendra* requiring exposure previous to its giving out light, is very unaccountable, as the insect, when left to itself, always seeks as much as possible concealment during the day; indeed it is the opinion of some naturalists that it is killed by the light of the sun.

The opinions of Brugnatelli and Carradori are connected with some general doctrines, respecting the nature of light, which I shall not at present venture to discuss. It

appears to me, that the question is still unresolved, whether light has a substantial existence, or is a phænomenon depending upon certain operations or conditions of the ordinary forms of matter. But the highly ingenious researches of Count Rumford, on the laws of what have been called subtile fluids, and the extraordinary advances lately made by Mr. Davy, on the decomposition of substances that were hitherto looked upon as elementary, give us reason to hope that future investigations may unfold views of the material world, of which we can at present have only an indistinct conception; that new modes of analysis may enable us to see things, not "through a glass darkly," but more nearly as they are; and that the boundaries of physical and metaphysical science, now so far asunder, may be made to approach each other.

In the present state of our knowledge, our business should be to collect, arrange, and compare phænomena, rather than to speculate upon their nature. Nevertheless, I cannot refrain from observing, that the circumstances attending the luminous appearance of living animals, are much more favourable to the supposition of light being a property than a substance. The quantity of light emitted by an animal in a certain time, (admitting it to be matter) far exceeds that which could be possibly supplied by the sources from whence it is usually supposed to be derived. Thus the luminous appearance of some medusæ may be continued with the intermission of short intervals for an indefinite time, notwithstanding the creature



be kept in darkness, and without any other food than what a small quantity of filtered sea-water would afford. The uninterrupted and long continued light that is sometimes evolved by the luminous sacs, and the ova of the glow-worm, is also inconsistent with the notion of an accumulation and subsequent dispersion of a material substance.

I shall terminate this paper by an enumeration of the several conclusions, that are the result of the observations I have been able to make upon the phenomena of animal light.

The property of emitting light is confined to animals of the simplest organization, the greater number of which are inhabitants of the sea.—The luminous property is not constant, but in general exists only at certain periods, and in particular states of the animal's body.—The power of shewing light resides in a peculiar substance or fluid, which is sometimes situated in a particular organ, and at others diffused throughout the animal's body.—The light is differently regulated, when the luminous matter exists in the living body, and when it is abstracted from it. In the first case, it is intermitting, or alternated with periods of darkness; is commonly produced or increased by a muscular effort; and is sometimes absolutely dependent upon the will of the animal. In the second case, the luminous appearance is usually permanent until it becomes extinct, after which it may be restored directly by friction, concussion, and the application of warmth; which last causes ope-

rate on the luminous matter, (while in the living body,) only indirectly, by exciting the animal.—The luminous matter, in all situations, so far from possessing phosphoric properties, is incombustible, and loses the quality of emitting light, by being dried, or much heated.—The exhibition of light, however long it may be continued, causes no diminution of the bulk of the luminous matter. It does not require the presence of pure air, and is not extinguished by other gases.

The luminous appearance of living animals is not exhausted by long continuance, or frequent repetitions, nor accumulated by exposure to natural light; it is therefore not dependent upon any foreign source, but inheres as a property, in a peculiarly organized animal substance, or fluid, and is regulated by the same laws which govern all the other functions of living beings.

The light of the sea is always produced by living animals, and most frequently by the presence of the medusa scintillans. When great numbers of this species approach the surface, they sometimes coalesce together, and cause that snowy or milky appearance of the sea, which is so alarming to navigators. These animals, when congregated on the surface of the water, can produce a flash of light, somewhat like an electric coruscation. When the luminous medusæ are very numerous, as frequently happens in confined bays, they form a considerable portion of the mass of the sea, at which times they render



render the water heavier, and more nauseous to the taste; it is therefore adviseable to always strain sea water before it is drunk.

The luminous property does not appear to have any connec-

tion with the œconomy of the animals that possess it, excepting in the flying insects, which by that means discover each other at night, for the purpose of sexual congress.



## USEFUL PROJECTS.

*Improvements in the Aquatinta Process, by which Pen, Pencil, and Chalk Drawings can be imitated. By Mr. J. Hassell.\**

[From the Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c. Vol. XXVIII. for 1810.]

SIR,

**P**ERCEIVING the various methods of imitating drawings and sketches in the graphic art, fall short of an accurate imitation of the black-lead pencil, I determined on an attempt some years since, which, after repeated experiments, I flatter myself, I have fully established.

The manner is totally new, and solely my own invention. By the method I adopt any artist can sketch, with a black-lead pencil, his subject immediately on the copper; and so simple and easy is its style, that an artist can do it with five minutes study.

By this manner, the trouble in tracing on oil paper, and other re-tracing on the etching ground is avoided, and the doubtful handling of an etching-needle is done away, as the pencilling on the copper is visible in the smallest

touch. It has also another perfection, that by using a broader instrument it will represent black chalk, a specimen of which I procured Mr. Mann, the landscape-painter, to make a trial of. I have herewith sent the said specimen, marked C, and Mr. Munn's name is affixed to the same. This subject he actually drew upon copper, under my inspection, in less than twenty minutes, the time he would have taken, perhaps, to do the same on paper; in fact, it can be as rapidly executed on copper as on paper.

It is particularly pleasant for colouring up, to imitate drawings, as the lines are soft, and blend in with the colour. It is a circumstance always objectionable in the common method of etching, that those so tinted can never be sufficiently drowned, nor destroyed, and always present a wiry hard effect.

It is equally adapted to historical sketching, and might be the means of inducing many of our eminent painters to hand down to posterity their sketches, which, at present, they decline from the irksome trouble attending the repeti-

\* The Society's silver medal and thirty guineas were voted to Mr. Hassell for this communication.



tion of retracing their performances, and the doubtful handling of the etching-needle, which can never give a sufficient breadth and scope to their abilities.

I have, sir, forwarded, in an annexed paper, the different specimens, for the inspection of the gentlemen forming the Society of Arts, &c. &c.

In making my specimens I have thought it necessary to show, if by any accident a part might fail, that it could be retouched a second time, and oftener if wanted; in this particular its simplicity stamps its use.

To elucidate the foregoing proposition, I purposely caused a part of the distance to fail in specimen AA; this is repaired, you will perceive, in specimen B, and the sharp touches wanted to perfect the sketch are added.

I beg also to state, it is not the style usually termed soft ground etching: that process is always uncertain, cannot be repaired, and will only print about two hundred impressions; whereas the specimens herewith sent will print upwards of five hundred with care.

Should the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c. deem the subject worthy of their reward, I shall feel proud in communicating its process, and flatter myself the arts and artists will feel a peculiar addition and pleasure in its utility. Permit me, sir, to subscribe myself, with all respect,

Your obedient humble servant,

JOHN HASSELL,

*Landscape-Draftsman,*

11, Clement's Inn, Strand.

March 26, 1810.

To C. Taylor, M.D. &c. &c.

*Process of Drawing upon Copper, to imitate Black-lead Pencil, or Chalk.*

A remarkable good polish must be put on the copper with an oil-rubber and crocus-martis well ground in oil; after which it must be cleaned off with whiting, and then rubbed with another clean rag.

You are then to pour over your plate the solution to cause ground, which is made as follows:

No. 1.—Three ounces of Burgundy pitch.

One ditto of frankincense.

These are to be dissolved in a quart of the best rectified spirits of wine, of the strength to fire gunpowder when the spirits are lighted.

During the course of twenty-four hours this composition must be repeatedly shook, until the whole appears dissolved; then filter it through blotting-paper, and it will be fit to use.

In pouring on this ground, an inclination must be given to the plate, that the superfluous part of the composition may run off at the opposite side; then place a piece of blotting-paper along this extremity, that it may suck up the ground that will drain from the plate, and in the course of a quarter of an hour the spirit will evaporate, and leave a perfect ground that will cover the surface of the copper, hard and dry enough to proceed with.

With an exceeding soft black-lead pencil sketch your design on this ground, and when finished take a pen and draw with the following composition, resembling ink: if you wish your outline to be thin and delicate, cause the pen



pen you draw with to be made with a sharp point; if you intend to represent chalk drawing, a very soft nib and broad-made pen will be necessary, or a small reed.

No. 2.—Composition, resembling ink, to draw the design on the copper.

Take about one ounce of treacle or sugar-candy, add to this three burnt corks reduced by the fire to almost an impalpable powder, then add a small quantity of lamp-black to colour it; to these put some weak gum-water (made of gum-arabic), and grind the whole together on a stone with a muller: keep reducing this ink with gum-water until it flows with ease from the pen or reed.

To make the ink discharge freely from the pen, it must be scraped rather thin towards the end of the nib, on the back part of the quill; and if the liquid is thick, reduce it with hot water.

Having made the drawing on the copper with this composition, you will dry it at the fire until it becomes hard; then varnish the plate all over with turpentine-varnish (No. 3,) of the consistency of the liquid varnish sent with this as a sample.

It will now be necessary to let the varnish, that is passed over the plate, dry, which will take three or four hours at least; but this will depend on the state of the weather; for if it should be intensely hot, it ought to be left all night to harden.

Now the varnish is presumed to be sufficiently hard, you may rub off the touches made with the foregoing described ink with spittle, and use your finger to rub

them up; should it not come off very freely, put your walling-wax round the margin of your plate, and then pour on the touches some warm water, but care must be taken it is not too hot.

The touches now being clean taken off, wash the plate well and clean from all impurities and sediment of the ink, with cold soft water, then dry the plate at a distance from the fire, or else in the sun; and when dry, pour on your aquafortis, which should be in cold weather as follows:

To one pint of nitrous acid, or strong aquafortis, add two parts, or twice its quantity of soft water.

In hot weather, to one part of nitrous acid add three parts of water.

In every part of this process avoid hard or pump water.

The last process of biting in with aquafortis must be closely attended to, brushing off all the bubbles that arise from the action of the aquafortis on the copper.

In summer time it will take about twenty minutes to get a sufficient colour; in winter perhaps half an hour, or more. All this must depend on the state of the atmosphere and temperature of your room. If any parts require to be stopt out, do the same with turpentine-varnish and lamp-black, and with a camel-hair brush pass over those parts you consider of sufficient depth; distances and objects receding from the sight of course ought not to be so deep as your fore-grounds; accordingly you will obliterate them with the foregoing varnish, and then let it dry, when you will apply the aquafortis a second time, and



and repeat this just as often as you wish to procure different degrees of colour.

Every time you take off the aquafortis the plate must be washed twice with soft water, and then set to dry as before.

To ascertain the depth of your work, you should rub a small part with a piece of rag dipped in turpentine, and then apply the finger, or a piece of rag rubbed on the oil rubber, to the place so cleared, and it will give you some idea of the depth.

The walling-wax is taken off by applying a piece of lighted paper to the back of the plate all round the opposite parts of the margin where the wax is placed: then let the plate cool, and the whole of the grounds, &c. will easily come off by washing the plate with oil of turpentine, which must be used by passing a rag backwards and forwards, until the whole dissolves: it is then to be cleaned off by rags; and care must be taken that no part of the turpentine is left hanging about the plate. The plate should only pass once through the press.

#### *Directions respecting Grounds.*

No. 1.—The ground in hot weather must have an additional one-third of spirits of wine added to it for coarse grounds to represent chalk; and one-half added to it for fine grounds, to represent black-lead pencil; and always to be kept in a cold place in summer, and a moderate warm situation in winter.

N. B.—If any parts are not bit

strong enough, the same process is to be repeated.

Gum-water must be made in the proportion of half an ounce of gum-arabic to a quarter of a pint of water.

Turpentine-varnish is composed of an ounce of black rosin to an eighth part of a pint of spirits of turpentine: if the weather is excessively warm, it ought to be made with the sixth part of a pint of spirits of turpentine.

Tracing-rag should be made of a piece of Irish linen, not too much worn, the surface of which is to be rubbed with another rag dipped in sweet oil, just sufficient to retain a small portion of vermilion or pounded red chalk. This must be placed with the coloured part towards the ground of the plate, and the drawing or tracing laid upon it, which must be traced very lightly with a blunt point or needle.

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*Method of preparing Ox-gall in a concentrated state, for Painters, and for other uses. By Mr. Cathery.\**

[From the Transactions of the Society of Arts, &c. Vol. LVIII for 1810.]

It has long been a desideratum to find out a method of preparing ox-gall for the use of painters, so as to avoid the disagreeable smell which it contracts by keeping in a liquid state, and at the same time to preserve its useful properties. I have invented a method of doing

\* The Society voted ten guineas to Mr. Cathery for this communication.



it with very little expense, which will be to those who use gall a great saving, as it will prevent it from putrefying or breeding maggots.

One gall prepared in my method will serve an artist a long time, as it will keep a great number of years. It will be a convenient article for use, as a small cup of it may be placed in the same box which contains other colours, where it will be always ready. The qualities of gall are well known to artists in water-colours, particularly to those who colour prints, as many colours will not, without gall, work free on such paper, on account of the oil that is used in the printing-ink.

The artists who make drawings in water-colours also use gall in the water which they mix their colour with, as it clears away that greasiness which arises from moist hands upon paper, and makes the colour to work clear and bright. My preparation is ready for use in a few minutes; all that is necessary being to dissolve about the size of a pea of it in a table-spoonful of water.

It is also of great use to house-keepers, sailors, and others, to clean woollen clothes from grease, tar, &c. and will be found advantageous for many other purposes.

If it should meet with the approbation of the Society, I have no objection to prepare it for sale.

I am, sir,

your obedient servant,

RICHARD CATHERY,  
*Botanical Colourer.*

To C. Taylor, M.D. Sec.

*Process for preparing Ox-gall in a concentrated state, by Mr. Cathery.*

Take a gall fresh from the ox and put it in a basin, let it stand all night to settle, then pour it off from the sediment into a clean earthen mug, and set it in a saucepan of boiling water over the fire, taking care that none of the water gets into the mug. Let it boil till it is quite thick, then take it out and spread it on a plate or dish, and set it before the fire to evaporate; and when as dry as you can get it, put it into small pots, and tie papers over their tops to keep the dust from it, and it will be good for years.

Certificates were received from Mr. Gabriel Bayfield, No. 9, Park-place, Walworth, and Mr. William Edwards, No. 9, Poplar-row, both botanical colourers, stating, that they have used the ox-gall prepared by Mr. Cathery, and find it to answer better than gall in a liquid state; that this preparation is free from disagreeable smell, and is much cheaper, as one ox-gall thus prepared will last one person for two years, and be as fresh as if just taken from the ox.

A certificate was received from Mr. James Stewart, No. 26, St. Martin's-street, Leicester-square, stating that he lately belonged to his Majesty's ship the *Vestal* frigate, and that he took out with him in a voyage to Newfoundland a large pot of the prepared ox-gall, for the purpose of washing his greasy clothes for two years; that he found it very serviceable, and to keep its virtue as well as the first day.

*Method*



*Method of procuring Turpentine and other Products from the Scotch Fir. By Mr. H. B. Way.\**

[From the Philosophical Transactions of the Society of Arts, &c. Vol. XXVIII. for 1810.]

SIR,

The enormous high price of turpentine, tar, and pitch, last year, brought to my remembrance that I had, in 1792, when in America, made some memorandums on the subject of obtaining them in North Carolina, which, on referring to, led me to think that they might be obtained in this country. I was induced to mention it to my relation and friend, John Herbert Brown, Esq. of Weymouth, and of Sheen, in Middlesex, when on a visit at my house, and I expressed a wish that I could try the experiment with regard to turpentine; when he very kindly gave me leave to try it on three trees growing on his estate, about three or four miles from this place, and he went with me and fixed on them, and early in last April I had them prepared for the purpose of extracting the turpentine, and they have been running till the 18th instant. The weather, except the last month and part of this, has, from so much rain falling, and there being so little hot weather, been particularly unfavourable for this business, as, the distance being such as to prevent the trees being regularly attended, the hollows were frequently found by my men full of water, and a good deal of

the turpentine, which ran off with the water, lay on the ground. Under all these circumstances I was only able to obtain from the three trees about two pounds and a half of turpentine.

Mr. Brown being with me again the 16th and 17th instant, as he wished to take the trees down, I begged he would allow me to take a part from one of them, for the purpose of sending to the Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, with the turpentine collected from the trees; which he most readily complied with. I have therefore taken about six feet from one of them (they are all nearly the same size); what I have sent is the part from the ground to the top of the place that has been cut away for the turpentine to run into the hollow, from whence it was to be collected; the hollow was cut in this considerably higher than is usual in America, as this tree stood in a hedge, and could not well be hollowed lower. I have matted up this part of the tree, and secured it with straw and a double mat, to prevent the bark being rubbed off, that it may be seen in the same state as it stood when the turpentine was taken from it. The turpentine is in the cask in which it was deposited when brought from the trees; and I have this day shipped both on board the sloop Betsey, Captain Trent, bound to Downes's Wharf, London, directed to you, freight paid here by me, which vessel I expect will sail in a day or two, and I hope you will receive them safe;

\* For this communication the Society voted the silver medal to Mr. Way.

which



which when you do, you will much oblige me by requesting that both may be examined, in the hope that this small trial may meet with the approbation of the very highly respectable and truly useful Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce; and if considered likely to prove useful, that they may induce some person who has the means and opportunity of doing it, to make a trial on a larger scale, so as to fairly ascertain whether turpentine can be obtained in this country from the very large and numerous plantations of Scotch firs, now in the United Kingdom, previous to the trees being cut down, either to thin plantations, or where ground is designed to be cleared, as taking the turpentine from the trees previous to their being cut, does not at all injure the wood, but by making the hollow in the trunk of the tree about six inches from the ground, it would waste but a very small quantity of timber.

I have taken the liberty of annexing a copy of memorandums I made when in North Carolina, respecting the modes of collecting turpentine, and making tar and pitch, in hopes they may afford the society some little information, as they are not, I apprehend, very generally known. They are copied from memorandums which I actually made on the spot. I would have sent the memorandum books with this, had not the remarks been mingled with others relative to my commercial pursuits; but I shall have no hesitation in allowing any person to examine them, or to afford any information in my power to any

persons willing to make experiments in this way, if they will favour me with a call. I am well satisfied in my own mind, that very large quantities of tar might be obtained from the knots and limbs of the Scotch fir when cut down, and that the charcoal made from it would not be injured by the tar being first extracted; and as I was in Norway, Sweden, and Russia, in 1789 and 1790, and saw no tree from which I consider that tar could be extracted, except the Scotch fir, or red deal, which is one and the same tree, I am persuaded that the refuse of that tree must be what they make the tar from in those countries, though I had no opportunity of seeing the process there. I suspect that the Swedish tar-kilns must be constructed of brick, or some sort of masonry, as the tar from thence is much clearer, better, and more free from extraneous matters than that of any other country.

I have observed the tar from North Carolina to have frequently a quantity of sand in it, which is easily accounted for, from the soil in which the kilns are made; it would, in the careless way in which they take it out of the hole dug in a sandy soil, be very likely to be mixed with the sand. In the small cask, in which the turpentine is, I have sent a few small red deal knots from some timber that I have lately taken out of my warehouse, on some alterations being made; the timber from which they are taken has been in the warehouse ever since the summer of 1786; and yet when these pieces are exposed



posed to a moderate heat, the tar will be seen to exude from them.

I remain, sir,

Your obedient and very humble  
servant,

H. B. WAY.

*Bridport Harbour,*

*Nov. 27, 1809.*

*To C. Taylor, M.D. Sec.*

*Extracts of Notes taken by Mr.  
Way.*

*Thursday, April 12, 1792.*

Arrived at Wilmington, North Carolina, about one P. M. Observed on the roads the pitch-pines prepared for extracting turpentine, which is done by cutting a hollow in the tree about six inches from the ground, and then taking the bark off from a space of about eighteen inches above it, from the sappy wood. The turpentine runs from April to October, and is caught by the hollow below. Some of the trees were cut on two sides, and only a strip of the bark left of about four inches in breadth on each of the other two sides, for conveyance of the sap necessary for the support of the tree. A captain Cook, with whom I had been travelling, informed me that some trees would run six or seven years, and that every year the bark was cut away higher and higher, till the tree would run no longer; and I observed many that had done running, and they were in general stripped of the bark on two sides, as high as a man could reach, and some were dead from the operation; others did not look much the worse for it. I find the usual task is for one man to attend 3000 trees, which taken together would

produce one hundred to one hundred and ten barrels of turpentine.

*April 15, 1792.*

On my return from Wilmington to Cowen's tavern, distant about sixteen miles from thence, I was informed that the master of the house had been a superintendant of negroes who collected turpentine. I found the information I had before received was not perfectly correct: he told me he attended to six slaves for a year for a planter, and between the 1st of April and the 1st of September they made six hundred barrels of turpentine. The cutting the trees for the purpose of collecting is called boxing them; and it is reckoned a good day's work to box sixty in a day. The trees will not run longer than four years; and it is necessary to take off a thin piece of the wood about once a week, and also as often as it rains, as that stops the trees running.

While in North Carolina, I was particular in my inquiries respecting the making tar and pitch, and I saw several tar-kilns; they have two sorts of wood that they make it from, both of which are the pitch-pine. The sort from which most of it is made are old trees, which have fallen down in the woods, and the sap rotted off, and is what they call light wood, not from the weight of it, as it is very heavy, but from its combustible nature, as it will light with a candle, and a piece of it thrown into the fire will give light enough to read and write by. All the pitch-pine will not become light-wood; the people concerned in making tar know it from the appearance



pearance of the turpentine in the grain of the wood. The other sort of wood which is used, after the trees which have been boxed for turpentine have done running, they split off the faces over which the turpentine has run, and of this wood is made what is called green tar, being made from green wood instead of dry.

When a sufficient quantity of wood is got together, the first step is to fix a stake in the ground, to which they fasten a string, and from the stake, as a centre, they describe a circle on the ground according to the size they wish to have the kiln. They consider that one twenty feet in diameter and fourteen feet high should produce them 200 barrels of tar. They then dig out all the earth a spit deep, shelving inwards within the circle, and sloping to the centre: the earth taken out is thrown up in a bank about one foot and a half high round the edge of the circle. They next get a pine that will split straight, of a sufficient length to reach from the centre of the circle some way beyond the bank: this pine is split through the middle, and both parts are then hollowed out; after which they are put together, and sunk in such a way, that one end which is placed in the centre of the circle is higher than that end which comes without the bank, where a hole is dug in the ground for the tar to run into, and whence the tar is taken up and barrelled as it runs from the kiln. After the kiln is marked out, they bring the wood, ready split up, in small billets, rather smaller than are generally used for the fires in England; and it is then packed as

close as possible, with the end inwards, sloping towards the middle, and the middle is filled up with small wood and the knots of trees, which last have more tar in them than any other part of the wood. The kiln is built in such a way, that at twelve or fourteen feet high it will overhang two or three feet, and it appears quite compact and solid. After the whole of the wood is piled on, they get a parcel of small logs, and then place a line of turf, then another line of logs, and so on alternately all the way up, and the top they cover with two or three thicknesses of turf.

After the whole is covered in this way, they take out a turf in ten or a dozen different places round the top, at each of which they light it, and it then burns downwards till the whole of the tar is melted out; and if it burns too fast they stop some of the holes, and if not fast enough they open others, all of which the tar-burner, from practice, is able to judge of. When it begins to run slow, if it is near where charcoal is wanted, they fill up all the holes, and watch it to prevent the fire breaking out any where till the whole is charred. The charcoal is worth 2d. to 3d. British sterling, per bushel. It will take six or eight days to burn a tar-kiln; in some places they burn it at such a distance from the shipping that they have very far to roll it, and even then sell it at from 3s. 6d. to 5s. British sterling, per barrel, sometimes taking the whole out in goods, but never less than half the amount in goods; from all which it will be reasonably supposed that tar-burning



in that country is but a bad trade, as it must be a good hand to make more than at the rate of a barrel a day. The barrels cost the burner about 1s. 3d. British sterling, each. The tar-makers are in general very poor, except here and there one, who has an opportunity of making it near the water-side. Pitch is made by either boiling the tar till it comes to a proper thickness, or else by burning it. The latter is done by digging a hole in the ground, and lining it with brick; it is then filled with tar, and they set fire to it, and allow it to burn till they judge it has burnt enough, which is known by dipping a stick into it, and letting it cool: when burnt enough, they put a cover over it, which stops it close, and puts out the fire. Five barrels of green tar will make two of pitch; and it will take two barrels of other tar to make one of pitch.

N. B. The foregoing observations respecting tar and pitch, are copied from a memorandum made by me at Suffolk, in Virginia, on the borders of North Carolina, April 23, 1792, and are the result of the inquiries and observations I made on the subject whilst in Carolina.

*Wilmington, N. C.  
April 13, 1792.*

In conversation with a Mr. Hogg, who had been settled there and at Fayette-ville before the war, I learnt that pitch-pine timber growing on the sands was the best, and that it was reckoned to be better if cut in the winter before the sap rises in the tree.

H. B. WAY.

SIR,

It affords me much pleasure to learn that my communication, on the extraction of turpentine from the Scotch fir, has been thought worthy of the consideration of the society; and it will be highly gratifying to me, if it should induce persons who have considerable plantations to try it on such a scale as to ascertain to what extent it might prove beneficial in this country. The experiment should be tried on trees so situated as to be conveniently examined every day, and the turpentine collected in the hollows removed as often as possible to prevent its being injured, or wasted by the rain. I think, that during the American war, some importations of turpentine were made from Russia and Sweden; and if so, it must have been extracted from what we call the Scotch fir, in a colder climate than this. The article called Venice turpentine, which is brought from Carinthia and Carniola, is extracted there from the larch tree; and it might probably answer to try to produce it from the larch trees grown in Great Britain, in the same way as I have collected the turpentine from the Scotch fir.

Respecting the wood of the Scotch fir being injured by the extraction of the turpentine from it, I should rather think that it would, on the contrary, be the better for it; as all those who use deals from Scotch fir, in this neighbourhood, complain that it is too full of turpentine to work well. The fact might be ascertained by the piece of timber which I sent to the society, as, if it was wished to preserve that



part in which the hollow is made, the back part, or nearly half of the tree might be sawn into boards without injury, and those boards might be compared with some from a tree taken down in the winter, from whence the turpentine has not been extracted. It must, however, be noted, that from the tree I have sent to the society, the turpentine has only been running one year, whereas, in America, they collect the turpentine from the same tree for three or four succeeding years. It has been supposed and asserted, that turpentine was only obtainable from the United States; but I have sufficient documents to prove, if required, that a very large quantity of it can be procured from East Florida; and I well remember, that about the year 1782 several cargoes of turpentine were shipped in the river St. John's for Britain; and though that country is at present in the hands of the Spaniards, no doubt arrangements might be made with the Spanish government for a supply of that necessary article from thence. It is my earnest wish, that through the medium of the Society of Arts I may render any information that may be serviceable to the interest of the united empire, and I will with pleasure furnish further communication on the products of Florida and its commerce, if desired by the society.

I am convinced that tar might be produced from the refuse of firs of English growth to advantage, and that a much better article could be made from them in Britain, than any imported from America. The Scotch firs, in England, from being planted at

greater distances from each other than they are naturally found abroad, have much larger knots, and greater numbers of them, than in Carolina or the north of Europe, and would therefore produce more tar, in proportion, from their refuse wood than the trees of those countries.

The pitch-pines of Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and the Floridas, grow to an immense size in what are there called pine-barrens, the soil of which is finer and whiter than the sand used as writing-sand in Great Britain, and the trees grow almost to the verge of high-water mark on the sea shores. I think it would answer a good purpose for the society to encourage by premiums the extraction of turpentine from British firs.

I remain, sir,

Your obedient and very humble  
servant,

H. B. WAY.

*Bridport Harbour,*

*April 21, 1810.*

*To C. Taylor, M.D. Sec.*

*Improved Mode of preparing Phosphorus Bottles.*

[From Mr. Nicholson's Journal of Natural Philosophy]

Phosphorus, cut into small pieces and mixed with quick lime in powder, answers the purpose very well. The phosphorus should be carefully dried by filtering paper; a thin slice being cut may be divided into as many pieces as can expeditiously be done, and each piece introduced into a small bottle, with as much lime as will surround it. Lime slacked in the air



air, and submitted to a strong red heat, in a black-lead crucible for twenty minutes, is in a good state for the purpose.

The bottle, when full, may be exposed, corked, to the radiant heat of a fire, till some of the pieces of phosphorus have assumed an orange tint; it will then be ready for immediate use. But

the heating is not absolutely necessary if the bottle is not wanted for immediate use, and it will continue longer in a serviceable state.

It is almost superfluous to observe, in using the bottle, the mouth should be closed with the finger as soon as the match is withdrawn.



# ANTIQUITIES.

*Inquiry into the Composition of some Weapons and Utensils of ancient Bronze. By M. Klaproth.*

[From Mr. Nicholson's Journal of Natural Philosophy].

WE know from ancient authors, as well as from weapons and utensils dug up in modern times, that men in the earliest ages, and even those that succeeded them, employed copper in preference for the fabrication of metallic utensils and weapons. Thus what Herodotus says of the Massagetæ, who used no iron, and whose weapons and utensils were of copper, is more or less applicable to all the nations of antiquity.

The great difference in the exterior characters of the two metals in their crude state leaves no doubt, that men were sooner acquainted with copper, and the method of adapting it to their purposes, than iron. It is probable that they found copper in large masses, and nearly prepared by nature, as we still meet with it in countries, the mineralogical wealth of which has been little explored. Accordingly in treating the ore by fire they could not

fail to observe all the advantages of this metal, both with respect to the richness of its produce, and the facility with which it might be forged. Iron, on the contrary, was not so obvious to men's eyes; and the distinguishing of its various ores, with the art of working them, and forming weapons and instruments of them, could only be the fruit of long experience.

I shall not avail myself of the numerous testimonies of ancient authors to prove, that copper has been employed in preference to iron, as it is sufficient to appeal to Homer. All weapons, both offensive and defensive, as swords, spears-heads, helmets, and shields, as well as various domestic utensils, were of copper, (*καλχος*), though in Homer's time iron (*σιδηρος*) was used, but less frequently, and hardened by plunging red-hot into water. Even when the advantages of iron, and the modes of fabricating it, were well known, men used copper for their weapons; for instance, in the last ages of the republics of Greece and Rome.

We know that copper is not fit for the purposes for which the ancients employed it. When cast  
it



it is porous and brittle; and, when forged, too soft. The ancient weapons and utensils being of a hardness which this metal does not possess, it was long supposed that the ancients had some method of hardening copper, as we do iron and steel. But chemical analysis has shewn the falsity of this opinion, and demonstrated, that these weapons and instruments were not pure copper, but an alloy of this metal with tin, which we call bronze, and which was the *æs*, brass, of the Romans.

The weapons, instruments, and statues, which have been dug out of the ground, evidently prove, that the property of tin to impart hardness and density to the metal alloyed with it, was known and employed by the most ancient nations. All these objects occur of bronze, but none of pure copper. It is astonishing, that this practice of imparting to copper, by alloying it with a certain portion of tin, a hardness sufficient for sword-blades and other cutting instruments, should have been so generally followed by the ancients, notwithstanding the want of tin-mines. All the tin they used they were obliged to procure from the Cassiterides, the present Cornwall, and the trade was exclusively in the hands of the Phenicians.

Having had an opportunity of assaying several fragments of metallic antiquities, I conceive it may be of some utility to make public the results, as a supplement to the few accurate analyses hitherto made.

The fragments to be analysed, being first weighed, were put into a phial, into which were poured

six or eight parts of nitric acid of the specific gravity of 1.22, and digested in a sand-heat till completely dissolved. The contents of the phial were then diluted with a sufficient quantity of water, and the mixture left to stand till all the oxide of tin had fallen down, and the azure liquid appeared quite clear. This being poured off, the oxide of tin was collected, washed repeatedly with water, dried, heated red-hot, and weighed. It was found, that 100 parts of calcined oxide of tin equalled 80 parts of tin in the metallic state. The nitric solution was tested in the usual way for silver, iron, lead, and zinc. When it was found free from these metals, as in all the following inquiries it proved, it was easy to calculate, by deducting the quantity of tin found, the proportion of copper, which was likewise obtained by the common methods.

1. *Analysis of an antique sword.*

In a collection of antiquities at Berlin, found on digging into some ancient graves in the march of Brandenburg, among several articles of bronze, as spear-heads, knives, ornaments, &c. are two swords: but the place where they were found is not known. One of these swords was broken, the other entire. Their composition is the same: they are both covered with the green shining rust called patina. The sword in question weighs seventeen ounces, and is twenty inches long: the blade sixteen and a half, and the hilt, which is rivetted, three and a half. The blade is two-edged, and one inch and a quarter broad for two-thirds.



thirds of its length, the other third sloping off to a round point. In the middle it is three lines and a half thick, and slopes to form an edge on each side. Below the hilt, and on each side at the edge, is a part cut out nine or ten lines long, and one, or one and a quarter deep, the use of which I do not know.

To find the colour and brightness of the blade, I ground it; and though the parts injured by the rust prevented me from restoring its original appearance, its colour and lustre were observable in some parts, and indicated considerable hardness and density.

Its analysis, in the way above mentioned, gave the following proportions: copper 89, tin 11.

To render the description and analysis of these antique swords found in our country more interesting by a comparison with other weapons, I shall here give an abstract of two excellent papers by Mr. Mongez, in the fifth volume of the *Memoirs of the Institute*, which contain a description and analysis of similar bronze swords found near Abbeville. One was found under a bed of peat, with the skeletons of a man and horse. Its whole length was 22 inches, the breadth of the blade 16 lines, the weight 21 ounces. According to the analysis of Mr. Darcet, it contained 15.53 tin, and 87.57 copper. A second, which was found at the depth of ten feet, in a calcareous tufa, was about 29 inches long, and contained 15 tin and 85 copper. The rivets that fastened the outer part of the hilt contained but 5 per cent. of tin, because they required to be more flexible. A third was 33 inches

inches long, and found at the depth of nine feet in a bed of peat, by the side of the skeleton of a man, on the head of which was a bronze helmet. This skeleton and several others were lying in an ancient boat. The composition of this sword was 10 tin and 90 copper. Another sword, or cutlass, eighteen inches and a half long, contained but 4 per cent. of tin.

These antique swords were not forged, like our weapons of iron and steel, but were cast in moulds, like all other instruments of bronze. Their edge, as well as those of cutting instruments in general, must have been given by hard, smooth stones. The opinion of some antiquaries, therefore, who assert, that the ancients were unacquainted with the art of casting metals, is absolutely false.

To say nothing of the nature of bronze rendering it incapable of being prepared in any other way, any one may be convinced of this by simple inspection; if you would have a proof of it in Homer, you need only read the 23d book of the *Iliad*.

## 2. *Analysis of the metallic alloy of crooked antique knives.*

In several provinces of Germany cutting instruments, shaped like sickles, have been found in digging or ploughing the ground; but whether they really were ancient sickles is not determined, as many suppose that they may have been used as knives in the warm baths. I have selected two of these, found at different places, for analysis.

One, which was found with various utensils in a garden at Merz, near Muelstord, yielded by analysis, after its crust of greyish rust was



was removed, tin 15 parts, copper 85.

The other, found in the island of Rugen, was covered with the common patina, and gave tin 13, copper 87.

3. *Analysis of an antique ring.*

I had selected for other inquiries a fragment of an elastic and flexible ring, which was found with some Roman coins in the vicinity of the Rhine. This ring was made with a half-flattened stem, grooved on the outside, and eight lines broad. Its exterior diameter is two inches and seven-eighths, its interior two and a half. It is not soldered, but its extremities are so closed by the elasticity of the metal, that it is difficult to separate them. The colour of the metal, in the parts that have been polished, is very fine. We have no sufficient clue to the use of these rings. Its analysis gave tin 9, copper 91.

The same proportions were found in an elastic ring analyzed by Mr. Mongez, which was found near Bourg, where several other Roman antiquities had before been discovered.

It is to be wished that the elastic property of bronze should be examined more minutely.

4. *Analysis of a piece of Grecian brass.*

This little fragment, decorated with ornaments, which was found in Sicily in a Grecian tomb, appears to have been a button, or some other ornament of armour. Its proportions are, tin 11, copper 89.

5. *Analysis of antique rivets.*

These rivets were short, and

of the thickness of a middle-sized wire. As it was necessary they should be flexible, it was requisite that the alloy should be in different proportions, that of the tin being diminished. This consisted of tin 2.25, copper 97.75.

6. *Analysis of an antique cup.*

The great number of antique cups and vases found at different times sufficiently prove, that the ancients possessed the art of reducing bronze to thin sheets. The cup, pieces of which were employed for this analysis, was found in a Grecian tomb near Naples. It has so well resisted rust, that its inside has lost very little of its polish. Being very thin, I expected to find in it but a small proportion of tin; but I obtained tin 14, copper 86.

Comparing the proportions of tin found in the present analysis with those of a fragment of an antique mirror, which I had already published in Scherer's Journal, Vol. VI. and which consisted of 32 per cent. tin, and a little lead, we find that the ancients judiciously adapted the proportions of tin and copper to the purposes for which they were required. I conceive it unnecessary to particularize the rest of the analyses I made of pieces of antique bronze: it is sufficient to say, that except this mirror, and the rivets already mentioned, I always found the alloy contained from 9 to 15 per cent of tin.

7. *Analysis of the quadriga of Chios.*

The proportions of the alloy of this masterpiece of antiquity bear no resemblance to those already mentioned.



mentioned. It has been long asserted, that these horses were the work of Lysippus, contemporary of Alexander, who is known in the history of the arts as the greatest master in the execution of equestrian statues; but several modern connoisseurs dispute this, and say the horses are in too clumsy a style to have been the work of Lysippus.

It is admitted, however, that they were brought from Chios to Constantinople in the reign of Theodosius I. In 1204, when the croisaders made themselves masters of that city for the second time, pillaged it, and set it on fire, this quadriga escaped the destruction that befel many ancient works of art. On dividing the plunder, the doge Dandolo destined these horses for the republic of Venice. After his death, the podestat, Martin Zeno, sent them to Venice with other parts of the spoil, and the doge, Peter Ziani, ornamented with them the entrance to the cathedral of St. Mark. About six centuries after, in 1793, they were removed to Paris, and placed at the two entrances of the square of the Carrousel. Since that time they have been brought together again, and harnessed to a chariot, to decorate the triumphal arch in that square.

These four horses were not cast at once, like statues in bronze, but are composed of separate parts, wrought with the chisel, and afterward joined together. The hollows in the hind parts are filled with lead, which has assumed its shining reddish appearance. These parts are gilt; yet the gilding is nearly effaced, though, according to Buonarotti, the gold with which

the ancients covered their bronze was to ours as six to one.

These horses were supposed to be of copper, because this metal takes gilding better than bronze; and I have been enabled to verify the fact on a small piece, weighing 40 grains, which was sent me. From this it appears, that the copper was not absolutely pure, as it contained a little tin; but the oxide of tin obtained from these 40 grains, amounted only to 0.35 of a grain; so that when reduced to the metallic state, the proportion would be only 7 parts of tin to 993 of copper. This proportion is so small, it may be presumed to have been accidental.

In our days the use of iron and brass has singularly diminished that of bronze, which was so frequently employed by the ancients. It is now confined to cannons, bells, and statues. But is it not desirable, that our copper vessels should be replaced by vessels of bronze or brass, as they are less liable to oxidation, and to injure the health? This question deserves to be solved by comparative experiments. What ought to induce us to examine this important question is, that the ancients employed only vessels of bronze in their kitchens and cellars in general, though they were well acquainted with the injurious qualities of oxide of copper taken internally. This oxide, however, they used externally for cleansing and healing wounds. According to Aristotle, wounds made with weapons of bronze were more easily cured than those made with weapons of iron.

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In a note subjoined, Mr. Darcet observes,



observes, that the metal of the horses of the Carrousel, taken as it is, yields copper, tin, lead, gold, and silver. If the surface be filed, so as to remove all the gilt part, nothing is found but copper, tin, and lead. If a piece perfectly free from cracks be taken, and thoroughly cleaned by the file, it yields copper and tin alone: but it is difficult to procure such pieces, for the copper is full of flaws, and the mixture of lead and tin, with which the horses were partly filled, has insinuated itself into every crack. On analysing some select pieces, he found copper 99·177, tin 0·823: but as sulphuric acid disturbed the transparency of the solution, he supposes a little lead was present, and that part of the tin might come from the alloy of tin and lead, which had covered the inside of the pieces he used.

He could not procure a piece well gilt, to examine in what way the gold was applied; but he observes, that the brittleness of the metal seems to indicate that quicksilver was employed.

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*On the Forcing-Houses of the Romans. By Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. K. B. P. R. S.*

[From the Transactions of the Horticultural Society.]

Mr. A. Knight was the first person among us members of the Horticultural Society, who observed in reading Martial, strong traces of the Romans having enjoyed the luxury of forcing-houses. I shall cite the principal passages upon which he has founded this

observation, the truth of which is not likely to be controverted, and add such remarks as present themselves upon the Roman hot-houses, with a few words on the subject of our own.

The first epigram is as follows:

Pallida ne Cilicum timeant pomaria brumam,  
Mordeat et tenerum fortior aura nemus:  
Hibernis objecta notis specularia puros  
Admittant soles, et sine fæce diem, &c.  
MARTIAL, lib. viii. 14.

Qui Corcyraei vidit pomaria regis,  
Rus, Entelle, tuæ præferat ille domus.  
Invida purpureos urat ne bruma racemos,  
Et gelidum Bacchi munera frigus edat;  
Condita perspicua vivit vindemia gemma,  
Et tegitur felix, nec tamen uva latet.  
Fœmineum lucet sic per bombycina corpus:

Calculus in nitida sic numeratur aqua.  
Quid non ingenio voluit natura licere?  
Autumnum sterilis ferre jubetur hiems.  
MARTIAL, lib. viii. 68.

The four last lines of the first emigram are omitted, as having no reference whatever to the subject.

From these passages, and from that of Pliny, in which he tells us that Tiberius, who was fond of cucumbers, had them in his garden throughout the year by means of (specularia) stoves, where they were grown in boxes, wheeled out in fine weather, and replaced in the nights or in cold weather, Pliny, book xix. sect. 23, we may safely infer that forcing-houses were not unknown to the Romans, though they do not appear to have been carried into general use.

Flues the Romans were well acquainted with; they did not use open fires in their apartments as we do, but in the colder countries at least, they always had flues under



der the floors of their apartments. Mr. Lysons found the flues, and the fire-place from whence they received heat, in the Roman villa he has described in Gloucestershire; in the baths also, which no good house could be without, flues were used to communicate a large proportion of heat for their sudatories, or sweating apartments.

The article with which their windows were glazed, if the term may be used, was talk, or what we may call Muscovy glass (*lapis specularis*). At Rome, the apartments of the bettermost classes were furnished with curtains (*vela*) to keep away the sun; and windows (*specularia*) to resist cold; so common was the use of this material for windows, that the glazier, or person who fitted the panes, had a name, and was called *specularius*.

On the epigrams the following remarks present themselves. The first in all probability described a peach-house, the word *pâle*, which is meant as a ridicule upon the practice, gives reason for this supposition; we all know, that peaches grown under glass cannot be endowed either with colour or with flavour, unless they are exposed by the removal of the lights, from the time of their taking their second swell, after stoning, to the direct rays of the sun: if this is not done, the best sorts are pale green when ripe, and not better than turnips in point of flavour; but it is not likely that a Roman hot house should, in the infancy of the invention, be furnished with moveable lights as ours are. The Romans had peaches in plenty,

both hard and melting. The flesh of the hard peaches adhered to the stones as ours do, and were preferred in point of flavour to the soft ones.

The second epigram refers most plainly to a grape-house, but it does not seem to have been calculated to force the crop at an earlier period than the natural one; it is more likely to have been contrived for the purpose of securing a late crop, which may have been managed by destroying the first set of bloom, and encouraging the vines to produce a second. The last line of the epigram, which states the office of the house to be that of compelling the winter to produce autumnal fruits, leads much to this opinion.

Hot-houses seem to have been little used in England, if at all, in the beginning of the last century. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, on her journey to Constantinople, in the year 1716, remarks the circumstance of pine-apples being served up in the dessert, at the electoral table at Hanover, as a thing she had never before seen or heard of. See *her Letters*. Had pines been then grown in England, her ladyship, who moved in the highest circles, could not have been ignorant of the fact. The public have still much to learn on the subject of hot-houses, of course the Horticultural Society have much to teach.

They have hitherto been too frequently misapplied under the name of forcing-houses, to the vain and ostentatious purpose of hurrying fruits to maturity, at a season of the year when the sun has not the power of endowing them



them with their natural flavour: we have begun, however, to apply them to their proper use; we have peach-houses built for the purpose of presenting that excellent fruit to the sun, when his genial influence is the most active. We have others for the purpose of ripening grapes, in which they are secured from the chilling effects of our uncertain autumns; and we have brought them to as high a degree of perfection here as either Spain, France, or Italy can boast of. We have pine-houses also, in which that delicate fruit is raised in a better style than is generally practised in its native intertropical countries; except, perhaps, in the well-managed gardens of rich individuals, who may, if due care and attention is used by their gardeners, have pines as good, but cannot have them better, than those we know how to grow in England.

The next generation will no doubt erect hot-houses of much larger dimensions than those to which we have hitherto confined ourselves, such as are capable of raising trees of considerable size; they will also, instead of heating them with fires, such as we use, and which waste in the walls that conceal them, more than half of the warmth they receive from the fires that heat them, use naked tubes of metal filled with steam instead of smoke. Gardeners will then be enabled to admit a proper proportion of air to the trees in the season of flowering; and as we already are aware of the use of bees in our cherry-houses to distribute the pollen where wind cannot be admitted to disperse it, and of shaking the trees when in

full bloom, to put the pollen in motion, they will find no difficulty in setting the shyest kinds of fruits.

It does not require the gift of prophecy to foretell, that ere long the aki and the avocado pear of the West Indies, the flat peach, the mandarine orange, and the litchi of China, the mango, the mangostan, and the durion of the East Indies, and possibly other valuable fruits, will be frequent at the tables of opulent persons; and some of them, perhaps in less than half a century, be offered for sale on every market day at Covent Garden.

Subjoined is a list of those fruits cultivated at Rome, in the time of Pliny, that are now grown in our English gardens.

*Almonds*, both sweet and bitter, were abundant.

*Apples* 22 sorts at least: sweet apples (melimala) for eating, and others for cookery. They had one sort without kernels.

*Apricots*. Pliny says of the apricot (*Armeniaca*) quæ sola et odore commendantur, lib. xv. sect. 11. He arranges them among his plums. Martial valued them little, as appears by his epigram, xiii. 46.

*Cherries* were introduced into Rome in the year of the city 680, 73 A. C. and were carried thence to Britain 120 years after, A. D. 48. The Romans had eight kinds, a red one, a black one, a kind so tender as scarce to bear any carriage, a hard-fleshed one (*duracina*) like our bigarreau, a small one with a bitterish flavour (*laurea*) like our



our little wild black, also a dwarf one not exceeding three feet high.

*Chestnuts.* They had six sorts, some more easily separated from the skin than others, and one with a red skin: they roasted them as we do.

*Figs.* They had many sorts, black and white, large and small, one as large as a pear, another no larger than an olive.

*Medlars.* They had two kinds, the one larger, and the other smaller.

*Mulberries.* They had two kinds of the black sort, a larger and a smaller. Pliny speaks also of a mulberry growing on a brier: *Nascuntur et in Rubis*, l. xv. sect. 27; but whether this means the raspberry or the common blackberry does not appear.

*Nuts.* They had hazle-nuts and filberds (has quoque mollis protegit barba) l. 15, sect. 24: they roasted these nuts.

*Pears.* Of these they had many sorts, both summer and winter fruit, melting and hard, they had more than 36 kinds, some were called Libralia: we have our pound pear.

*Plums.* They had a multiplicity of sorts (*ingens turba prunorum*), black, white, and variegated: one sort was called Asinina, from its cheapness; another Damascena, this had much stone and little flesh: from Martial's epigram, xiii. 29, we may conclude that it was what we now call prunes.

*Quinces.* They had three sorts, one was called Chrysomela from its yellow flesh; they boiled

them with honey, as we make marmalade. See Martial, xiii. 24.

*Services* they had, the apple-shaped, the pear-shaped, and a small kind, probably the same as we gather wild, possibly the azarole.

*Strawberries* they had, but do not appear to have prized: the climate is too warm to produce this fruit in perfection, unless in the hills.

*Vines.* They had a multiplicity of these, both thick-skinned (*Duracina*) and thin-skinned: one vine growing at Rome produced 12 amphoræ of juice, 84 gallons. They had round-berried and long-berried sorts; one so long that it was called *Dactylides*, the grapes being like the fingers on the hand. Martial speaks favourably of the hard-skinned grape for eating, xiii. 22.

*Walnuts.* They had soft-shelled and hard-shelled, as we have. In the golden age, when men lived upon acorns, the gods lived upon walnuts, hence the name *Juglans*, *Jovis glans*.

As a matter of curiosity, it has also been deemed expedient to add a list of the fruits cultivated in our English gardens in the year 1573: it is taken from a book entitled *Five Hundred Points of good Husbandry*, &c. by Thomas Tusser.

Thomas Tusser, who had received a liberal education at Eton School, and at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, lived many years as a farmer in Suffolk and Norfolk: he afterwards removed to London, where he published the first edition



tion of his work, under the title of *One Hundred Points of good Husbandry*, in 1557.

In his fourth edition, from whence this list is taken, he first introduced the subject of gardening, and has given us not only a list of the fruits, but also of all the plants then cultivated in our gardens, either for pleasure or profit, under the following heads.

Seedes and herbes for the kychen, herbes and rootes for sallets and sawce, herbes and rootes to boyle or to butter, strewing-herbes of all sorts, herbes, branches and flowers for windowes and pots, herbes to still in summer, necessarie herbes to grow in the gardens for physick not reherst before.

This list consists of more than 150 species, besides the following fruits:

FRUITS.

Apple trees of all sorts.  
Apricockes.  
Barberries.  
Boollesse, black and white  
Cherries, red and black.  
Chestnuts.  
Cornet plums.  
Damisens, white and black.  
Filberds, red and white.  
Gooseberries.  
Grapes, white and red.  
Grene, or grass plums.  
Hurtill-berries.  
Medlars, or merles.  
Mulberry.  
Peaches, white and red.  
Peeres of all sorts.  
Peer plums, black and yellow.

Quince trees.  
Raspis.  
Reisons.  
Small nuts.  
Strawberries, red and white.  
Service trees.  
Wardens, white and red.  
Wallnuts.  
Wheat plums.

Though the fig is omitted by Tusser, it was certainly introduced into our gardens before he wrote. Cardinal Pole is said to have imported from Italy that tree which is still growing in the garden of the Archbishop's Palace, at Lambeth.

*Account of ancient Customs in Cheshire.*

[From Messrs. Lysons' *Magna Britannia*, Vol. II. Part II.]

Of the customs and ceremonies peculiar to certain parts of the kingdom, Cheshire has its full share; we shall notice some of those which are most remarkable. There is a custom among the young men, of placing, on the first of May, large birchen boughs over the doors of the houses, where the young women reside to whom they pay their addresses; \* and an alder-bough is often found placed over the door of a scold.

Another singular custom which prevails in this county, is that of *lifting* at Easter. On Easter Monday, the young men deck out a chair with flowers and ribbands,

\* Mr. Owen, in his *Welch Dictionary*, under the word *bedw*, birch, says, that 'it was an emblem of readiness, or complacency, in doing a kind act. If a young woman accepted of the addresses of a lover, she gave him the birchen-branch, mostly formed into a crown; but if he was rejected, she gave him a *collen*, or hazel.'



and carry it about, compelling every young woman they meet to get into it, and suffer herself to be lifted as high as they can reach into the air, or be kissed, or pay a forfeit. On Easter Tuesday the young women deck out their chair, and lift the men, or make them pay a fine.\* This custom, which also prevails in some of the neighbouring counties, or something very like it, seems to have been admitted among the highest ranks in the thirteenth century; for it appears, from a wardrobe account preserved among the records in the Tower, that King Edward the First, in the eighteenth year of his reign, paid a large sum of money, more than equivalent to four hundred pounds at this time, to the queen's seven ladies of the bed-chamber and maids of honour, on a similar occasion.

*Rush-bearing*, or carrying rushes to the churches, and there strewing them, was a custom which formerly prevailed generally in Cheshire; but has been much disused for many years, since close pews have been erected in most churches. It took place on the day of the wake, and was attended with a procession of young men and women, dressed in ribbands, and carrying garlands, &c. which were hung up in the

church: we saw these garlands remaining in several churches.

The most prevalent custom of this county is the shouting of the *marlers*, when any money has been given to them. When a marle-pit is to be dug, the set of labourers, or marlers, as they are called, who undertake it, choose one of their number to be lord of the pit. When at work, they never ask for money; but if any is given them, they are summoned together by their lord, and after announcing with great solemnity the donation, and the name of the donor,† they join their arms, forming a ring, and make four bows towards the centre of it, shouting every time; the fourth time they give a lengthened and much louder shout, letting the sound die away gradually: this ceremony is repeated several times, in proportion to the sum given; they shout four times for silver, though only sixpence; six-times for a shilling; for half a crown the shouts are continued as long as their breath will hold out. My lord keeps the money till the next Saturday evening, when it is spent at the next ale-house, and the shouts are there renewed, as the healths of the givers are repeated in succession. When the marlers have finished their work, they dress up a pole with flowers

\* The following is the entry in that account: "XV die Maii, vii Dominabus et Domicellis Regine, quia serperunt Dominum Regem in lecto suo in Crastino Pashe, et ipsum fecerunt finire versus eas pro pace regis quam fecit de dono suo per manus Hugonis de Cerru Scutiferi Domine de Weston."--xiiij. li. Lib. Controtulat' de Anno XVIII Ed. I. fol. 45. b.

† One stepping aside, cries *oyez* three times; another says with great solemnity, 'Mr. A. B., dwelling at the township of C, has been here to-day, and has given to my lord and all his men, part of a thousand pounds: I hope another will come by and by, and give us as much more, and we will return him thanks therefore, and shout *Largo*;' the last word is evidently a corruption of *Largess*.



and ribbands, and hanging their silver watches, spoons, and other glittering articles upon it, carry it about to collect money; this is called carrying the garland."

*The Sheriffes' Breakfast.*

"There is an achant custome in this cittie of Chester, the memory of man now livinge not knowinge the original \*, that upon Monday in Easter weeke, yearely, commonly called Black Mondaye †, the two sheriffes of the cittie doe shoote for a breakefaste of calves-heads and bacon, comonly called the sheriffes' breakfast ‡, the maner beinge thus: the daye before the drum sowndeth through the cittie with a proclamation for all gentelman, yeomen, and good fellowes, that will come with their bowes and arrowes to take parte with one sherriff or the other, and

upon Monday-morning, on the Rode-dee, the mayor, shreeves, aldermen, and any other gentlemen, that wol be there, the one sherife chosing one, and the other sherife chosing another, and soe of the archers; then one sherife shoteth, and the other sherife he shoteth to, *shode* him, beinge at length some twelve score: soe all the archers on one side to shode it till it be *shode*, and so till three shutes be wonne, and then all the winers' side goe up together firste with arrowes in their handes, and all the losers with bowes in their hands together, to the common-hall of the cittie, where the mayor, aldermen, and gentlemen, and the reste take parte together of the said breakfast in loving manner; this is yearly done, it beinge a comendable exercise, a good recreation, and a lovyng assem-blye"

\* By some MS. annals, quoted in another part of Archdeacon Rogers's book, it appears to have been begun in 1511.

† So called from remarkably dark and inclement weather, which happened on an Easter Monday, when King Edward the Third lay with his army before Paris, and proved fatal to many of his troops. See How's Chronicle.

‡ In the year 1640, the sheriffs gave a piece of plate to be run for, instead of the calves-head breakfast. In 1674, a resolution was entered in the corporation Journals, that the calves-head feast was held by ancient custom and usage, and was not to be at the pleasure of the sheriffs and leave-lookers. In the month of March 1676-7, the sheriffs and leave-lookers were fined 10l. for not keeping the calves head feast. The sheriffs of late years have given an annual dinner, but not any fixed day."



## MISCELLANEOUS.

### *Manners, Customs, Laws, &c. of the Mosquito Indians.*

[From Capt. Henderson's Account of  
Honduras.]

**T**HE Mosquito Indians inhabit a considerable space of country on the continent of America, nearly extending from Point Castile, or Cape Honduras, the southern point of the Bay of Truxillo, to the northern branch of the river Nicaragua, called usually St. Juan's; and comprehending within these limits nearly 100 leagues of land on the sea coast, from latitude 11 to 16 degrees. A chain of high mountains may be considered as the natural barrier between their nation and the Spanish possessions in this part of the world.

These people have long been in alliance with the King of Great Britain, and entertain generally a most exalted opinion of the justice and magnanimity of the English, and a perfect detestation of their neighbours the Spaniards. A tradition has long prevailed amongst them, that the grey-eyed people, meaning the English, have been particularly appointed to pro-

tect them from oppression or bondage. And they may enviably be classed with the very few tribes whose liberties have remained uninterrupted by European aggression on this side the Atlantic.

The soil they inhabit is abundantly fertile, and capable of many modes of cultivation. Indian corn of the finest quality, plantains, cassava-root, varieties of the yam and sweet potatoe, are plentifully raised from it. The sugar-cane, cotton, and tobacco thrive equally well; and in the mountainous situations, coffee, no doubt, might be produced, not inferior to that which is raised in the West India islands.

In this country there is also plenty of mahogany, and many other kinds of wood, which might probably meet the purposes of ornamental use extremely well. But the entire want of harbours of sufficient depth for any vessels but those of the smallest burthen, must prevent any material advantage resulting from these sources. Several species of dye-wood are likewise found, some of which are used in colouring a coarse kind of cloth, the manufacture of the natives.



natives. We learn from Mr. Edwards, *Hist. West Indies*, Vol. 1. p. 55, 56, that as early as the discovery of Columbus, the people of the islands he visited were found abundantly furnished with a substantial cotton cloth of native manufacture. This they stained with various colours; but the one they most admired was red. A common origin, to go no farther, may perhaps be affixed to the inhabitants of the different islands in this part of the western world and the people of the adjacent continent; hence the striking conformity in manners, customs, &c. which have been so frequently traced as characteristic of both.

The rivers flowing through this extensive country are very numerous, and most of them are navigable a considerable distance for canoes or small vessels. The many spacious lagoons with which it abounds, render it also, in a picturesque point of view, singularly interesting.

Of the former, the most deserving of notice are, Black, or Rio-Tinto, Plantain, Patook, Poyers, great and little, Cape, Coree, Towkeas, Bluefields, &c. Of the latter, Black-river, Brewers, Caratasca, Wava, Pearl-key, Bluefields, &c.

Fishes of infinite variety are the inhabitants of both; and the neighbouring grounds abound with deer, antelopes, warree, and pecary. Birds of various species, adorned with all the richness of plumage so peculiar to tropical situations, enliven every spot. And the whole of these may be viewed as almost holding an undisturbed possession of their native haunts; for necessity alone, and that of

the most imperious kind, can ever impel the Indian to seek for either.

The cattle are small, but, from the vast extent and excellence of the pasturage, the meat they supply is fat and extremely well flavoured. Horses are also very numerous, and, though generally small, not unhandsome. Hogs are raised in extraordinary numbers; and poultry of all kinds is abundant and large.

Many of the Mosquito Indians are of a mixed breed, between that of the aboriginal and the negro of the Samba country. Accident produced this variety, from the circumstance of an African slave ship, many years past, having been wrecked on their coast, from which several women were saved, and who were immediately chosen by the natives for wives.

The men in general are athletic and well formed. Their height, on an average, may be taken at five feet eight. The women are frequently handsome; their children, when young, are particularly so. Their habits and intercourse with each other denote much affection, the old and the young being found in continual association.

They wear little cloathing. Seldom any thing more, men and women, than a small kind of wrapper, which reaches from the lower part of the waist to the middle of the thigh. On particular occasions the chief men usually appear in British regimentals, the military titles of which nation they invariably adopt. Many of them hold commissions from the governor of Jamaica, and from his Majesty's superintendant of Honduras.



duras. The women are in the habit of decorating their persons with a profusion of beads, to which species of finery they are passionately attached, and very commonly paint their faces and necks with a kind of red ochre, which is found in their country. Their children go entirely naked; and, when young, are always borne on the back of the mother. Amongst these people, all the offices of the domestic kind are exclusively performed by the female: the male would be degraded by such services.

Their dwellings are formed in a style of the rudest simplicity, being little more than a number of rough poles placed perpendicularly in the ground, and roofed with the leaves of the palmetto tree. They are usually large, and left entirely open at the sides. The floor is of clay, and in the centre of it is the fire-place. These habitations seldom contain more than one apartment, and this commonly affords accommodation to several families. The bed of each, a mat, is placed on what is called a *barbecu*, a frame made of sticks, and raised a few feet from the ground. This, with a few earthen pots for cookery, are the chief articles of furniture.

The government of the Mosquito Indians is hereditary; and a very exact and perfect idea of the British law of succession is entertained by them. It is a subject which engages much of their attention, from its having long been one of close imitation amongst themselves. Indeed, it would perhaps be found, that many points of our doctrine of primogeniture are much more accurately understood

by these people than by some who are more immediately interested in such discussions. It certainly is not unfrequent to find Indians in this nation, at least those of the superior class, capable of discoursing on such topics with a precision that might reflect no discredit on a civilian.

The late king, George, was murdered, and his death attributed very openly to the designs of his brother, Prince Stephen. The former was unalterably attached to the English; the latter, it is confidently pronounced, has been seduced by bribery to very opposite interests, and with which he has seduously attempted to infect his countrymen. The schemes of Prince Stephen, however, have met with little success; which has principally arisen from the unremitting and active vigilance of General Robinson, one of the next persons in point of consequence to the royal family, and who contrives to preserve a kind of regency until the son and heir of the late king shall become of age to take upon himself the business of government. The present king is but a youth, and some years ago was sent to Jamaica to be educated under the direction and guidance of the governor of that island.

The laws of these people are simple and concise. The legislative and judicial power, as it usually happens in nations where no fixed principles of either have been acquired, resides exclusively in the will of him who governs. The king, or chief, is completely despotic. Whenever he dispatches a messenger, his commands are always accompanied by his cane: this token establishes the credibility



lity of the bearer, and a sudden compliance with the purport of his errand. In this way decrees are enforced, the punishment due to offence remitted, or the severest sentence annexed to it carried into instant execution.

They have one law against adultery, which has something curious in it. The fine imposed on the offender is, that he pay the injured husband an ox. This penalty, the head man of the particular tribe to which the adulterer belongs, is strictly bound by long custom to see punctually complied with, or one of his own cattle may be taken as a lawful indemnity. Should the latter happen, the chief then exacts, as an equivalent for what he loses by the offence, a stated period of servitude from the offender.

In this country there is neither priest, physician, or lawyer; but there is a professor of another science, who commonly unites the duties of the three; this is the sokee, or conjuror, a person of high importance, and whose occult skill is ever regarded with the deepest and most implicit veneration.

They have no modes of public worship, nor could any particular forms of religious persuasion be found to prevail amongst them. There is little doubt, however, of their paying adoration to evil spirits, from a singular belief which is entertained, that they have much more inconvenience to apprehend from the influence of the bad than the good.

In common with most, if not with all rude tribes, polygamy is freely allowed, and a plurality of wives is the privilege of every hus-

band in the Mosquito nation; but perhaps it has seldom been indulged in equal extent in any country. Many men here claim from two to six wives; few can be found satisfied with one: their late king surpassed all his subjects in this respect; he claimed no less than twenty-two! His Mosquito majesty might very well have exclaimed with honest Launcelot—"Alas! fifteen wives is nothing." At the same time it may be observed, that this circumstance is attended with far less inconvenience than might possibly be found annexed to it in most other situations, the numerous claimants for the affection or favour of their lord never discovering the least jealousy or hatred towards each other.

The females are taken for wives at a very tender age, frequently when they have scarcely attained their tenth year. At the hour of their birth, the contract for their destination in this respect is not uncommonly formed with the husband and their parents. And from what would seem so premature an engagement, that which usually discovers itself in this sex must be expected to happen, an early appearance of advanced years. It is likewise observed, a natural consequence of the above, that the duration of life between the sexes is found greatly disproportionate.

A singular custom is scrupulously observed by the women of this nation. At the time of parturition, an habitation is prepared for them in the deepest recesses of the woods, to which, with a female assistant, they retire, and where they remain secluded from every eye for a stated period.



This past, a public lustration of themselves and offspring must take place previous to their being again admitted to the society of their relatives and friends.

These Indians may in one respect be thought to resemble the improvisatori of some other countries. Their metrical effusions being entirely spontaneous, and usually thrown into a kind of measure, which, if it be rude and uncultivated, possesses, nevertheless, something peculiarly soft and plaintive to recommend it. The subjects which excite their verse are chiefly of the latter description.

In a political point of view, an alliance with the Mosquito Indians can be considered but of relative importance. They hold little pretension to the character of warlike, the last quality, however, that humanity might wish to contemplate them in; nor are there any advantages of a commercial nature resulting from such connection. The implacable enmity they have ever borne towards one nation, our frequent foe, from what cause it may be unnecessary to inquire, is perhaps the best claim they can offer for the extension of our friendship.

This nation cannot number at the utmost more than 1500 or 2000 men capable of using arms. Immediately contiguous to it are two other tribes, called the Poyers and the Towkcas. These people are more numerous, and considered much more enterprising and brave, although they are tributary

to the former, and have been so from time immemorial. The acknowledgment of this dependance is expressed by the annual payment of a certain number of cattle. But neither the Poyers or Towkcas possess any thing like the civilization of the Mosquito people. Hence, unquestionably, the cause and continuance of their vassalage.

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*Account of Salt Works at Nantwich in the County of Chester.*

[From Messrs. Lysons' *Magna Britannia*.]

Mr. Webb, in his *Itinerary of Cheshire*, printed in King's Vale-Royal, speaking of Nantwich, and the excellency of the cheese made in the neighbourhood of that town, says, 'notwithstanding all the trials that our ladies and gentlemen make in their dairies in other parts of the county, and other counties of the kingdom; yet can they never fully match the perfect relish of the right Nantwich cheese; nor can, I think, that cheese be equalled by any other made in Europe, for pleasantness of taste and wholesomeness of digestion, even in the daintiest stomachs of them that love it.' Fuller, in his *Worthies*, speaking of Cheshire, says, 'this county doth afford the best cheese for quantity and quality, and yet their cows are not (as in other shires) housed in the winter;\* so that it may seem strange that the hardiest kine should make the

\* The cows in Cheshire are now housed in the winter, although they are not in many other counties, and in some districts much celebrated for the excellency of their cheese, as the Vale of Gloucester, North-Wiltshire, and Berkshire.



tenderest cheese. Some essayed in vain to make the like in other places, though from thence they fetched both their kine and dairy-maids: it seems they should have fetched their ground too (wherein is surely some occult excellency in this kind), or else so good cheese will not be made. I hear not the like commendation of the butter in this county, and perchance these two commodities are like stars of a different horizon; so that the elevation of the one to eminency is the depression of the other.'

Dr. Leigh, in his Natural History of Cheshire, and Dr. Campbell, in his Political Survey, attribute the peculiar flavour of the Cheshire cheese to the abundance of saline particles in the soil of this country; and the latter observes, that in the neighbourhood of Nantwich, where the brine springs most abound, the cheese is esteemed to be of the most superior quality; the opinion that prime cheese is produced exclusively from pastures under which salt springs are found, is now exploded.\* In Mr. Wedge's General View of the Agriculture of Cheshire, published in 1794, may be found a copious account of the process of cheese-making, as practised in this county. Mr. Holland, in his late Survey, calculates that the number of cows kept for

the dairy in Cheshire is about 32,000; and that the quantity of cheese annually made from them is about 11,500 tons:† The greater part of the Cheshire cheese, particularly that of the south part of the county, is sold to the London cheesemongers, through the medium of factors, who reside in the neighbourhood: some is sent by the Mersey to Liverpool; some inland, by the Staffordshire canal; and a considerable quantity by other canals, to the markets of Stockport and Manchester.

It is certain, from the record of Domesday, that salt was one of the principal articles of commerce in this county, from a very early period; and that it produced a considerable revenue to the crown before the Norman conquest; the king having two-thirds, and the Earl of Chester one-third of the tolls; in which manner it continued to the time of Hugh Lupus. It appears that the *Wiches*, as they are called in the Survey, were very productive in the reign of Edward the Confessor. When Hugh Lupus was first created Earl of Chester, the salt-works belonging to the king and the earl, at Middlewich and Nantwich, having before produced a rent of 16l. per ann. were wholly disused and unproductive; and those at Nantwich, whence the king and earl Edwin had derived an income of 20l. per ann.

\* The richest and best cheese is said to be produced from land of an inferior nature; but the greatest quantity from the richest land. Among the places and districts most celebrated for making the prime cheese, may be reckoned the neighbourhood of Nantwich, for a circuit of five miles; the parish of Over; the greater part of the banks of the river Weaver; and several farms near Congleton and Middlewich, among which we have heard that of Croxton Hall particularly mentioned.

† This calculation probably is over-rated; we are informed that the quantity annually sent out of Cheshire, from the port of Chester, and by various canals, is about 4000 tons only; about four-fifths of which is the produce of the county.



were nearly as much neglected ; there being then in use only one salt-work out of eight which had been formerly worked.

At the time of the survey, the salt-works had somewhat recovered their value, those at Nantwich being let to farm by the crown at 10l., those at Middlewich at 25s., and those at Northwich at 35s. The Survey gives the particulars of the duties paid for each waggon-load, horse-load, &c. which varied for that which was sold in the hundred or county, or carried out of either ; the customs in the different Wiches varied also. The earl had a salt-pit at Nantwich, for the use of his own household, toll-free ; but if he sold any salt, he was to account with the king for two-thirds of the tolls. The proprietors of private salt-works were also permitted to have salt for the use of their families toll-free ; but paid toll for all which they sold. It is probable that the chief exportation of salt at this early period, was to Wales ; the people of which country are said to have called Nantwich *Hellbath Wen*, or the white salt-pit, from the whiteness of the salt there made. As no mention is made by Pliny of the salt of Britain, it is probable that there were no salt-works in this country so early as the time of the Romans. King Henry III. during his wars with the Welsh, caused all the salt-works in Che-

shire to be destroyed, and the pits to be stopped up, to prevent the enemy from procuring any supply of that valuable article.

The art of making salt appears to have been but imperfectly understood in England for several centuries after the Conquest.—King Henry VI. invited John de Sheidam, a gentleman of Zealand, to come over to this country, with sixty persons in his company, to instruct his subjects in the improved method of making salt. Mr. Loundes, a Cheshire gentleman, received a reward from parliament about the beginning of the last century, for making public some supposed improvements in this art ; soon afterwards, Dr. Brownrig published a treatise on the art of making common salt, in which he suggested some improvements, which have been since adopted. Partly in consequence of those improvements, and partly from other causes, the manufacture of white salt has greatly increased in Cheshire : about a century ago, the salt manufacture there was not more than adequate to its own consumption, and that of a few adjoining counties. From May 1805, to May 1806, the salt manufactured at the Cheshire brine-pits,\* exclusively of that made at Nantwich† and Frodsham, which was disposed of for home consumption, amounted to 16,590 tons, 77 bushels. The annual average of

\* At Lawton, Wheelock, Roughwood ; in the townships of Anderton, Bechton, Leftwich, Middlewich, and in the neighbourhood of Northwich and Winsford.

† The manufacture of salt at Nantwich was much more extensive, in the early part of the seventeenth century than at the present time ; for it appears, by some papers relating to the brine-pits, written in the reign of Charles I. that there were then two hundred and sixteen wick-houses, or salt-works, at Nantwich ; there is now only one.



white salt sent down the Weever from Winsford and Northwich, for the last ten years, has been 139,317 tons; this has been principally for the supply of the fisheries in Scotland, Ireland, the ports of the Baltic, the United States of America, Newfoundland, and the British Colonies. The quantity manufactured at Northwich is supposed to have been doubled within the last ten years. Messrs. Marshall and Naylor, proprietors of some brine-pits at Anderton, having turned their attention to the investigation of means by which salt-works might be constructed at the least expense, and the consumption of fuel diminished, have erected works upon this principle, at which they make a large grained salt, peculiarly well adapted to the purpose of curing fish and provisions.—The proprietors, in the year 1806, obtained a patent for making this salt, for which there have been already very large demands; large quantities having been exported to Scotland, Ireland, Newfoundland, and Sweden. The discovery of the rock salt in 1670, forms an important æra in the history of the staple commodity of the county. There are now ten or twelve pits of rock-salt worked in the neighbourhood of Northwich, in the townships of Witton, Marston, and Wincham; from some of these pits they raise a hundred tons in a day. The rock-salt is sent down the Weever from Northwich; about a third of it is refined at the salt-works at

Frodsham, and on the Lancashire side of the Mersey; but the greater part is carried to Liverpool, whence it is exported to Ireland, and the ports of the Baltic.—The average quantity sent down the Weever from Northwich for the last ten years is 51,109 tons\*. In 1805, there were 2950 hands employed in the manufacture of salt.

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*An Account of the Vehabies.*

[From Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan.]

The founder of this sect was named Abd al Vehab (the servant of the bestower of all benefits.) He was born in the neighbourhood of Hilla, on the banks of the Euphrates, but brought up as an adopted son, by a person of some consequence, named Ibrahim, in the district of Nejid. During his youth he was considered as superior to all his contemporaries, for his ready wit, penetration, and retentive memory. He was also of a very liberal disposition; and whenever he received any money from his patron, he distributed it immediately amongst his inferiors. After having acquired the common principles of education, and a little knowledge of the law, he travelled to Ispahan, late the capital of Persia, where he studied for some time under the most celebrated masters of that city. He then travelled to Khorassan, and thence to Ghizni; whence he proceeded to Irac:

\* Holland's Agricultural Survey of Cheshire, where may be found a full account of the process of raising the brine and making the salt, with many other particulars relating to the salt manufactured from the brine-pits, as well as that procured from the salt mines.



and, after sojourning there some time, he returned home. About the year of the Hejira 1171 (A.D. 1757,-8), he begun to publish his new doctrines. At first the fundamental principles of his religion were the same as those of the celebrated Imam Abu Hanifa, but in his exposition of the text he differed considerably. After a short time he drew his neck from the collar of subserviency, and promulgated doctrines entirely new. He accused the whole Mohammedan church of being associators (giving partners to God), infidels, and idolaters. He even accused them of being worse than idolaters, "For these," said he, "in the time of any calamity, forsake their idols, and address their prayers directly to God; but the Mussulmans, in their greatest distress, never go beyond Mohammed, or Aly, or some of the saints. The common people, who worship at the tombs of the Prophet and his descendants, and who solicit these persons to be their mediators with God, are, in fact, guilty of idolatry daily: for no nation was ever so stupid as to address an image as their God, but merely as the representation of one of his attributes, or of one of their intercessors with the Deity. Thus the Jews and Christians, who have pictures and images of Moses, and of Jesus Christ, never associate them with God, but occasionally address their prayers to them, as mediators."

By these arguments he, by degrees, collected a number of followers, and proceeded to plunder and destroy the tombs and shrines of the Prophet, and of all the saints. By these means he

acquired much wealth and fame, and, previous to his death, was possessed of great power and authority.

He was succeeded by his son Mohammed, who, being blind, remains always at home, and has assumed the title of Imam, and Supreme Pontiff of their religion. He employs, as his deputy, a person named Abd al Aziz, who was an adopted brother of his father's, and who is of an immense stature, with a most powerful voice. This man is eighty years of age, but retains all the vigour of youth, and predicts that he shall not die till the Vahaby religion is perfectly established all over Arabia. This person waits on Mohammed twice every week, and consults with him on all points of religion, and receives his orders for detaching armies to different quarters. Their power and influence is so much increased, that all Arabia may be said to be in subjection to them; and their followers have such reverence for them, that, when going into battle, they solicit passports to the porters at the gates of Paradise, which they suspend round their necks, and then advance against the enemy with the greatest confidence.

Although the Vahabies have collected immense wealth, they still retain the greatest simplicity of manners, and moderation in their desires. They sit down on the ground without ceremony, content themselves with a few dates for their food, and a coarse large cloak serves them for clothing and bed for two or three years. Their horses are of the genuine Nejid breed, of well known pedigrees; none of which will they permit



permit to be taken out of the country.

Except the cities of Muscat, Mecca, and Medineh, the Vahabies are in possession of all Arabia. For many years they refrained from attacking the holy cities: first, on account of their respect for the house of God; and, secondly, from their attachment to the Shereef of Mecca, who professed to be of their religion: thirdly, they derived much emolument from the pilgrims who passed through their dominions. But lately, at the instigation of the Turks, Abd al Aziz sent a large army, under the command of his son Saoud, into the sacred territory; who, after burning and laying waste the country, entered Mecca, and broke down many of the tombs and shrines; after which he proceeded to Jedda, and laid siege to it. The Shereef immediately took refuge on board a ship anchored in the Red Sea; and the people of the town having agreed to pay a large sum of money, the Vahabies proceeded to Oman. Soon after their arrival in that province, they were joined by a brother of the Sultan of Muscat, who embraced the Vahaby religion, and assumed the title of Imam al Mussulmeen (Pontiff of the Mussulmans), and soon compelled all the inhabitants of the open country to follow his example, and embrace the new faith. They have, in consequence, thrown off their allegiance to the Sultan, whose authority is now limited to the city of Muscat and its environs.

The people of Bussora and of Hilla are in such apprehensions of a visit from the Vahabies, that they cannot pass a night in com-

fort; and the inhabitants of Nejif and Kerbela, having sent all their valuable property to Kazemine for security, tranquilly smoke their pipes, till the day breaks, and they are assured of safety.

As the depredations of the Vahabies have frequently been carried to within a few miles of Bussora, it is very probable they will shortly render themselves masters of that city. They have lately conquered the tribe of Outub, who are celebrated for their skill in the art of ship-building and of navigation, and have already commenced to form a maritime force. Whenever they have effected this point, they will soon be masters of Bussora; after which they will easily capture Bagdad: and I have no doubt, but that in a few years they will be at the gates of Constantinople.

The sacrilegious plunder of the holy cities of Mecca and Kerbela, by the Vahabies, ought to have roused the vengeance of the Turkish Emperor and of the King of Persia, and to have induced them to unite their forces for the extirpation of this wicked tribe, whose insolence is now arrived at that pitch, that, not content with the sovereignty of Arabia, they have had the audacity to write to both those monarchs, inviting them to embrace their religion. The following is a copy of the letter of their General, or Vicegerent, to the King of Persia.

“ We fly unto God  
for refuge against the accursed  
Satan.

“ In the Name of God,  
the Compassionate, the Merciful.

“ From Abd al Aziz, Chief of  
the



the Mussulmans, to Futteh Aly Shah, King of Persia.

“ Since the death of the Prophet Mohammed, son of Abd Allah, polytheism and idolatry have been promulgated amongst his followers. For instance; at Nejif and Kerbela, the people fall down and worship the tombs and shrines, which are made of earth and stone, and address their supplications and prayers to the persons contained therein. As it is evident to me, the least of the servants of God, that such practices cannot be agreeable to our Lords Aly and Hussein, I have used every exertion to purify our holy religion from these vile superstitions, and, by the blessing of God, have long since eradicated these pollutions from the territory of Nejid, and the greater part of Arabia; but the attendants on the mausolea, and the inhabitants of Nejif, being blinded by covetousness and worldly interest, encouraged the people to a continuation of these practices, and would not comply with my exhortations: I therefore sent an army of the Faithful (as you may have heard) to punish them, according to their deserts. If the people of Persia are addicted to these superstitions, let them quickly repent; for whosoever is guilty of idolatry and polytheism, shall in like manner be punished.

“ Peace be to him who obeys this direction.”

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*Vindication of the Liberties of the Asiatic Women.*

[From the Same.]

One day, in a certain company, the conversation turned upon li-

berty, in respect of which the English consider their own customs the most perfect in the world. An English lady, addressing herself to me, observed, that the women of Asia have no liberty at all, but live like slaves, without honour and authority, in the houses of their husbands; and she censured the men for their unkindness, and the women, also, for submitting to be so undervalued. However much I attempted, by various ways, to undeceive her, (and in truth, said I, the case is exactly the reverse, it is the European women who do not possess so much power,) yet it did not bring conviction to her mind. She however began to waver in her own opinion; and falling into doubt, requested me to write something on the subject, the purport of which she might comprehend at one view, and be enabled to distinguish the truth from falsehood. Since the same wrong opinion is deeply rooted in the minds of all other Europeans, and has been frequently before this held forth, I considered it necessary to write a few lines concerning the privileges of the female sex, as established, both by law and custom, in Asia and in Europe; omitting whatever was common to both, and noticing what is principally peculiar to each, in the manner of comparison, that the distinction may be the more easily made, and the real state of the case become evident to those capable of discernment.

It must be first laid down as a general maxim, that, in social order, respect to the rules of equity and politeness, and forbearance from injury, is a necessary condition;



tion; for, otherwise, the liberty of one would be destructive of the liberty of another: thus, if a person be at liberty to do with his own house what may endanger the safety of his neighbour's, this must be in direct opposition to the liberty of that neighbour; or if, in order to free himself from the inconveniences of the hot weather, he should visit his friends in his dressing-gown or night-shirt, although it would be ease and liberty to him, yet it would be sowing the seeds of ill-breeding: therefore the observance of these rules is essential.

Those things which make the liberty of the Asiatic women appear less than that of the Europeans, are, in my opinion, *six*.

The *first* is, "The little intercourse with men, and concealment from view," agreeably to law and their own habits; and this is the chief of these six; for it has been the cause of those false notions entertained by the European women, that the inclination of the Asiatic women leads them to walk out in the streets and market-places, but that their husbands keep them shut up, and set guards over the door. It may be here observed, that the advantages of this *little intercourse*, which prevents all the evils arising from the admittance of strangers, and affords so much time for work and useful employments, are so very manifest, that they need not be enlarged upon; and besides, the practice, in London, of keeping the doors of the houses shut, and the contemptible condition of the Dutch at the Cape, are sufficient proofs. Notwithstanding this, the

custom of the intercourse of the sexes is allowed in England, and it is owing both to the force of virtue and good manners generally to be found in the English, and to the apprehension of other greater inconveniences, the chief of which are four, as here mentioned, and whose effects are not felt in Asia.

*One of these* is, the high price of things, and the small number of servants and rooms; for were there a separate house and table and equipage for the wife, the expense would be too great to be borne; and therefore, of necessity, both husband and wife eat their food, with their guests, in one place, sleep together in the same chamber, and cannot avoid being always in each other's company; contrary to the custom in Asia, where, by reason of the cheapness of work, the women have separate apartments for themselves, and have not to make their time and convenience suit that of their husbands; and when their particular friends are with them, they do not desire their husband's company for several days, but send his victuals to him in the *murdannah* (or male apartments); and, in like manner, when the husband wishes to be undisturbed, he eats and sleeps in the *murdannah*.

*A second cause* is "the coldness of this climate, which requires exercise and walking, and the husband to sleep in the same bed with his wife: but concealment from view is incompatible with walking; and, as for the second case, another cause is the want of room; for, otherwise, it is the natural disposition of mankind, when under distress and affliction of mind, to wish



wish frequently for privacy and unrestraint, and sleep in a room alone.

*A third cause* is "the people here being all of one kind;" for, in this kingdom, placed in a corner of the globe where there is no coming and going of foreigners, the intercourse of the sexes is not attended with the consequences of a corruption of manners, as in Asia, where people of various nations dwell in the same city; and to allow the women such a liberty there, where there is such danger of corruption, would be an encroachment upon the liberty of the men, which (as shown in the beginning) is contrary to justice; and that a corruption of manners must ensue, where various kinds of people mix together, is too evident to require demonstration. Before the Mussulmans entered Hindustan, the women did not conceal themselves from view; and even yet, in all the Hindu villages, it is not customary: and it is well known how inviolable the Hindus preserve their own customs, and how obstinately they are attached to them; but now so rigidly do the women in the great towns observe this practice of concealment from view, that the bride does not even show herself to her father-in-law, and the sister comes but seldom into the presence of her brother.

*A fourth cause is*, "the necessity which the European women have to acquire experience in the affairs of the world, and in learning various arts, on account of the duty that belongs to them, to take part in their husband's business," which experience could not be obtained by keeping in concealment:

whereas the duties of the Asiatic women, consisting only in having the custody of the husband's property, and bringing up the children, they have no occasion for such experience, or for laying aside their own custom of concealment. What has been just said, was to show that the Asiatic women have no necessity to expose their persons; but it must also be observed, that they have many reasons for preferring privacy. One is, the love of leisure, and repose from the fatigue of motion: a second is, the desire of preserving their honour, by not mixing with the vulgar, nor suffering the insults of the low and rude, who are always passing along the streets; a feeling in common with the wives of European noblemen, who, to preserve their dignity, are never seen walking in the streets; and also with ladies in private life, who, when walking out at night, and even in the day, are always attended by a male friend or servant to protect them. The notions which the European women have, that the women of Asia never see a man's face but their husband's, and are debarred from all amusement and society, proceed entirely from misinformation: they can keep company with their husband and father's male relations, and with old neighbours and domestics; and at meals there are always many men and women of this description present; and they can go in their palankeens to the houses of their relations, and of ladies of their own rank, even although the husbands are unacquainted; and also to walk in gardens after strangers are excluded; and they can send for musicians and dancers,

to



to entertain them at their own houses; and they have many other modes of amusement besides these mentioned.

The *second* is, "the privilege of the husband, by law, to marry several wives." This, to the European women, seems a grievous oppression; and they hold those very cheap who submit to it. But, in truth, the cause of this law and custom is the nature of the female sex themselves, which separates them from the husband, the several last months of pregnancy, and time of suckling; and besides these, the Asiatic women have many other times for being separate from their husbands. This privilege not being allowed by the English law, is indeed a great hardship upon the English husbands; whereas the Asiatic law permitting polygamy, does the husband justice, and wrongs not the wife; for the honour of the first and *equal* wife is not affected by it; those women who submit to marry with a married man, not being admitted into the society of ladies, as they are never of high or wealthy families, no man of honour ever allowing his daughter to make such a marriage. The mode in which these other wives live is this: they who are of a genteel extraction, have a separate house for themselves, like kept mistresses in England; and they who are not, live in the house of the equal wife, like servants, and the husband at times conveys himself to them in a clandestine manner. Besides, these wives cannot invade any of the rights of the equal wife; for although they and their children are by law equally entitled to inheritance, yet, since

the equal wife never marries without a very large dowry settled upon her, all that the husband leaves goes to the payment of this dowry, and nothing remains for his heirs. The opinion that the men of Asia have generally three or four wives, is very ill founded, for in common they have only one; out of a thousand, there will be fifty persons, perhaps, who have from one to two, and ten out of these who have more than two. The fear of the bad consequences of polygamy makes men submit with patience to the times of separation from the equal wife, as much the better way; for, from what I know, it is easier to live with two tigresses than two wives.

The *third* is, "the power of divorce being in the hands of the husband." This is ordained by law, but not practised; for if a great offence be the motive to divorce a wife, and if it be proved against her, she receives punishment by the order of the magistrate, or from the husband, with the concurrence of all her relations; and if the offence be of a trivial nature, such as a difference of temper and unsociability, the husband punishes her by leaving the female apartments, and living in his own. But the reason for divorce being at the will of the husband, lies in the very justice of the law, and the distinction of the male sex over the female, on account of the greater share they take in the management of the world; for all the laborious work falls to their lot, such as carrying heavy burdens, going to war, repulsing enemies, &c. and the women generally



rally spend their lives in repose and quiet. Nevertheless, if the wife establishes a criminal offence against the husband, such as an unfair distribution of his time among his wives, or a diminution of the necessaries of life, she can obtain a divorce in spite of him.

The *fourth* is, “the little credit the law attaches to the evidence of women in Asia;” for, in a court of justice, every fact is proved by the testimony of two men; but if women be the witnesses, four are required. This does not arise from the superiority of the one over the other, but it is founded upon the little experience and knowledge women possess, and the fickleness of their dispositions.

The *fifth* is, “the Asiatic women having to leave off going to balls and entertainments, and wearing showy dresses and ornaments after their husband’s death.” This is owing to their great affection for their husband’s memory, and their own modes and habits; for there is nothing to prevent a woman’s doing otherwise, or marrying a second husband, but the dread of exposing herself to the ridicule and censure of women of her own rank.

The *sixth* is, “the Asiatic daughters not having the liberty of choosing their husbands.” On this head nothing need be said; for in Europe this liberty is merely nominal, as, without the will of the father and mother, the daughter’s choice is of no avail; and whatever choice they make for her, she must submit to; and in its effects, it serves only to encourage running away (as the male

and female slaves in India do), and to breed coldness and trouble amongst the members of a family. But granting that such a liberty does exist in England, the disgrace and misery it must always entail is very evident. The choice of a girl just come from the nursery, and desirous by nature to get a husband, in an affair on which the happiness of her whole life depends, can neither deserve that respect nor consideration which is due to the choice of her parents, who have profited by experience, and are not blinded by passion.

But what the Asiatic women have more than the European, both by law and custom, may be ranked under *eight* heads.

*First*, “Their power over the property and children of the husband, by custom;” for the men of Asia consider the principal objects of marriage, after the procreation of their species for the worship of God, two things,—the one to have their money and effects taken care of, and the other to have their children brought up; so that they themselves, being left entirely disengaged of these concerns, may turn their whole endeavours to the attainment of their various pursuits. The chief part, therefore, of whatever wealth they acquire, they give in charge to their wives; and thus the women have it in their power to annihilate in one day the products of a whole life. Although this seldom happens, yet it is often the case, where the husband having amassed a large fortune in youth and power, has delivered it in charge to his wife, and requires it back in his old age and necessity, she does not allow him more than sufficient  
for



for his daily support, and lays the rest up, in a place of security, for the sake of her children. And so great is the power they possess, as to the disposal of their children, that frequently they are brought up without any education, or die in childhood; for the women, on account of their little sense, are never pleased to part with their children, by sending them to school, and to acquire experience by travelling; and when they fall sick, they give them improper medicines, by the advice of their own confidants; or, from their softness of heart, indulge them in whatever it is the nature of the sick to take a longing for, and thus they cause their death.

*Second*, “ Their power, by custom, as to the marriage of their children, and choice of their religious faith;” for if the husband wishes to give one of them in marriage to a person the wife disapproves of, the match does not take place, but the other way it generally does. All the children, both male and female, from being mostly in the company of their mother, and looking upon her as their protector against their father, whom, on account of his wishing to have them educated, they consider their tormentor, follow the religious tenets of their mother, and remain perfect strangers to those of their father. It often happens, where the wife is a Shya, and the husband a Soony, the children having been Shyas, from their own natural disposition and the instructions of the mother, speak disrespectfully of the chiefs of the Soony sect in their father’s presence; and he, who all his life never bore such language from

any person, but was even ready to put the speaker of it to death, has no redress, but patiently submitting to hear it from them, as, on account of their want of understanding, they are excusable; and thus, by frequent repetition, his attachment to his faith is shaken, and, in the course of time, he either entirely forsakes it, or remains but lukewarm in it.

*Third*, “ Their authority over their servants;” for the servants of the male apartments, the keeping and changing of whom are in the hands of the husband, through fear of exposing themselves to the displeasure or complaints of the wife, when she finds a proper opportunity, by their committing some fault, which servants are continually doing, are more obedient to her than to their own master; and the servants of the zenana, whom the wife has the care of retaining or turning off, stand so much in awe of their mistress, that many of them pass their whole lives in the zenana, without ever once coming into the presence of the husband: some of them never perform any service for him at all; and others who do, enter not into discourse with him: and the women are so obstinate in this respect, their husbands never can turn off one of these servants, but his very complaint against them is a recommendation in their favour; and his recommendation has the effect of complaint, by subjecting them to their mistress’s resentment. Contrary to this is the manner of the European ladies, who have not their own will with their children and servants, but live more like free and familiar guests in their husband’s houses:



houses: and the household establishment and equipage being in common to both, if any part, as the carriage for example, is previously employed by the one, the other has to wait till it is disengaged. Of this there is no doubt, that if a quarrel ensues between an English husband and wife, the wife has to leave the house, and seek her dinner either at her father's, or a friend's; whereas in Asia, it is the husband that has to go out; for frequently the utensils of cookery are not kept in the male apartments.

*Fourth.* "The freedom, by custom, of the Asiatic women from assisting in the business of the husband, or service of his guests;" whereas this is generally the duty of European wives, whether their husbands be of a genteel business, such as jewellery, mercery, or perfumery, or the more servile ones: I have seen many rise from their dinner, to answer the demands of a purchaser: and although all these duties are not required of the ladies, yet some, especially the entertaining the guests, carving and helping the dishes at table, and making the tea and coffee, are generally performed by them. Now the Asiatic ladies have no such duties at all, but live in the manner before described.

*Fifth,* "The greater deference the Asiatic ladies find paid to their humours, and a prescriptive right of teasing their husbands by every pretext," which is considered as constituting an essential quality of beauty; for if a wife does not put these in practice, but is submissive to her husband's will in every thing, her charms very soon lose

their brilliancy in his eyes. Thus, when a wife goes to visit her father, she will not return to her husband, till he has come himself several times to fetch her, and been as often vexed by her breaking her promise; and every day when dinner is served, by pretending to be engaged at the time, she keeps her husband waiting, and does not come till the meat has grown cold; and in the same manner at bed-time;—for returning quickly from their father's house is considered as a sign of fondness for the husband, which, in their opinion, looks very ill; and coming soon to dinner they think betrays the disposition of a hungry beggar. In these, and such like, the husband has nothing for it but patience; nay, it ever pleases him. I have known of many beautiful women, constant in their affection, and obedient to their husbands night and day, whom, for not having these qualities, the husbands have quickly tired of, and unjustly deserted, for the sake of plain women who possessed them.

*Sixth,* "The greater reliance placed by the Asiatic husbands on their wives' virtue, both from law and custom." For as to the European ladies, although they can go out of doors, and discourse with strangers, yet this is not allowed, unless they have a trusty person along with them, either of the husband's or the father's; and sleeping out all night is absolutely denied them,—contrary to the way of the Asiatic ladies, who, when they go to the house of a lady of their acquaintance, though their husbands be entire strangers, are not attended by any person  
of



of the husband's or father's, and they spend not only one or two nights in that house, but even a whole week; and in such a house, although the master is prohibited entering the apartments where they are, yet the young men of fifteen, belonging to the family or relations, under the name of children, have free access, and eat with, and enter into the amusements of their guests.

*Seventh*, "Their share in the children, by law." For if a divorce happens, the sons go to the father, and the daughters to the mother; contrary to the custom here, where, if a divorce takes place, the mother, who for twenty years may have toiled and consumed herself in bringing up her children, has to abandon all to the father, and, full of grief and affliction, leave his house.

*Eighth*, "The case, both by law and custom, with which the wife may separate herself from her husband, when there may be a quarrel between them, without producing a divorce." Thus the wife, in an hour's time after the dispute, sets off with the children and her property to the house of her father or relations, and until the husband makes her satisfaction she does not return: and this she can always do, without a moment's delay.

Besides these eight, as above noticed, of the superior advantages the Asiatic women enjoy over the European, there are many others, here omitted for brevity's sake. What has been said, is enough for people of discernment. Farewell.

"I'll fondly place on either eye,

"The man that can to this reply."

### *Character of the Lounger.*

[From Dr. Drake's Essays on the Rambler.]

The papers which compose this work may be considered as a continuation of the Mirror; they are written, with the exception of only three or four essays, by the members and correspondents of the Mirror Club, and they partake of the character and merits of their prototype. The first number of the Lounger appeared on Saturday, February the 5th, 1785; and it was published weekly on that day for nearly two years, the last essay, No. 101, being dated January the 6th, 1787.

To the experienced pen of Mr. Mackenzie this series of essays is even still more indebted than was the former; fifty-four entire numbers of the Lounger are the composition of this gentleman, and he assisted in the construction of eight more. The entire papers are, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 6, 15, 17, 20, 22, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 38, 40, 41, 45, 48, 50, 51, 54, 56, 58, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 72, 75, 76, 78, 80, 82, 83, 84, 87, 89, 90, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, and 101; those in which he assisted, Nos. 8, 25, 42, 44, 53, 55, 74, and 85.

In humour, pathos, and delineation of character, the essays of Mr. Mackenzie in the Lounger, are not inferior to those which he contributed to the Mirror. No. 15, descriptive of the Phusalophagos, or Toad-eater; Nos. 17, 36, 56, and 62, depicting the family of the Mushrooms; No. 45, containing the narrative of Jeremiah Dy-soon; No. 78, on the restless activity of Mr. Bustle; No. 98,



the Visit of John Homespun to ——— Lodge; and No. 99, on Animal Magnetism, exhibit some well-conceived and successful attempts in the walks of ridicule, irony, and broad humour.

To these papers, which, to excel in their peculiar department, must display a large portion of strong-marked character, we have to add, that the portrait of Colonel Caustic, in Nos. 4, 6, 31, 32, 33, and 40, is powerfully coloured and sustained. It is to be wished, however, that the delineation had been given upon a larger scale, and had involved more minutiae; for, beyond the fortieth paper, we meet with little relative to a personage with whom we had already become so familiarized and engaged, as to hope and expect that he would accompany us through the work. Superior to this, however, or to any other portrait, even in the Mirror, is the picture of a Country Dowager, in No. 87 of the Lounger, which with respect to costume, accuracy, and high-finish, to pleasing and picturesque effect, is almost unparalleled.

In the province of pathetic narration, the Lounger has not been enriched with so many specimens from our author's pen as are found in the Mirror; the story, however, of Albert Bane, in No. 61, and especially the history of Father Nicholas, in Nos. 82, 83, and 84, excite a lively and impressive interest, and instil that tender melancholy so friendly to the cause of piety and moral rectitude. The didactic papers too, which blend a fascinating pathos with ethic instruction, a combination very frequent in the essays of Mr. Mac-

kenzie, will be thought not inferior to those which emanated from the same mind in the Mirror: as instances of this happy union, I would refer to No. 48, on the sentiment and the moral of Time; and in No. 93, on the tender indulgence of melancholy in the season of autumn.

The pages devoted to criticism in the Lounger are much more numerous than those which were allotted to the same province in the Mirror; and to those Mr. Mackenzie has contributed a large portion. Besides incidental observations occasionally annexed to the critical strictures of his correspondents, he has, in No. 20, presented us with a dissertation on Novel Writing; in Nos. 27 and 28, with an examination of the moral effects of Tragedy; in No. 50, with observations on the moral effect of Comedy; in Nos. 68 and 69, with critical remarks on the character of Falstaff; and in No. 97, with an essay on the genius and writings of Robert Burns. These all display considerable knowledge of the human heart, and of the business of the world, acute feelings, and good taste.

Among the other members of this literary club, Mr. Craig stands foremost as a contributor; he has written fifteen essays; namely, Nos. 9, 18, 21, 26, 35, 37, 43, 49, 52, 57, 71, 77, 86, 88, and 91. Many just observations on life and manners, and some useful lessons, are scattered through these papers; and the author has shewn his critical powers to advantage in an essay on the introduction of ancient Mythology in Modern Poetry, in No. 37; by observations on Comedy, in No. 49; and



by a history of the different species of Misanthropy, as illustrated from the characters of Hamlet, Jaques, and Timon of Athens.

Nine papers in the *Lounger*, Nos. 3, 10, 14, 23, 30, 47, 74, 81, and 92, owe their existence to Mr. Abercromby. Of these, No. 14 adds some strokes to the picture of Colonel Caustic, which had been commenced by Mr. Mackenzie; and No. 30, is a letter from a member of the *Mirror*-club, relating some particulars of that society. This epistle, of which one object was to induce the public to suppose that the *Mirror* and the *Lounger* were unconnected, and that the authors of the two works were not the same, relates some curious particulars relative to the *Mirror*, and to the reception of this species of periodical composition in Scotland. Addressing the supposed author of the *Lounger*, as one on whom the whole labour of the work, single and alone, rested: he observes, "You, sir, started with many advantages which we did not possess. The public are now taught to know, that it is possible to carry on a periodical work of this kind in Edinburgh; and that if tolerably executed, it will be read, and will hold its place with other works of the same kind. But when we boldly gave the *Mirror* to the world, a very different notion prevailed. It was supposed that no such work could be conducted with any propriety on this side of the Tweed. Accordingly, the *Mirror* was received with the most perfect indifference in our own country; and during the publication, it was indebted for any little reputation it received in

Scotland, to the notice that happened to be taken of it by some persons of rank and of taste in England. Nay, sir, strange as you may think it, it is certainly true, that, narrow as Edinburgh is, there were men who consider themselves as men of letters, who never read a number of it while it was going on.—The supercilious, who despised the paper because they did not know by whom it was written, talked of it as a catch-penny performance, carried on by a set of needy and obscure scribblers. Those who entertained a more favourable opinion of it were apt to fall into an opposite mistake; and to suppose that the *Mirror* was the production of all the men of letters in Scotland. This last opinion is not yet entirely exploded, and perhaps has rather gained ground from the favourable reception of the *Mirror* since its publication in volumes. The last time I was in London, I happened to step into Mr. Cadell's shop, and while I was amusing myself in turning over the prints in Cook's last Voyage, Lord B—— came in, and taking up a volume of the *Mirror*, asked Mr. Cadell who were the authors of it. Cadell, who did not suspect that I knew any more of the matter than the Great Mogul, answered, 'That he could not really mention particular names; but he believed that *all* the literati of Scotland were concerned in it.' Lord B—— walked off, satisfied that this was truly the case; and about a week after I heard him say at Lord M——'s levee, that he was well assured the *Mirror* was the joint production of all the men of letters in Scotland.



"I will now, sir, tell you in confidence, that, one of our number excepted, whose writings have long been read with admiration and delight, and whose exquisite pencil every reader of taste and discernment must distinguish in the *Mirror*, there was not one of our club who ever published a single sentence, or in all likelihood ever would have done it, had it not been for the accidental publication of the *Mirror*."

To Mr. Cullen, the *Lounger* is under obligation for three papers; No. 5, on the composition of History; No. 12, a ludicrous paper on the possibility of ascertaining the characters of a company from the appearance of their Hats; and No. 73, on Sculpture. The first and third of these essays contains several just and well-expressed remarks, indicative of a mind attached to literary research, and attentive to the progress of art; while the second excites a smile at the idea of associating character with the form and cut of a hat; it is the vehicle, however, of some keen and well-directed satire.

With Mr. M'Leod Bannatyn, who wrote Nos. 13 and 39, the contributions of the members close; and, turning to the list of correspondents, we find it less numerous and productive than in the *Mirror*, though including two names which had not appeared in that paper, viz. Dr. Henry, the historian, and Mr. Greenfield, professor of rhetoric and belles lettres in the university of Edinburgh. To the former are ascribed Nos. 11 and 60, two papers of considerable humour; the

first, relating to the life of Sir Thomas Lounger; the second, including a proposal for a periodical paper exclusively devoted to the female sex. To the latter, it appears, we are indebted for No. 59; on the pains and penalties of Idleness; and for an ode to a Lady in No. 85.

Of the correspondents of the *Mirror*, the only one who has contributed materially to the structure of the *Lounger*, is Mr. Fraser Tytler, who has furnished Nos. 7, 19, 24, 44, 63, 70, and 79, papers which abound with traits of humour and of character. Mr. Tytler, author of the *Vindication of Queen Mary*, has added one essay, in No. 16, on the defects of Female Education; Mr. D. Hume, two letters in Nos. 25 and 55; and Professor Richardson, a pleasing critique, in No. 42, on the Poetry of Hamilton of Bangour.

The *Lounger* has been considered by some critics as inferior to its predecessor: this does not appear to me to be the case; it cannot, indeed, boast of a narrative so pathetic as that of *La Roche*, or *Venoni*, in the *Mirror*; but it does not yield in any other requisite, either of character, humour, moral instruction, or popular criticism. On the contrary, I think it may be easily proved, that a larger proportion of good papers is to be found in the pages of the *Lounger*. They have both, however, contributed very highly to the purposes of edification and amusement, to the best and noblest objects of the genuine periodical essay.



*Character of Mr. Cumberland's Observer.*

[From the same Work.]

THE OBSERVER.—Of this very valuable paper, the composition of Mr. Cumberland, it will be necessary, in the first place, to relate what the author has himself thought proper to say of its origin, progress, and character. In the *Memoirs of his own Life* he has favoured us with the following account:—"I first printed two octavos (of the *Observer*) experimentally at our press in Tunbridge Wells; the execution was so incorrect, that I stopped the impression as soon as I had engaged my friend, Mr. Charles Dilly, to undertake the reprinting of it. He gave it a form and shape fit to meet the public eye, and the sale was encouraging. I added to the collection very largely, and it appeared in a new edition of five volumes: when these were out of print, I made a fresh arrangement of the essays, and, incorporating my entire translation of *The Clouds*, we edited the work thus modelled in six volumes; and these being now attached to the great edition of the *British Essayists*, I consider the *Observer* as fairly enrolled amongst the standard classics of our native language. This work, therefore, has obtained for itself an inheritance: it is fairly off my hands, and what I have to say about it will be confined to a few simple facts; I had no acknowledgments to make in my concluding essay, for I had received no aid or assistance from any man living. Every page and paragraph, except what is avowed

quotation, I am singly responsible for.

"I have been suspected of taking stories out of Spanish authors, and weaving them into some of these essays as my own, without acknowledging the plagiarism. One of my reviewers instances the story of Nicolas Pedrosa, and roundly asserts, that, from internal evidence, it must be of Spanish construction, and from these assumed premises leaves me to abide the odium of the inference. To this I answer with the most solemn appeal to truth and honour, that I am indebted to no author whatever, Spanish or other, for a single hint, idea, or suggestion of an incident, in the story of Pedrosa, nor in that of the *Misanthrope*, nor in any other which the work contains. In the narrative of the Portuguese, who was brought before the Inquisition, what I say of it as being matter of tradition, which I collected on the spot, is a mere fiction to give an air of credibility and horror to the tale: the whole, without exception of a syllable, is absolute and entire invention.

"I take credit to myself for the character of Abraham Abrahams; I wrote it upon principle, thinking it high time that something should be done for that persecuted race; I seconded my appeal to the charity of mankind, by the character of Sheva, which I copied from this of Abrahams. The public prints gave the Jews credit for their sensibility in acknowledging my well-intended services: my friends gave me joy of honorary presents, and some even accused me of ingratitude for not



making public my thanks for their munificence. I will speak plainly on this point; I do most heartily wish they had flattered me with some token, however small, of which I might have said, 'this is a tribute to my philanthropy,' and delivered it down to my children, as my beloved father did to me his badge of favour from the citizens of Dublin; but not a word from the lips, not a line did I ever receive from the pen of any Jew, though I have found myself in company with many of their nation; and in this perhaps the gentlemen are quite right, whilst I had formed expectations that were quite wrong; for if I have said for them only what they deserve, why should I be thanked for it? But if I have said more, much more, than they deserve, can they do a wiser thing than hold their tongues?

"I think it cannot be supposed but that the composition of the Observer must have been a work of time and labour; I trust there is internal evidence of that, particularly in that portion of it which professes to review the literary age of Greece, and gives a history of the Athenian stage. That series of papers will, I hope, remain as a monument of my industry in collecting materials, and of my correctness in disposing them; and when I lay to my heart the consolation I derive from the honours now bestowed upon me at the close of my career, by one, who is only in the first outset of his, what have I not to augur for myself, when he who starts with such auspicious promise has been pleased to take my fame in hand,

and link it to his own? If any of my readers are yet to seek for the author to whom I allude, the *Comicorum Græcorum fragmenta quædam* will lead them to his name, and him to their respect.

"If I cannot resist the gratification of inserting the paragraph (page 7), which places my dim lamp between those brilliant stars of classic lustre, Richard Bentley and Richard Porson, am I to be set down as a conceited vain old man? Let it be so! I cannot help it, and in truth I don't much care about it. Though the following extract may be the weakest thing that Mr. Robert Walpole, of Trinity College, Cambridge, ever has written, or ever shall write, it will outlive the strongest thing that can be said against it, and I will therefore arrest and incorporate it, as follows: 'Aliunde quoque haud exiguum ornamentum huic volumini accepit, siquidem Cumberlandius nostras amicè benevolèque permisit, ut versiones suas quorundam fragmentorum, exquisitas sane illas, mirâque elegantia conditas et commendatas huc transferrem.'"

Forty numbers of the Observer in an octavo volume, and printed at Tunbridge Wells, were published in London in 1785. This collection being well received, both by the public and the critics, it was reprinted by Dilly, the succeeding year, in three volumes, crown 8vo. with such numerous additions as augmented the numbers to 93. In 1788, a fourth volume was given; and in 1790, the fifth and last. Of this arrangement in five volumes, a new impression was published in 1791, which



which is the edition in my possession, extending to 153 essays. The Observer, in six volumes, appeared in 1798; in 1803, it was incorporated with the British Essayists; and in 1808 it was reprinted in three vols. 12mo.

The essays which compose these interesting volumes, may be classed under the appellations of Literary, Critical, and Narrative; Humorous, Moral, and Religious.

To the Literary papers, which amount to about forty in number, we are indebted for the most original feature in the work. These include, together with some account of the civil history of Greece, a compressed and connected detail of Grecian poetry, from the earliest era to the death of Menander. The research has been particularly directed to the remains of the Greek dramatists, and more especially to the writers of the Old, the Middle, and the New Comedy. Of these, the fragments, which the desolating hand of Time has spared, have been translated with uncommon felicity by Mr. Cumberland, and merit the eulogium which Mr. Walpole has so happily expressed. The easy and flowing metrical style of Fletcher and Massinger furnished Mr. Cumberland with an appropriate model for his version, which he has imitated with fidelity and spirit. The patience and persevering labour required for the due execution of this task, may be estimated from the declaration of the Observer, that it was his ambition to give the world "a complete collection of the beauties of the Greek stage, in our own lan-

guage, from the remains of more than fifty comic poets."

The papers strictly Critical, in the Observer, amount to seventeen, of which eleven are devoted to the consideration of dramatic character and conduct. Among these, the contrast between the characters of Macbeth and Richard; the parallel between Æschylus and Shakespeare; the observations on Falstaff and his group; and the comparative review of Rowe's Fair Penitent with the Fatal Dowry of Massinger; are peculiarly interesting and conclusive. The essay on style, in No. 133, contains many just remarks on the diction of Addison and Johnson; with the judicious recommendation of the former as the safer model for the student. The character of Mr. Cumberland's own style, indeed, partakes much more of the elegant and idiomatic simplicity of Addison, than of the elaborate, though splendid, composition of Johnson; with the exception of a few phrases, which are too flat and colloquial, it is easy, fluent, and correct.

Of the Narrative portion of the Observer, which occupies no small share of the work, it is impossible not to speak highly. Powerful invention, strong delineation of character, and adherence to costume, distinguish the greater part of our author's fictions. The stories of Abdullah and Zarima; of Chaubert, the Misanthrope; of the Portuguese Gentleman who died by the rack; of Ned Drowsy, and of Nicholas Pedrosa, may be instanced as fully supporting the opinion that we have advanced;  
the



the last two more especially abound in the richest traits both of pathos and humour.

There are many papers, likewise, in the *Observer*, which may more exclusively be termed Humorous; such as the Letters from Mr. Jedediah Fish, in Nos. 45 and 69; the Letter from Rusticus, in No. 80; the Letter from Posthumous, in No. 92; the Characters of Simon Sapling and Billy Simper, in Nos. 129, 131, and 132; the Adventures of Kit Cracker, in No. 134; and the Letter from Tom Tortoise, in No. 149. These, and others of a similar kind, very agreeably relieve the literary and didactic portion of the work; and at the same time exhibit a knowledge of the world, its follies, and eccentricities.

It may be affirmed of this periodical paper, very highly to its credit, that almost every part of it, either directly or indirectly, possesses a Moral tendency; a considerable number of essays is avowedly appropriated to subjects of this kind, subjects calculated to improve the manners and meliorate the heart; and even in those which are set apart for literary and critical inquiry, great care has been taken to render them, in almost every instance, subservient to the best purposes of virtue and instruction.

Nor should we fail to notice, that some papers of great value, strong in argument, and curious in research, are devoted to Religious topics. The comparison of Pythagoras with Christ, in No. 12; the defence of our Saviour's Miracles, in No. 13; the morality of Christianity, as compared with that of natural religion, in No. 83; and an argument for the evidences of the Christian religion, in No. 93; together with three papers in volume the fourth, in answer to the cavils and objections of David Levi, are of this kind, and impress us with a deep sense of the piety of their author.

The *Observer*, though the sole labour of an individual, is yet rich in variety, both of subject and manner; in this respect, indeed, as well as in literary interest, and in fertility of invention, it may be classed with the *Spectator* and *Adventurer*; if inferior to the latter in grandeur of fiction, or to the former in delicate irony and dramatic unity of design, it is wealthier in its literary fund than either, equally moral in its views, and as abundant in the creation of incident. I consider it, therefore, with the exception of the papers just mentioned, as superior in its powers of attraction, to every other periodical composition.



# POETRY.

## ODE FOR THE NEW YEAR, 1810.

BY HENRY JAMES PYE, ESQ. P. L.

ERE yet, 'mid Rhedecyna's bowers,  
 I humbly cull'd the Muse's flowers,  
 By silver Isis' sedgy side,  
 Not rolling there a classic tide,  
 My native meads and groves among,  
 As blythe I tun'd my artless song,  
 My fancy hail'd the halcyon day,  
 Crown'd with our Sovereign's opening sway,  
 And pour'd the verse to that auspicious morn,  
 Which plac'd on Britain's throne a monarch Britain-born.

Raptur'd I pour the verse again,  
 To hail the British monarch's lengthen'd reign,  
 To celebrate the rising year,  
 In which a King, to Britain dear,  
 Bids every British breast with grateful lay  
 Bless the tenth lustre of his lenient sway.  
 For while I strike the votive lyre,  
 The thrillings of the trembling wire  
 Are lost amid the trembling notes of praise,  
 Which with accordant voice a grateful people pays.

From Thulé's Hyperborean reign,  
 To where, upon the southern main,  
 Bellerus frowns—to where the Atlantic roars,  
 O, verdant Erin, 'gainst thy western shores,  
 The Peans loud, of exultation rise,  
 Wafting a nation's plaudits to the skies :  
 And while the hallow'd rites of prayer and praise  
 To Heaven's high throne their grateful incense raise,  
 Mild Charity, with lib'ral hand,  
 Spreads her blest influence o'er the smiling land ;

With



With genial current far and wide,  
 Flows of benevolence the copious tide,  
 Grateful the boon, while shouting myriads see,  
 That dries Affliction's tear, and sets the captive free.

Though looking back through many an age,  
 Since Egbert first our Saxon sires obey'd,  
 No king recorded stands on history's page  
 So long, who England's golden sceptre sway'd;  
 O yet, through many a rolling year,  
 Long! long! may Albion's joyful race  
 Behold a crown, to Freedom sacred, grace  
 The man they love—the Sovereign they revere.

Though seated on her rocky throne,  
 Girt by her navy's adamantine zone,  
 Britannia rears sublime her dauntless head,  
 Amid the storms of war that round her spread;  
 Yet by a generous Monarch be possess'd,  
 The first great object of his patriot breast,  
 May every baleful vapour fly,  
 That hangs malignant now o'er Europe's sky;  
 Infernal Discord's iron tempest cease,  
 And GEORGE's sun decline in glory and in peace!

### ODE FOR HIS MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY.

[ By the same. ]

WHEN loud the wintry tempest roars,  
 When dark the exhalations rise,  
 When dash the billows 'gainst the shores,  
 And sable clouds obscure the skies;  
 Cheerful amid the dreary scene,  
 Hope looks abroad with eye serene,  
 To happier hours, when Spring again  
 Shall shew her renovated reign,  
 And leading on the rosy hours,  
 Shall strew the teeming earth with flowers;  
 With young delight each bosom cheer,  
 And wake to joy again the renovated year.

Or if, it chance, the influence bland  
 Be check'd by adverse skies awhile,  
 By Eurus' ruder gales if fanned,  
 Uncertain April cease to smile:

When



When Maia's genial breezes blow ;  
 With richer dyes, and warmer glow,  
 When June appears ; fleets every cloud away,  
 And all creation hails the animating ray.

Then from Ambition's iron reign,  
 The embattled wall, th' ensanguin'd plain,  
 The inmates of this favour'd isle  
 Look fondly with expectant smile,  
 To that blest hour when Britons sing  
 The birth auspicious of a parent King ;  
 And as the clouds of winter fly,  
 When June illumines the genial sky,  
 So may the threatening storm that lowers  
 O'er wide Europa's trembling powers,  
 Like wintry clouds dispersing, fade away,  
 Before the radiant beams that gild this happy day.

When the proud Persian vainly tried,  
 In impotence of rage, to chain the tide,  
 Old Ocean mock'd the impious boast,  
 And Græcia triumph'd o'er his naval host.  
 Such Gallia's vaunt, and such the fate  
 That on such empty vaunt shall wait ;  
 For while she threatens, in angry mood,  
 From every shore our commerce to exclude,  
 Britannia's arms beyond the Atlantic main  
 Explore new regions of her golden reign ;  
 And while each isle that studs the western wave,  
 Yields to her daring prows and warriors brave,  
 Her barks commercial crowd the azure deep,  
 Her fleets each hostile sail from Ocean's bosom sweep.

## THE STATUE OF THE DYING GLADIATOR.

*(An Oxford Prize Poem.)*

By G. R. CHINNERY.

WILL then no pitying sword its succour lend,  
 The Gladiator's mortal throes to end ;  
 To free th' unconquer'd mind, whose gen'rous pow'r  
 Triumphs o'er nature in her saddest hour ?

—Bow'd low, and full of death, his head declines ;  
 Yet o'er his brow indignant valour shines,



Still glares his closing eye with angry light,  
Now glares, now darkens with approaching night.

Think not with terror heaves that sinewy breast—  
'Tis vengeance visible, and pain suppress :  
Calm in despair, in agony sedate,  
His proud soul wrestles with o'er-mast'ring fate ;  
That pang the conflict ends—he falls not yet—  
Seems ev'ry nerve for one last effort set,  
At once, by death, death's ling'ring power to brave—  
He will not sink, but plunge into the grave—  
Exhaust his mighty heart in one last sigh,  
And rally life's whole energy—to die.

Unfear'd is now that cord, which oft ensnar'd  
The baffled rival, whom his falchion spar'd ;  
Those clarions mute, which, on the murd'rous stage,  
Rous'd him to deeds of more than martial rage :  
Once pois'd by peerless might, once dear to fame,  
The shield, which could not guard, supports his frame ;  
His fix'd eye dwells upon the faithless blade,  
As if in silent agony he pray'd—  
“ Oh ! might I yet, by one avenging blow,  
“ Not shun my fate, but share it with my foe ! ”  
Vain hope !—the streams of life-blood fast descend ;  
That giant-arm's upbearing strength must bend ;  
Yet shall he scorn, procumbent, to betray,  
One dastard sign of anguish or dismay ;  
With one weak plaint to shame his parting breath,  
In pangs sublime, magnificent in death !

But *his* were deeds unchronicled : *his* tomb  
No patriot wreaths adorn ; to cheer his doom,  
No soothing thoughts arise of duties done,  
Of trophied conquest for his country won ;  
And he, whose sculptur'd form gave deathless fame  
To Ctesilas—he dies without a name !

Haply to grace some Cæsar's pageant pride  
The hero-slave or hireling-champion died,  
When Rome, degen'rate Rome, for barb'rous shows  
Barter'd her virtue, glory, and repose,  
Sold all that freemen prize as great and good,  
For pomps of death, and theatres of blood !



## HARP OF THE NORTH.

[From SCOTT'S LADY OF THE LAKE.]

**H**ARP of the North ! that mouldering long hast hung  
 On the witch-elm that shades Saint Fillan's spring,  
 And down the fitful breeze thy numbers flung,  
 Till envious ivy did around thee cling,  
 Muffling with verdant ringlet every string,—  
 O minstrel Harp, still must thine accents sleep?  
 Mid rustling leaves and fountains murmuring,  
 Still must thy sweeter sounds their silence keep,  
 Nor bid a warrior smile, nor teach a maid to weep?

Not thus, in ancient days of Caledon,  
 Was thy voice mute amid the festal crowd,  
 When lay of hopeless love, or glory won,  
 Aroused the fearful, or subdued the proud.  
 At each according pause, was heard aloud  
 Thine ardent symphony sublime and high !  
 Fair dames and crested chiefs attention bow'd ;  
 For still the burthen of thy minstrelsy  
 Was knighthood's dauntless deed, and beauty's matchless eye.

O wake once more ! how rude so'er the hand  
 That ventures o'er thy magic maze to stray ;  
 O wake once more ! though scarce my skill command  
 Some feeble echoing of thine earlier lay :  
 Though harsh and faint, and soon to die away,  
 And all unworthy of thy nobler strain,  
 Yet if one heart throb higher at its sway,  
 The wizard note has not been touched in vain.  
 Then, silent be no more ! Enchantress, wake again !

## PORTRAIT OF ELLEN.

[ From the same. ]

**T**HE boat had touch'd this silver strand,  
 Just as the hunter left his stand,  
 And stood conceal'd amid the brake,  
 To view this Lady of the Lake.  
 The maiden paused, as if again  
 She thought to catch the distant strain.  
 With head up-rais'd, and look intent,  
 And eye and ear attentive bent,

And



And locks flung back, and lips apart,  
Like monument of Grecian art,  
In listening mood, she seem'd to stand  
The guardian Naiad of the strand.

And ne'er did Grecian chisel trace  
A Nymph, a Naiad, or a Grace,  
Of finer form, or lovelier face!  
What though the sun, with ardent frown,  
Had slightly ting'd her cheek with brown,—  
The sportive toil, which, short and light,  
Had dyed her glowing hue so bright,  
Served too in hastier swell to show  
Short glimpses of a breast of snow:  
What though no rule of courtly grace  
To measur'd mood had train'd her pace,—  
A foot more light, a step more true,  
Ne'er from the heath-flower dash'd the dew;  
E'en the slight hare-bell rais'd its head,  
Elastic from her airy tread:  
What though upon her speech there hung  
The accents of the mountain tongue,—  
Those silver sounds, so oft, so dear,  
The list'ner held his breath to hear.

A chieftain's daughter seem'd the maid;  
Her satin snood, her silken plaid,  
Her golden brooch such birth betray'd.  
And seldom was a snood amid  
Such wild luxuriant ringlets hid,  
Whose glossy black to shame might bring  
The plumage of the raven's wing;  
And seldom o'er a breast so fair,  
Mantled a plaid with modest care,  
And never brooch the folds combin'd  
Above a heart more good and kind.  
Her kindness and her worth to spy,  
You need but gaze on Ellen's eye;  
Not Katrine, in her mirror blue,  
Gives back the shaggy banks more true,  
Than every free-born glance confess'd  
The guileless movements of her breast;  
Whether joy danc'd in her dark eye,  
Or woe or pity claim'd a sigh,  
Or filial love was glowing there,  
Or meek devotion pour'd a prayer,  
Or tale of injury call'd forth  
The indignant spirit of the north.



One only passion, unrevealed,  
 With maiden pride the maid concealed,  
 Yet not less purely felt, the flame;—  
 Oh need I tell that passion's name!

## THE HARPER.

[From the Same.]

**A**S died the sounds upon the tide,  
 The shallop reached the main-land side,  
 And ere his onward way he took,  
 The Stranger cast a lingering look,  
 Where easily his eye might reach  
 The harper on the islet beach,  
 Reclined against a blighted tree,  
 As wasted, grey, and worn as he.  
 To minstrel meditation given,  
 His reverend brow was raised to heaven,  
 As from the rising sun to claim  
 A sparkle of inspiring flame.  
 His hand, reclined upon the wire,  
 Seemed watching the awakening fire;  
 So still he sate, as those who wait  
 Till judgment speak the doom of fate;  
 So still, as if no breeze might dare  
 To lift one lock of hoary hair,  
 So still as life itself were fled,  
 In the last sound his harp had sped.

## THE SACRIFICE.

[From the Same.]

**'T**WAS all prepared;—and from the rock,  
 A goat, the patriarch of the flock,  
 Before the kindling pile was laid,  
 And pierced by Roderick's ready blade.  
 Patient the sickening victim eyed  
 The life-blood ebb in crimson tide.  
 Down his clogged beard and shaggy limb,  
 Till darkness glazed his eyeballs dim.  
 The grisly priest, with murmuring prayer,  
 A slender crosslet framed with care,



A cubit's length in measure due,  
The shaft and limbs were rods of yew,  
Whose parents in Inch-Cailliach wave  
Their shadows o'er Clan-Alpine's grave,  
And answering Lomond's breezes deep,  
Sooth many a chieftain's endless sleep.  
The cross, thus formed, he held on high,  
With wasted hand and haggard eye,  
And strange and mingled feelings woke,  
While his anathema he spoke.

“ Woe to the clans-man, who shall view  
This symbol of sepulchral yew,  
Forgetful that its branches grew  
Where weep the heavens their holiest dew  
On Alpine's dwelling low!

Deserter of his Chieftain's trust,  
He ne'er shall mingle with their dust,  
But, from his sires and kindred thrust,  
Each clans-man's execration just

Shall doom him wrath and woe.”

He paused;—the word the Vassals took,  
With forward step, and fiery look,  
On high their naked brands they shook,  
Their clattering targets wildly strook;

And first, in murmur low,  
Then, like the billow in his course,  
That far to seaward finds his source,  
And flings to shore his mustered force,  
Burst, with loud roar, their answer hoarse,

“ Woe to the traitor, woe !”

Ben-an's grey scalp the accents knew,  
The joyous wolf from covert drew,  
The exulting eagle screamed afar,—  
They knew the voice of Alpine's war.

The shout was hushed on lake and fell,  
The Monk resumed his muttered spell.  
Dismal and low its accents came,  
The while he scathed the Cross with flame;  
And the few words that reached the air,  
Although the holiest name was there,  
Had more of blasphemy than prayer.  
But when he shook above the crowd  
Its kindled points, he spoke aloud :—

“ Woe to the wretch, who fails to rear  
At this dread sign the ready spear !



For, as the flames this symbol sear,  
 His home the refuge of his fear,  
     A kindred fate shall know;  
 Far o'er its roof the volumed flame  
 Clan-Alpine's vengeance shall proclaim,  
 While maids and matrons on his name  
 Shall call down wretchedness and shame,  
     And infamy and woe."—

Then rose the cry of females, shrill  
 As goss-hawk's whistle on the hill,  
 Denouncing misery and ill,  
 Mingled with childhood's babbling trill  
     Of curses stammered slow;  
 Answering, with imprecation dread,  
 "Sunk be his home in embers red!  
 And cursed be the meanest shed  
 That e'er shall hide the houseless head,  
     We doom to want and woe!"  
 A sharp and shrieking echo gave,  
 Coir-Uaiskin, thy goblin cave!  
 And the grey pass where birches wave,  
     On Beala-nam-bo.

Then deeper paused the priest anew,  
     bouring breath he drew,  
 While, with set teeth and clenched hand,  
 And eyes that glowed like fiery brand,  
 He meditated curse more dread,  
 And deadlier, on the clansman's head,  
 Who, summoned to his Chieftain's aid,  
 The signal saw and disobeyed.  
 The crosslet's points of sparkling wood,  
 He quenched among the bubbling blood,  
 And, as again the sign he reared,  
 Hollow and hoarse his voice was heard:  
 "When flits this cross from man to man,  
 Vich-Alpine's summons to his clan,  
 Burst be the ear that fails to heed!  
 Palsied the foot that shuns to speed!  
 May ravens tear the careless eyes,  
 Wolves make the coward heart their prize!  
 As sinks that blood-stream in the earth,  
 So may his heart's-blood drench this hearth!  
 As dies in hissing gore the spark,  
 Quench thou his light, Destruction dark!  
 And be the grace to him denied,  
 Bought by this sign to all beside!"—



He ceased : no echo gave again  
The murmur of the deep Amen.

### THE WEDDING.

[From the Saine.]

**A** BLITHSOME rout, that morning tide,  
Had sought the chapel of Saint Bride.  
Her troth Tombea's Mary gave  
To Norman, heir of Armandave,  
And, issuing from the Gothick arch,  
The bridal now resumed their march.  
In rude, but glad procession, came  
Bonnetted sire and coif-clad dame;  
And plaided youth, with jest and jeer,  
Which snooded maiden would not hear;  
And children, that, unwitting why,  
Lent the gay shout their shrilly cry;  
And minstrels, that in measure vied  
Before the young and bonny bride,  
Whose downcast eye and cheek disclose  
The tear and blush of morning rose.  
With virgin step, and bashful hand,  
She held the kerchief's snowy band;  
The gallant bridegroom, by her side,  
Beheld his prize with victor's pride,  
And the glad mother in her ear  
Was closely whispering word of cheer.

Who meets them at the church-yard gate?—  
The messenger of fear and fate!  
Haste in his hurried accent lies,  
And grief is swimming in his eyes.  
All dripping from the recent flood,  
Panting and travel-soiled he stood,  
The fatal sign of fire and sword  
Held forth, and spoke the appointed word;  
“ The muster-place is Lanrick mead.  
Speed forth the signal ! Norman, speed ! ”—  
And must he change so soon the hand,  
Just linked to his by holy band,  
For the fell cross of blood and brand?  
And must the day, so blithe that rose,  
And promis'd rapture in the close,



Before its setting hour, divide  
 The bridegroom from the plighted bride?  
 O fatal doom!—it must! it must!  
 Clan-Alpine's cause, her Chieftain's trust,  
 Her summons dread, brooks no delay;  
 Stretch to the race—away! away!  
 Yet slow he laid his plaid aside,  
 And, lingering, eyed his lovely bride,  
 Until he saw the starting tear  
 Speak woe he might not stop to cheer;  
 Then, trusting not a second look,  
 In haste he sped him up the brook,  
 Nor backward glanced till on the heath  
 Where Lubnaig's lake supplies the Teith.  
 —What in the racer's bosom stirred?  
 The sickening pang of hope deferred,  
 And memory, with a torturing train  
 Of all his morning visions vain.  
 Mingled with love's impatience, came  
 The manly thirst of martial fame;  
 The stormy joy of mountaineers,  
 Ere yet they rush upon the spears;  
 And zeal for clan and chieftain burning,  
 And hope, from well-fought field returning,  
 With war's red honours on his crest,  
 To clasp his Mary to his breast.  
 Stung by such thoughts, o'er bank and brae,  
 Like fire from flint he glanced away,  
 While high resolve, and feeling strong,  
 Burst into voluntary song.

## SONG.

The heath this night must be my bed,  
 The bracken curtain for my head,  
 My lullaby the warder's tread,  
     Far, far, from love and thee, Mary;  
 To-morrow eve, more stilly laid,  
 My couch may be my bloody plaid,  
 My vesper song, thy wail, sweet maid!  
 It will not waken me, Mary!

I may not, dare not, fancy now  
 The grief that clouds thy lovely brow,  
 I dare not think upon thy vow,  
     And all it promised me, Mary.



No fond regret must Norman know ;  
 When bursts Clan-Alpine on the foe,  
 His heart must be like bended bow,  
 His foot like arrow free, Mary !

A time will come with feeling fraught !  
 For, if I fall in battle fought,  
 Thy hapless lover's dying thought  
     Shall be a thought on thee, Mary.  
 And if returned from conquered foes,  
 How blithely will the evening close,  
 How sweet the linnet sing repose,  
 To my young bride and me, Mary !

### FAREWELL ADDRESS

TO THE

### HARP OF THE NORTH.

[From the Same.]

**H**ARP of the North, farewell ! The hills grow dark,  
 On purple peaks a deeper shade descending ;  
 In twilight copse the glow-worm lights her spark,  
     The deer, half-seen, are to the covert wending.  
 Resume thy wizard elm ! the fountain lending,  
     And the wild breeze, thy wilder minstrelsy ;  
 Thy numbers sweet with Nature's vespers blending,  
     With distant echo from the fold and lea,  
 Aud herd-boy's evening pipe, and hum of housing bee.

Yet once again, farewell, thou Minstrel Harp !  
     Yet once again, forgive my feeble sway,  
 And little reck I of the censure sharp  
     May idly cavil at an idle lay.  
 Much have I owed thy strains on life's long way,  
     Through secret woes the world has never known,  
 When on the weary night dawned wearier day,  
     And bitterer was the grief devoured alone.  
 That I o'erlive such woes, Enchantress ! is thine own.

Hark ! as my lingering footsteps slow retire,  
     Some Spirit of the Air has wak'd thy string !  
 'Tis now a Seraph bold, with touch of fire,  
     'Tis now the brush of Fairy's frolic wing.

Receding



Receding now, the dying numbers ring  
 Fainter and fainter down the rugged dell,  
 And now the mountain breezes scarcely bring  
 A wandering witch-note of the distant spell—  
 And now, 'tis silence all!—Enchantress, fare thee well!

## THE SACRIFICE.

[FROM SOUTHEY'S CURSE OF KEHAMA.]

**T**HE Sun rides high; the hour is nigh;  
 The multitude who long,  
 Lest aught should mar the rite,  
 In circle wide on every side,  
 Have kept the Steed in sight,  
 Contract their circle now, and drive him on.  
 Drawn in long files before the Temple-court,  
 The Rajah's archers flank an ample space;  
 Here, moving onward still, they drive him near,  
 Then, opening, give him way to enter here.

Behold him, how he starts and flings his head!  
 On either side in glittering order spread,  
 The archers ranged in narrowing lines appear;  
 The multitude behind close up the rear  
 With moon-like bend, and silently await  
 The awful end,  
 The rite that shall from Indra wrest his power.  
 In front, with far-stretch'd walls, and many a tower  
 Turret and dome and pinnacle elate,  
 The huge Pagoda seems to load the land:  
 And there before the gate,  
 The Bramin band expectant stand,  
 The axe is ready for Kehama's hand.  
 Hark! at the Golden Palaces  
 The Bramin strikes the time!  
 One, two, three, four, a thrice-told chime,  
 And then again, one, two.  
 The bowl that in its vessel floats anew  
 Must fill and sink again,  
 Then will the final stroke be due.  
 The Sun rides high, the noon is nigh,  
 And silently, as if spell-bound,  
 The multitude expect the sound.



Lo! how the Steed, with sudden start,  
Turns his quick head to every part;  
Long files of men on every side appear.  
The sight might well his heart affright,  
And yet the silence that is here  
Inspires a stranger fear;  
For not a murmur, not a sound  
Of breath or motion rises round,  
No stir is heard in all that mighty crowd;  
He neighs, and from the temple-wall  
The voice re-echoes loud,  
Loud and distinct, as from a hill  
Across a lonely vale, when all is still.

Within the temple, on his golden throne  
Reclin'd, Kehama lies,  
Watching with steady eyes  
The perfum'd light that, burning bright,  
Metes out the passing hours.  
On either hand his eunuchs stand,  
Freshening with fans of peacock plumes the air  
Which, redolent of all rich gums and flowers,  
Seems, overcharged with sweets, to stagnate there.  
Lo! the time-taper's flame ascending slow  
Creeps up its coil toward the fated line;  
Kehama rises and goes forth,  
And from the altar, ready where it lies,  
He takes the axe of sacrifice.

That instant from the crowd, with sudden shout,  
A man sprang out,  
To lay upon the Steed his hand profane.  
A thousand archers, with unerring eye,  
At once let fly,  
And with their hurtling arrows fill the sky.  
In vain they fall upon him fast as rain;  
He bears a charmed life, which may defy  
All weapons, . . . and the darts that whizz around,  
He from an adamantine panoply  
Repell'd, fall idly to the ground.  
Kehama clasp'd his hands in agony,  
And saw him grasp the hallowed courser's mane,  
Spring up with sudden bound,  
And with a frantic cry,  
And madman's gesture, gallop round and round.

They



They seize, they drag him to the Rajah's feet.  
 What doom will now be his,...what vengeance meet  
 Will he, who knows no mercy, now require?  
 The obsequious guards around, with blood-hound eye,  
 Look for the word, in slow-consuming fire,  
 By peace-meal death, to make the wretch expire,  
 Or hoist his living carcase, hook'd on high,  
 To feed the fowls and insects of the sky;  
 Or if aught worse inventive cruelty  
 To that remorseless heart of royalty  
 Might prompt, accursed instruments they stand  
 To work the wicked will with wicked hand.  
 Far other thoughts were in the multitude;  
 Pity, and human feelings held them still;  
 And stifled sighs and groans suppress were there,  
 And many a secret curse and inward prayer  
 Call'd on the insulted Gods to save mankind.  
 Expecting some new crime in fear they stood,  
 Some horror which would make the natural blood  
 Start, with cold shudderings thrill the sinking heart,  
 Whiten the lip, and make the abhorrent eye  
 Roll back and close, prest in for agony.

How then fared he for whom the mighty crowd  
 Suffered in spirit thus,...how then fared he?  
 A ghastly smile was on his lip, his eye  
 Glared with a ghastly hope, as he drew nigh,  
 And cried aloud, Yes, Rajah! it is I!  
 And wilt thou kill me now?  
 The countenance of the Almighty Man  
 Fell when he knew Laudurlad, and his brow  
 Was clouded with despite, as one asham'd.  
 That wretch again! indignant he exclaim'd,  
 And smote his forehead, and stood silently  
 Awile in wrath: then, with ferocious smile,  
 And eyes which seem'd to darken his dark cheek,  
 Let him go free! he cried; he bath his curse,  
 And vengeance upon him can wreak no worse....  
 But ye who did not stop him....tremble ye!

He bade the archers pile their weapons there:  
 No manly courage fill'd the slavish band,  
 No sweetening vengeance rous'd a brave despair.  
 He call'd his horsemen then, and gave command  
 To hem the offenders in, and hew them down.  
 Ten thousand scymitars at once uprear'd,  
 Flash up, like waters sparkling to the sun;  
 A second time the fatal brands appear'd



Lifted aloft,...they glitter'd then no more,  
 Their light was gone, their splendour quench'd in gore.  
 At noon the massacre begun,  
 And night clos'd in before the work of death was done.

## JAGA-NAUT.

[From the same.]

**J**OY in the city of great Jaga-Naut!  
 Joy in the seven-headed Idol's shrine!  
 A virgin bride his ministers have brought,  
 A mortal maid in form and face divine,  
 Peerless among all daughters of mankind!  
 Search'd they the world again from East to West,  
 In endless quest,  
 Seeking the fairest and the best,  
 No maid so lovely might they hope to find;....  
 For she hath breath'd celestial air,  
 And heavenly food has been her fare,  
 And heavenly thoughts and feelings give her face  
 That heavenly grace.  
 Joy in the city of great Jaga-Naut,  
 Joy in the seven-headed Idol's shrine!  
 The fairest maid his Yoguees sought,  
 A fairer than the fairest have they brought,  
 A maid of charms surpassing human thought,  
 A maid divine.

Now bring ye forth the Chariot of the God!  
 Bring him abroad,  
 That through the swarming city he may ride;  
 And by his side  
 Place ye the Maid of more than mortal grace,  
 The Maid of perfect form and heavenly face!  
 Set her aloft in triumph, like a bride  
 Upon the bridal car,  
 And spread the joyful tidings wide and far,...  
 Spread it with trump and voice  
 That all may hear, and all who hear rejoice,...  
 The Mighty One hath found his mate! the God  
 Will ride abroad!  
 To-night will he go forth from his abode!  
 Ye myriads who adore him,  
 Prepare the way before him!



Uprear'd on twenty wheels elate,  
 Huge as a Ship, the bridal car appear'd ;  
 Loud creak its ponderous wheels, as through the gate  
 A thousand Bramins drag the enormous load.

There thron'd aloft in state,  
 The image of the seven-headed God  
 Came forth from his abode ; and at his side  
 Sate Kailyal like a bride ;  
 A bridal statue rather might she seem,  
 For she regarded all things like a dream,  
 Having no thought, nor fear, nor will, nor aught  
 Save hope and faith, that liv'd within her still.

O silent night, how have they startled thee  
 With the brazen trumpet's blare !  
 And thou, O Moon ! whose quiet light serene  
 Filleth wide heaven, and bathing hill and wood,  
 Spreads o'er the peaceful valley like a flood,  
 How have they dimm'd thee with the torches' glare,  
 Which round yon moving pageant flame and flare,  
 As the wild rout, with deafening song and shout,  
 Fling their long flashes out,  
 That, like infernal lightnings, fire the air.

A thousand pilgrims strain  
 Arm, shoulder, breast and thigh, with might and main,  
 To drag the sacred wain,  
 And scarce can draw along the enormous load.  
 Prone fall the frantic votaries in its road,  
 And, calling on the God,  
 Their self-devoted bodies there they lay  
 To pave his chariot-way.  
 On Jaga-Naut they call,  
 The ponderous Car rolls on, and crushes all.  
 Through blood and bones it ploughs its dreadful path,  
 Groans rise unheard ; the dying cry,  
 And death and agony  
 Are trodden under foot by yon mad throng,  
 Who follow close, and thrust the deadly wheels along.

Pale grows the Maid at this accursed sight ;  
 The yells which round her rise  
 Have rous'd her with affright,  
 And fear hath given to her dilated eyes  
 A wilder light.  
 Where shall those eyes be turn'd ? she knows not where !  
 Downward they dare not look, for there



Is death and horror, and despair;  
 Nor can her patient looks to Heaven repair;  
 For the huge Idol over her, in air,  
 Spreads his seven hideous heads, and wide  
 Extends their snaky necks on every side;  
 And all around, behind, before,  
 The bridal Car, is the raging rout,  
 With frantic shout, and deafening roar,  
 Tossing the torches' flames about.  
 And the double double peals of the drum are there,  
 And the startling burst of the trumpet's blare;  
 And the gong that seems, with its thunders dread,  
 To stun the living, and waken the dead.  
 The ear-strings throb as if they were broke;  
 And the eye-lids drop at the weight of its stroke.  
 Fain would the Maid have kept them fast,  
 But open they start at the crack of the blast.

### THE WIDOW.

[From Crabbe's Borough.]

**Y**ES! there are real mourners---I have seen  
 A fair, sad Girl, mild, suffering, and serene;  
 Attention (through the day) her duties claim'd,  
 And to be useful as resign'd she aim'd;  
 Neatly she drest, nor vainly seem'd t'expect  
 Pity for grief, or pardon for neglect;  
 But when her weary'd parents sunk to sleep,  
 She sought her place to meditate and weep;  
 Then to her mind was all the past display'd;  
 That faithful memory brings to sorrow's aid:  
 For then she thought on one regretted Youth,  
 Her tender trust, and his unquestion'd truth;  
 In ev'ry place she wander'd, where they'd been,  
 And sadly sacred held the parting-scene;  
 Where last for Sea he took his leave---that place  
 With double interest would she nightly trace:  
 For long the courtship was, and he would say,  
 Each time he sail'd,---"This once, and then the day:"  
 Yet prudence tarried, but when last he went,  
 He drew from pitying Love a full consent.

Happy he sail'd, and great the care she took,  
 That he should softly sleep, and smartly look;  
 White was his better linen, and his check  
 Was made more trim than any on the deck;

And



And every comfort Men at Sea can know,  
 Was her's to buy, to make, and to bestow :  
 For he to Greenland sail'd, and much she told,  
 How he should guard against the climate's cold ;  
 Yet saw not danger : dangers he'd withstood,  
 Nor could she trace the Fever in his blood :  
 His messmates smil'd at flushings in his cheek,  
 And he too smil'd, but seldom would he speak ;  
 For now he found the danger, felt the pain,  
 With grievous symptoms he could not explain ;  
 Hope was awaken'd, as for home he sail'd,  
 But quickly sank, and never more prevail'd.

He call'd his Friend, and prefac'd with a sigh  
 A Lover's message---“ *Thomas*, I must die :  
 “ Would I could see my *Sally*, and could rest  
 “ My throbbing temples on her faithful breast,  
 “ And gazing go !---if not, this trifle take,  
 “ And say 'till death I wore it for her sake :  
 “ Yes ! I must die---blow on, sweet breeze, blow on !  
 “ Give me one look, before my life be gone,  
 “ O ! give me that, and let me not despair,  
 “ One last fond look---and now repeat the prayer.”

He had his wish---had more ; I will not paint  
 The Lover's meeting : she beheld him faint,---  
 With tender fears she took a nearer view,  
 Her terrors doubling as her hopes withdrew ;  
 He tried to smile, and, half succeeding, said,  
 “ Yes ! I must die,” and hope for ever fled.

Still long she nurs'd him ; tender thoughts meantime  
 Were interchang'd, and hopes and views sublime.  
 To her he came to die, and every day  
 She took some portion of the dread away ;  
 With him she pray'd, to him his Bible read,  
 Sooth'd the faint heart, and held the aching head :  
 She came with smiles the hour of pain to cheer ;  
 Apart she sigh'd ; alone she shed the tear ;  
 Then, as if breaking from a cloud, she gave  
 Fresh light, and gilt the prospect of the grave.

One day he lighter seem'd, and they forgot,  
 The care, the dread, the anguish of their lot ;  
 They spoke with cheerfulness, and seem'd to think,  
 Yet said not so---“ perhaps he will not sink.”  
 A sudden brightness in his look appear'd,  
 A sudden vigour in his voice was hear'd ;---

She



She had been reading in the Book of Prayer,  
 And led him forth and plac'd him in a chair :  
 Lively he seem'd, and spoke of all he knew,  
 The friendly many, and the favourite few ;  
 Nor one that day did he to mind recall,  
 But she has treasur'd, and she loves them all ;  
 When in her way she meets them, they appear  
 Peculiar people---death has made them dear.  
 He nam'd his Friend, but then his hand she press'd,  
 And fondly whisper'd, " Thou must go to rest ;"  
 ' I go,' he said, but as he spoke, she found  
 His hand more cold, and fluttering was the sound ;  
 Then gaz'd affrighten'd ; but she caught a last,  
 A dying look of love, and all was past !

She plac'd a decent Stone his Grave above,  
 Neatly engrav'd--an offering of her Love ;  
 For that she wrought, for that forsook her bed,  
 Awake alike to Duty and the Dead ;  
 She would have griev'd, had friends presum'd to spare  
 The least assistance---'twas her proper care.

Here will she come, and on the grave will sit,  
 Folding her arms, in long abstracted fit ;  
 But if Observer pass, will take her round,  
 And careless seem, for she would not be found ;  
 Then go again, and thus her hour employ,  
 While visions please her, and while woes destroy.

Forbear, sweet Maid ; nor be by Fancy led,  
 To hold mysterious converse with the dead ;  
 For sure at length thy thoughts, thy spirit's pain,  
 In this sad conflict will disturb thy brain ;  
 All have their tasks and trials : thine are hard,  
 But short the time and glorious the reward ;  
 Thy patient spirit to thy duties give,  
 Regard the Dead, but to the Living, live.

### THE CARD CLUB.

[From the same.]

**H**ERE Avarice first, the keen desire of Gain,  
 Rules in each Heart and works in every Brain ;  
 Alike the Veteran-Dames and Virgins feel,  
 Nor care what Grey-beards or what Striplings deal ;

Sex,



Sex, Age, and Station, vanish from their view,  
And gold, their sov'reign Good, the mingled Crowd pursue.

Hence they are jealous, and as Rivals, keep  
A watchful Eye on the beloved Heap;  
Meantime discretion bids the tongue be still,  
And mild Good-humour strives with strong Ill-will:  
Till Prudence fails; when, all impatient grown,  
They make their Grief, by their Suspicions known.

“ Sir, I protest, were *Job* himself at play,  
“ He’d rave to see you throw your Cards away;  
“ Not that I care a button---not a pin  
“ For what I lose; but we had Cards to win:  
“ A Saint in Heaven would grieve to see such Hand  
“ Cut up by one who will not understand.”

‘ Complain of me! and so you might indeed,  
‘ If I had ventur’d on that foolish Lead,  
‘ That fatal Heart---but I forgot your Play---  
‘ Some Folk have ever thrown their Hearts away.’

“ Yes, and their Diamonds: I have heard of one  
“ Who made a Beggar of an only Son.”

‘ Better a Beggar, than to see him tied  
‘ To Art and Spite, to Insolence and Pride.’

“ Sir, were I you, I’d strive to be polite,  
“ Against my nature, for a single Night.”

‘ Against their Nature they might show their Skill  
‘ With small Success, who’re Maids against their will.’

Is this too much? alas! my bashful Muse  
Cannot with half their Virulence abuse.  
And hark! at other tables discord reigns,  
With feign’d contempt for Losses and for Gains;  
Passions awhile are bridled; then they rage,  
In waspish Youth, and in resentful Age;  
With scraps of Insult---“ Sir, when next you play,  
“ Reflect whose Money ’tis you throw away.  
“ No one on Earth can less such things regard,  
“ But when one’s Partner doesn’t know a Card——”

‘ I scorn Suspicion, Ma’am, but while you stand  
‘ Behind that Lady, pray keep down your hand.’

“ Good



‘ Good Heav’n, revoke ! remember, if the Set  
 ‘ Be lost, in honour you should pay the Debt.’

“ There, there’s your Money ; but while I have life,  
 “ I’ll never more sit down with Man and Wife ;  
 “ They snap and snarl indeed, but in the heat  
 “ Of all their Spleen, their Understandings meet ;  
 “ They are Free-Masons, and have many a Sign,  
 “ That we, poor devils ! never can divine :  
 “ May it be told, do ye divide the Amount,  
 “ Or goes it all to Family Account ?”

### THE ALMS HOUSE.

[From the same.]

**B**E it agreed—the Poor who hither come,  
 Partake of Plenty, seldom found at home ;  
 That airy Rooms and decent Beds are meant,  
 To give the Poor by day, by night, Content ;  
 That none are frighten’d, once admitted here,  
 By the stern looks of lordly Overseer :  
 Grant that the Guardians of the Place attend,  
 And ready ear to each Petition lend ;  
 That they desire the grieving poor to show  
 What ills they feel, what partial Acts they know,  
 Not without promise, nay desire to heal  
 Each Wrong they suffer, and each Woe they feel.

Alas ! their Sorrows in their Bosoms dwell,  
 They’ve much to suffer, but have nought to tell ;  
 They have no Evil in the Place to state,  
 And dare not say, it is the House they hate :  
 They own there’s granted all such Place can give,  
 But live repining, for ’tis there they live.

Grandsires are there, who now no more must see,  
 No more must nurse upon the trembling knee  
 The lost-lov’d Daughter’s infant Progeny :  
 Like Death’s dread Mansion, this allows not place  
 For joyful Meetings of a kindred Race.

Is not the Matron there, to whom the Son  
 Was wont at each declining day to run ;  
 He (when his toil was over) gave delight,  
 By lifting up the latch, and one “ Good Night ?”  
 Yes, she is here, but nightly to her door  
 The Son, still labouring, can return no more.

Widows



Widows are here, who in their Huts were left,  
 Of Husbands, Children, Plenty, Ease bereft;  
 Yet all that Grief within the humble Shed  
 Was soften'd, soften'd in the humble Bed:  
 But here, in all its force, remains the Grief,  
 And not one soft'ning object for relief.

Who can when here, the social Neighbour meet?  
 Who learn the Story current in the Street?  
 Who to the long-known Intimate impart  
 Facts they have learn'd or Feelings of the Heart?---  
 They talk indeed, but who can choose a Friend,  
 Or seek Companions at their journey's end?

Here are not those whom they, when Infants, knew;  
 Who, with like Fortune, up to Manhood grew;  
 Who, with like Troubles, at old Age arriv'd;  
 Who, like themselves, the Joy of Life surviv'd;  
 Whom Time and Custom so familiar made,  
 That Looks the Meaning in the Mind convey'd:  
 But here to Strangers, Words nor Looks impart  
 The various Movements of the suffering Heart;  
 Nor will that Heart with those Alliance own,  
 To whom its views and hopes are all unknown.

What, if no grievous Fears their Lives annoy,  
 Is it not worse no Prospects to enjoy?  
 'Tis cheerless living in such bounded View,  
 With nothing dreadful, but with nothing new;  
 Nothing to bring them Joy, to make them weep,---  
 The Day itself is, like the Night, asleep:  
 Or on the sameness, if a break be made,  
 'Tis by some Pauper to his Grave convey'd;  
 By smuggled News, from neighb'ring Village told,  
 News never true, or Truth a twelvemonth old;  
 By some new Inmate doom'd with them to dwell,  
 Or Justice come to see that all goes well;  
 Or change of Room, or hour of Leave to crawl  
 On the black Foot-way winding with the Wall,  
 'Till the stern Bell forbids, or Master's sterner call.

Here too the Mother sees her Children train'd,  
 Her Voice excluded and her feelings pain'd:  
 Who govern here, by general Rules must move,  
 Where ruthless Custom rends the Bond of Love.  
 Nations we know have Nature's Law transgress'd,  
 And snatch'd the infant from the Parent's breast;



But still for public good the Boy was train'd,  
 The Mother suffer'd, but the Matron gain'd :  
 Here Nature's outrage serves no cause to aid,  
 The Ill is felt, but not the *Spartan* made.

Then too I own it grieves me to behold  
 Those ever virtuous, helpless now and old,  
 By all for Care and Industry approv'd,  
 For truth respected and for temper lov'd ;  
 And who by sickness and misfortune try'd,  
 Gave Want its worth and Poverty its pride :  
 I own it grieves me to behold them sent  
 From their old Home ; 'tis Pain, 'tis Punishment,  
 To leave each scene familiar, every Face,  
 For a new People and a stranger Race ;  
 For those who, sunk in Sloth and dead to Shame,  
 From Scenes of Guilt with daring Spirits came ;  
 Men, just and guileless, at such Manners start,  
 And bless their God that Time has fenc'd their Heart,  
 Confirm'd their Virtue, and expell'd the Fear  
 Of Vice in Minds so simple and sincere.

Here the good Pauper, losing all the Praise  
 By worthy Deeds acquir'd in better days,  
 Breathes a few Months, then to his Chamber led,  
 Expires, while Strangers prattle round his Bed.

The grateful Hunter, when his Horse is old,  
 Wills not the useless Favourite to be sold ;  
 He knows his former Worth, and gives him place  
 In some fair Pasture, till he's run his Race :  
 But has the Labourer, has the Seaman done  
 Less worthy Service, though not dealt to one ?  
 Shall we not then contribute to their Ease,  
 In their old Haunts where ancient Objects please ?  
 That, till their Sight shall fail them, they may trace  
 The well-known Prospect and the long-lov'd Face.

The Oak, in distant Ages seen,  
 With far-stretch'd Boughs and Foliage fresh and green,  
 Though now its bare and forked Branches show  
 How much it lacks the vital Warmth below,  
 The stately Ruin yet our Wonder gains,  
 Nay, moves our Pity, without thought of Pains :  
 Much more shall real Wants and Cares of Age  
 Our gentler passions in their cause engage ;—  
 Drooping and burthen'd with a weight of Years,  
 What venerable ruin Man appears !



How worthy Pity, Love, Respect, and Grief---  
 He claims Protection---he compels Relief ;---  
 And shall we send him from our view, to brave  
 The Storms abroad, whom we at home might save,  
 And let a Stranger dig our ancient Brother's Grave?  
 No!--we will shield him from the Storm he fears,  
 And when he falls, embalm him with our Tears.

## THE FELON'S DREAM.

[From the same.

-----when first I came  
 Within his view, I fancy'd there was Shame,  
 I judg'd Resentment; I mistook the Air,---  
 These fainter Passions live not with Despair;  
 Or but exist and die :---Hope, Fear and Love,  
 Joy, Doubt, and Hate, may other Spirits move,  
 But touch not his, who every waking hour  
 Has one fix'd Dread, and always feels its power.

“ But will not Mercy ? ”---No! she cannot plead  
 For such an Outrage ;---'twas a cruel Deed :  
 He stopp'd a timid Traveller ;---to his Breast,  
 With Oaths and Curses, was the Danger prest :  
 No! he must suffer; Pity we may find  
 For one Man's Pangs, but must not wrong Mankind.

Still I behold him, every thought employ'd  
 On one dire View!-- all others are destroy'd ;  
 This makes his Features ghastly, gives the tone  
 Of his few words resemblance to a groan:  
 He takes his tasteless Food, and when 'tis done,  
 Counts up his Meals, now lessen'd by that one ;  
 For Expectation is on Time intent,  
 Whether he brings us Joy or Punishment.

Yes! e'en in sleep th' impressions all remain,  
 He hears the Sentence and he feels the Chain;  
 He sees the Judge and Jury, when he shakes,  
 And loudly cries, “ Not guilty,” and awakes:  
 Then chilling Tremblings o'er his Body creep,  
 Till worn-out Nature is compell'd to sleep.

Now comes the Dream again : it shows each Scene,  
 With each small Circumstance that comes between---  
 The Call to Suffering and the very Deed---  
 There Crowds go with him, follow, and precede,



Some heartless shout, some pity, all condemn,  
 While he in fancied Envy looks at them !  
 He seems the Place for that sad Act to see,  
 And dreams the very Thirst which then will be :  
 A Priest attends---it seems the one he knew  
 In his best days, beneath whose care he grew.

At this his Terrors take a sudden flight,  
 He sees his native Village with delight ;  
 The House, the Chamber, where he once array'd  
 His youthful Person ; where he knelt and pray'd :  
 Then too the Comforts he enjoy'd at home,  
 The Days of Joy ; the Joys themselves are come ;---  
 The Hours of Innocence ;---the timid Look  
 Of his lov'd Maid, when first her hand he took  
 And told his hope; her trembling Joy appears,---  
 Her fore'd Reserve and his retreating Fears.

All now is present;---'tis a moment's gleam  
 Of former Sunshine---stay, delightful Dream !  
 Let him within his pleasant Garden walk,  
 Give him her Arm, of Blessings let them talk.

Yes! all are with him now, and all the while  
 Life's early Prospects and his *Fanny's* Smile :  
 Then come his Sister and his Village Friend,  
 And he will now the sweetest Moments spend  
 Life has to yield :---No! never will he find  
 Again on Earth such Pleasure in his Mind :  
 He goes through shrubby Walks these Friends among,  
 Love in their Looks and Honour on their Tongue ;  
 Nay, there's a Charm beyond what Nature shows,  
 The Bloom is softer and more sweetly glows ;---  
 Pierc'd by no Crime, and urg'd by no desire  
 For more than true and honest Hearts require,  
 They feel the calm Delight, and thus proceed  
 Through the green Lane,—then linger in the Mead,---  
 Stray o'er the Heath in all its purple bloom,---  
 And pluck the Blossom where the Wild-bees hum ;  
 Then through the broomy Bound with ease they pass,  
 And press the sandy Sheep-walk's slender Grass,  
 Where dwarfish Flowers among the Gorse are spread,  
 And the Lamb brouzes by the Linnet's Bed ;  
 Then 'cross the bounding Brook they make their way  
 O'er its rough Bridge---and there behold the Bay !---  
 The Ocean smiling to the fervid Sun---  
 The Waves that faintly fall and slowly run,



The Ships at distance and the Boats at hand :  
 And now they walk upon the Sea-side Sand,  
 Counting the number, and what kind they be,  
 Ships softly sinking in the sleepy Sea :  
 Now arm in arm, now parted, they behold  
 The glitt'ring Waters on the Shingles roll'd :  
 The timid Girls, half dreading their design,  
 Dip the small Foot in the retarded Brine,  
 And search for crimson Weeds, which spreading flow  
 Or lie like Pictures on the Sand below ;  
 With all those bright red Pebbles, that the Sun  
 Through the small Waves so softly shines upon  
 And those live lucid Jellies which the eye  
 Delights to trace as they swim glitt'ring by :  
 Pearl-shells and rubied Star-fish they admire,  
 And will arrange above the Parlour-fire,---  
 Tokens of Bliss !————

## DESCRIPTION OF AFRICA AND THE NEGRO.

[From Montgomery's West Indies.]

**W**HERE the stupendous Mountains of the Moon  
 Cast their broad shadows o'er the realms of noon;  
 From rude Caffraria, where the giraffes browse,  
 With stately heads among the forest boughs,  
 To Atlas, where Numidian lions glow  
 With torrid fire beneath eternal snow ;  
 From Nubian hills, that hail the dawning day,  
 To Guinea's coast, where evening fades away,  
 Regions immense, unsearchable, unknown,  
 Bask in the splendour of the solar zone ;  
 A world of wonders,—where creation seems  
 No more the works of Nature but her dreams ;  
 Great, wild, and beautiful, beyond controul,  
 She reigns in all the freedom of her soul ;  
 Where none can check her bounty when she showers  
 O'er the gay wilderness her fruits and flowers ;  
 None brave her fury, when, with whirlwind breath,  
 And earthquake step, she walks abroad with death ;  
 O'er boundless plains she holds her fiery flight,  
 In terrible magnificence of light ;  
 At blazing noon pursues the evening breeze,  
 Through the dun gloom of realm-o'ershadowing trees ;  
 Her thirst at Nile's mysterious fountain quells,  
 Or bathes in secrecy where Niger swells



An inland ocean, on whose jasper rocks  
 With shells and sea-flower-wreaths she binds her locks :  
 She sleeps on isles of velvet verdure, placed  
 Midst sandy gulphs and shoals for ever waste ;  
 She guides her countless flocks to cherish'd rills,  
 And feeds her cattle on a thousand hills ;  
 Her steps the wild bees welcome through the vale,  
 From every blossom that embalms the gale ;  
 The slow unwieldy river-horse she leads  
 Through the deep waters, o'er the pasturing meads ;  
 And climbs the mountains that invade the sky,  
 To sooth the eagle's nestlings when they cry.  
 At sun-set, when voracious monsters burst  
 From dreams of blood, awak'd by maddening thirst ;  
 When the lorn caves, in which they shrunk from light,  
 Ring with wild echoes through the hideous night ;  
 When darkness seems alive, and all the air  
 Is one tremendous uproar of despair,  
 Horror and agony ;—on her they call ;  
 She hears their clamour, she provides for all,  
 Leads the light leopard on his eager way,  
 And goads the gaunt hyæna to his prey.

In these romantic regions man grows wild ;  
 Here dwells the negro, Nature's outcast child.  
 Scorn'd by his brethren ; but his mother's eye,  
 That gazes on him from her warmest sky,  
 Sees in his flexile limbs untutor'd grace,  
 Power on his forehead, beauty in his face ;  
 Sees in his breast, where lawless passions rove,  
 The heart of friendship, and the home of love ;  
 Sees in his mind, where desolation reigns,  
 Fierce as his clime, uncultured as his plains,  
 A soil where virtue's fairest flowers might shoot,  
 And trees of science bend with glorious fruit ;  
 Sees in his soul, involved with thickest night,  
 An emanation of eternal light,  
 Ordain'd, 'midst sinking worlds, his dust to fire,  
 And shine for ever when the stars expire.  
 Is he not *Man*, though knowledge never shed  
 Her quickening beams on his neglected head ?  
 Is he not *Man*, though sweet religion's voice  
 Ne'er bade the mourner in his God rejoice ?  
 Is *he* not man, by sin and suffering tried ?  
 Is *he* not man for whom the Saviour died ?  
 Belie the Negro's powers :—in headlong will,  
 Christian, thy brother thou shalt prove him still ;  
 Belie his virtues ; since his wrongs began,  
 His follies and his crimes have stamp'd him *Man*.



## THE NEGRO'S HOME AND COUNTRY.

(From the same.)

**A**ND is the negro outlaw'd from his birth ?  
 Is he alone a stranger on the earth ?  
 Is there no shed whose peeping roof appears  
 So lovely that it fills his eyes with tears ?  
 No land, whose name in exile heard, will dart  
 Ice through his veins and lightning through his heart ?  
 Ah ! yes ; beneath the beams of brighter skies,  
 His home amidst his father's country lies ;  
 There with the partner of his soul he shares  
 Love-mingled pleasures, love-divided cares ;  
 There, as with nature's warmest filial fire,  
 He soothes his blind, and feeds his helpless sire ;  
 His children sporting round his hut behold  
 How they shall cherish him when he is old,  
 Train'd by example from their tenderest youth  
 To deeds of charity and words of truth.  
 ---Is *he* not bless'd ? Behold at closing day,  
 The negro-village swarms abroad to play ;  
 He treads the dance through all its rapturous rounds,  
 To the wild music of barbarian sounds !  
 Or stretch'd at ease, where broad palmettos shower  
 Delicious coolness in his shadowy bower,  
 He feasts on tales of witchcraft, that gave birth  
 To breathless wonder, or ecstatic mirth ;  
 Yet most delighted, when, in rudest rhymes,  
 The minstrel wakes the song of elder times,  
 When men were heroes, slaves to Beauty's charms,  
 And all the joys of life were love and arms.  
 ---Is not the Negro blest ? His generous soil  
 With harvest-plenty crowns his simple toil ;  
 More than his wants his flocks and fields afford ;  
 He loves to greet the stranger at his board :  
 ' The winds were roaring, and the White Man fled ;  
 ' The rains of night descended on his head ;  
 ' The poor White Man sat down beneath our tree,  
 ' Weary and faint, and far from home was he ;  
 ' For him no mother fills with milk the bowl,  
 ' No wife prepares the bread to cheer his soul :  
 ' ---Pity the poor White Man, who sought our tree,  
 ' No wife, no mother, and no home has he.'  
 Thus sung the Negro's daughters ;---once again,  
 O, that the poor White Man might hear that strain !  
 ---Whether the victim of the treacherous Moor ;  
 Or from the Negro's hospitable door



Spurn'd as a spy, from Europe's hateful clime,  
 And left to perish for thy country's crime ;  
 Or destin'd still, when all thy wanderings cease,  
 On Albion's lovely lap to rest in peace ;  
 Pilgrim ! in heaven or earth, where'er thou be,  
 Angels of mercy guide and comfort thee !

### THE GUINEA CAPTAIN.

(From the same.)

**L**IVES there a savage ruder than the slave ?  
 —Cruel as death, insatiate as the grave,  
 False as the winds that round his vessel blow,  
 Remorseless as the gulph that yawns below,  
 Is he who toils upon the wafting flood,  
 A Christian broker in the trade of blood ;  
 Boisterous in speech, in action prompt and bold,  
 He buys, he sells,—he steals, he kills, for gold.  
 At noon, when sky and ocean, calm and clear,  
 Bend round his bark, one blue unbroken sphere ;  
 When dancing dolphins sparkle through the brine,  
 And sun-beam circles o'er the waters shine ;  
 He sees no beauty in the heaven serene,  
 No soul-enchancing sweetness in the scene,  
 But darkly scowling at the glorious day,  
 Curses the winds that loiter on their way.  
 When swoln with hurricanes the billows rise,  
 To meet the lightning midway from the skies ;  
 When from the unburthen'd hold his shrieking slaves  
 Are cast, at midnight, to the hungry waves ;  
 Not for his victims strangled in the deeps,  
 Not for his crimes the harden'd pirate weeps,  
 But grimly smiling when the storm is o'er,  
 Counts his sure gains, and hurries back for more.

### THE CREOLE PLANTER.

[From the same.]

**L**IVES there a reptile baser than the slave ?  
 —Loathsome as death corrupted as the grave,  
 See the dull Creole, at his pompous board,  
 Attendant vassals cringe around their lord ;  
 Sate with food, his heavy eyelids close,  
 Voluptuous minions fan him to repose ;  
 Prone on the noonday couch he lolls in vain,  
 Delirious slumbers rock his maudlin brain ;

He



He starts in horror from bewildering dreams,  
 His bloodshot eye with fire and frenzy gleams;  
 He stalks abroad; through all his wonted rounds,  
 The negro trembles, and the lash resounds,  
 And cries of anguish shrilling through the air  
 To distant fields his dread approach declare.  
 Mark, as he passes, every head declined;  
 Then slowly raised,—to curse him from behind.  
 This is the veriest wretch on nature's face;  
 Own'd by no country, spurn'd by every race;  
 The tether'd tyrant of one narrow span,  
 The bloated vampire of a living man;  
 His frame---a fungus form, of dunghill birth,  
 That taints the air, and rots above the earth;  
 His soul;---has he a soul, whose sensual breast  
 Of selfish passions is a serpent's nest?  
 Who follows headlong, ignorant, and blind,  
 The vague brute-instinct of an idiot mind;  
 Whose heart midst scenes of suffering senseless grown,  
 E'en in his mother's lap was chill'd to stone;  
 Whose torpid pulse no social feelings move;  
 A stranger to the tenderness of love,  
 His motley haram charms his gloating eye,  
 Where ebon, brown, and olive beauties vie;  
 His children, sprung alike from sloth and vice,  
 Are born his slaves, and loved at market price:  
 Has *he* a soul?---With his departing breath,  
 A form shall hail him at the gates of death,  
 The spectre Conscience,---shrieking through the gloom,  
 'Man we shall meet again beyond the tomb.'

## CHRISTIAN NEGROES.

[From the same.]

**A**ND thou, poor Negro! scorn'd of all mankind;  
 Thou dumb and impotent, and deaf and blind;  
 Thou dead in spirit! toil-degraded slave,  
 Crush'd by the curse on Adam to the grave!  
 The messengers of peace o'er land and sea,  
 That sought the sons of sorrow, stoop'd to thee.  
 ---The captive raised his slow and sullen eye;  
 He knew no friend, nor deem'd a friend was nigh,  
 Till the sweet tones of pity touch'd his ears,  
 And mercy bathed his bosom with her tears;  
 Strange were those tones, to him those tears were strange,  
 He wept and wonder'd at the mighty change,



Felt the quick pang of keen compunction dart,  
 And heard a small still whisper in his heart,  
 A voice from heaven, that bade the outcast rise  
 From shame on earth to glory in the skies.

From isle to isle the welcome tidings ran ;  
 The slave that heard them started into man :  
 Like Peter sleeping in his chains, he lay,  
 The angel came, his night was turn'd to day ;  
 ' Arise ! ' his fetters fall, his slumbers flee ;  
 He wakes to life, he springs to liberty.

No more to Demon-Gods, in hideous forms,  
 He pray'd for earthquakes, pestilence, and storms,  
 In secret agony devour'd the earth,  
 And, while he spar'd his mother, curs'd his birth :  
 To heaven the Christian negro sent his sighs,  
 In morning vows and evening sacrifice ;  
 He pray'd for blessings to descend on those  
 That dealt to him the cup of many woes ;  
 Thought of his home in Africa forlorn ;  
 Yet, while he wept, rejoic'd that he was born.  
 No longer burning with unholy fires,  
 He wallow'd in the dust of base desires ;  
 Ennobling virtue fix'd his hopes above,  
 Enlarg'd his heart, and sanctified his love :  
 With humble steps the paths of peace he trod,  
 A happy pilgrim, for he walk'd with God.

### THE HARP OF SORROW.

[From Montgomery's Poems.]

I GAVE my Harp to Sorrow's hand,  
 And she has ruled the chords so long,  
 They will not speak at my command ;  
 They warble only to *her* song.

Of dear, departed hours,  
 Too fondly loved to last,  
 The dew, the breath, the bloom of flowers,  
 Snapt in their freshness by the blast :—

Of long, long years of future care,  
 Till lingering Nature yields her breath,  
 And endless ages of despair,  
 Beyond the judgment-day of death :



The weeping Minstrel sings,  
And while her numbers flow,  
My spirit trembles with the strings,  
Responsive to the notes of woe.

Would gladness move a sprightlier strain,  
And wake this wild Harp's clearest tones,  
The chords, impatient to complain,  
Are dumb, or only utter moans.

And yet to sooth the mind  
With luxury of grief,  
The soul to suffering all resign'd  
In sorrow's music feels relief.

Thus o'er the light Æolian lyre  
The winds of dark November stray,  
Touch the quick nerve of every wire,  
And on its magic pulses play ;—

Till all the air around,  
Mysterious murmurs fill,  
A strange bewildering dream of sound,  
Most heavenly sweet,—yet mournful still.

O! snatch the Harp from Sorrow's hand,  
Hope! who hast been a stranger long;  
O! strike it with sublime command,  
And be the Poet's life thy song.

Of vanish'd troubles sing,  
Of fears for ever fled,  
Of flowers that hear the voice of spring,  
And burst and blossom from the dead;

Of home, contentment, health, repose,  
Serene delights, while years increase;  
And weary life's triumphant close  
In some calm sunset-hour of peace ;—

Of bliss that reigns above,  
Celestial May of Youth,  
Unchanging as JEHOVAH's love,  
And everlasting as His truth :---

Sing,



Sing, Heavenly Hope!--and dart thine hand,  
O'er my frail Harp, untuned so long;  
That Harp shall breathe, at thy command,  
Immortal sweetness through thy song.

Ah! then this gloom controul,  
And at thy voice shall start  
A new creation in my soul,  
A native Eden in my heart.



## ACCOUNT OF BOOKS.

*An Account of the British Settlement of Honduras; being a View of its Commercial and Agricultural Resources, Soil, Climate, Natural History, &c. To which are added Sketches of the Manners and Customs of the Mosquito Indians. By Captain Henderson. 8vo.*

THE opportunities for useful investigation, afforded by a military life, are many and singularly favourable; but from whatever cause it may arise, it still is a subject of regret that so few military men, comparatively, are to be found in whom the ability and inclination to profit by such advantages are united. This interesting volume of Captain Henderson presents a favourable specimen of what may be effected, when talents for inquiry and habits of observation meet together in the military character.

The British settlement of Honduras is situated in the province of Yucatan, a peninsula extending from the province of Honduras to the sea, northwardly, forming the bay of Campeachy on the west, and the bay of Honduras on the east. It extends from about 16 to 21 degrees north latitude, and from about 84 to 94 degrees west longitude.

In the former part of the last century, small parties of English settlers had established themselves, with the approbation of the natives, on the east coast of Yucatan. These settlements were in 1763, solemnly guaranteed to Britain by the treaties of Paris and Madrid; but the Spaniards have on several occasions violated this stipulation, and have treated the settlers with singular cruelty.

“The climate of this part of the American continent is greatly superior to that of most other parts of the same vast portion of the globe, either in higher or lower degrees of latitude. It is equally superior to the climate of the West India islands generally; for persons, whose health and constitutions have become impaired from the effects of the latter, very frequently acquire a sudden restoration of both after an arrival at Honduras.

With the exception of a few months in the year, this country is constantly refreshed by regular sea-breezes, accompanied by an average of heat that may be taken at the temperature of 80 degrees. The seasons have also their marked difference, though nature may not have determined



terminated the shades of variation with the same strong lines which she has affixed to most other situations under her dominion. Within the tropics, a change of wind, or a shower of rain, often produces a sudden and singular revolution in atmospherical regularity, and occasions a no less instantaneous effect on the human system. The periodical rains which fall in this country, and that are neither considered unreasonable nor extraordinary, might almost presage a returning deluge, did they happen in some other parts of the world. But the *wet season*, as it is emphatically denominated, is not considered here the season of disease. It is fatally otherwise with the whole of the West Indies. The most frequent and violent instances of sicknesses which occur at Honduras, happen during the *dry season*, which is usually comprehended within the months of April, May, and June. The sun, during this space, is always most powerful, and its scorching rays are not mitigated by the same uniformity of breeze that prevails during the other months of the year. At the beginning of October, what are called the *norths*, north winds, commence, and generally continue, with little variation, till the return of February or March. Whilst these winds last, the mornings and evenings are cold; frequently unpleasantly so; and what in this country is understood by a *wet north*, might perhaps furnish no very imperfect idea of a November day in England; a *dry north*, on the contrary, is healthful, agreeable, and invigorating. The state of the weather during the *norths* is

extremely variable; for a depression of more than 15 degrees in the thermometer has been remarked in the space of a few hours. Thunder storms are frequent during the greater part of the year, and in the hottest months are often tremendously violent."

The remainder of Captain Henderson's first chapter is occupied by a concise description of the town of Balize, together with an outline of the coast. Chapter II. exhibits a brief view of the commercial advantages of Honduras; which (the author thinks) might be found the most convenient depôt of trade in this part of the world. Its immediate contiguity to so many important stations on the continent, seems to strengthen this opinion, and to render it in most respects, for all purposes required, more eligible than any of the Bahama or West India Islands. We have been accustomed to regard the mahogany and logwood, which this settlement produces, as the principal objects of commerce: but Captain H. shews that they are to be considered in a *secondary* point of view, only; and describes the soil and climate as being adapted to the culture of most of the productions of the West India islands.

The fisheries of the bays of Honduras and Campeachy are uncommonly productive; but the most profitable is that of the *turtle*.

The chief property of the planters consists in slaves, imported mostly from Africa by the intercourse with Jamaica; "but many of them are creoles of the different West Indian islands, and several have been brought into the settlement,

by



by their owners, from the United States. And in no part of the world where slavery prevails, can the condition of being so circumstanced be found of milder or more indulgent form. The labour they undergo bears no proportion to that which they sustain throughout the islands: nor is it more to be compared with what they experience in the States of America, a country which at least *professes* to confer a higher portion of freedom than most others, whether it really happen or not.

“Whenever power is exercised with moderation, the task of recording it can never be thought superfluous. And where the charge of inhumanity is general, any opportunity that may be afforded for discrimination, it would be a violation of justice to withhold. Thus much, therefore, seemed due to the slave-holder in the present instance, and with the acknowledgment of it the subject is closed; for it is as distant from being intended, as it would be remote from the purpose in view, to proceed farther on one in all its forms so uninviting; on which ability so much superior has been exhausted without producing conviction; and which, like many others of popular description, has, perhaps, on some occasions, fixed the reason in an obsequious dependance on the passions.

The value of the negro, if recently from Africa, is computed from 120*l.* to 160*l.* Jamaica currency. Those who have passed a few years in the country, and have become accustomed to the labour of it, frequently produce from 200 to 300*l.*”

“The whole of the slaves of Honduras are permitted to use arms, and possibly a more expert body of marksmen could not be found. To many this would appear an impolitic and questionable kind of indulgence; but let it be borne in view, that the expectation of fidelity and attachment may be best founded on the consistent exercise of humanity and forbearance, and much of every inconvenient result will be at once diminished.”

The population of this settlement is computed at 300 whites, and 500 people of colour and free blacks; the number of negro slaves is supposed to be nearly 3000.

Captain Henderson has introduced some observations on the diseases peculiar to this climate, and offers to Europeans several very valuable hints for *preserving their health*, which are alike honourable to his philanthropy and his understanding. It becomes, he observes, a matter of the highest importance to those who may be conducted to the shores of Honduras, “to follow as far as they conveniently can, such rules as may seem most rationally founded for the preservation of health; and that such may be followed without any material diminution of social enjoyment, or violent exercise of self-denial, will hardly require to be insisted on.

“It is well understood that there are certain seasons, of which it has usually been recommended to Europeans to take advantage, on making a voyage to countries situated within the tropics. These seasons as applied to the whole, though subject from local causes to frequent variation, must generally



rally be considered to be comprehended within the time of the year when the violence of the heat is somewhat mitigated, and during the absence of the periodical rains. A sudden exposure to either extreme often proves fatal to the stranger, and should, if possible, be cautiously avoided. The night dews which at most seasons are very prolific, are not less baneful; and until the sun has gained some ascendancy to disperse the unwholesome vapours these create, the morning in many situations has little healthful or agreeable to recommend it. Under the head of precaution, therefore, a proper adaptation of clothing to meet the vicissitudes alluded to, should, it is presumed, engage a due share of regard. This is a matter, however, that observation may have discovered to be less considered by the people of our own country than by those of any other. An Englishman in this respect is most pertinacious, and would perhaps rather surrender some portion of his health and convenience than any part of his accustomed habit. Not so the Frenchman, the Spaniard, or even the inflexible Dutchman, who, within the tropics, finds occasion for fewer pairs of breeches than he had in the Texel.

“The doctrine of temperance has seldom obtained admission in the warmer regions; nor have the advocates for it in such situations often been regarded with extraordinary deference. Yet it is quite probable, that few could be found, even in the indulgence of an opposite system, who would not afford assent to a theory although at some variance with their prac-

tice. With regard to living, therefore little can be said; indeed it would be useless to say much on a subject in which inclination has been discovered so much too powerful for suggestion. And as it becomes in some shape unavoidable, to use a familiar phrase, to live well, the meaning of which might possibly be found in its opposite, even in this respect some direction may be salutary.—To avoid all repasts but such as are denominated regular, for the appetite participating in the share of languor brought on the system by the effect of climate, may be too much disposed, if not early restrained, to seek its gratification at unequal intervals, a matter in which health is more concerned than at first may be conceived, and that at once leads to the consideration of another thing which is closely attendant on it. To prefer at all times the use of wine to that of spirits, and if the latter must be taken, on no account to omit a scrupulous adherence to three things—namely, time, quantity, and quality. Of the first it may certainly be pronounced, that any inattention towards it commonly involves an indifference with regard to the rest; and the indiscriminate or early drinking has, without question, contributed quite as powerfully as the climate, or any other cause, to render the greater part of our colonies uncongenial to the existence of Europeans.

“Before quitting this subject, it may not be wholly irrelevant to offer a few further remarks, from which it is conjectured some advantage may likewise be derived. First, to fortify the mind as strongly as possible against impressions of



of the interruption health may sustain in the change that has been undertaken. And, although regarding the recital of many of the feats of Death as tales for the nursery, not to indulge a belief by a too emboldened conduct, that no such personage stalks the earth. Secondly, no circumstance being more evident, than that the body is greatly dependant on the mind for the share of health it enjoys——

Mens sana in corpore sano —

to consider, if this maxim holds generally, that it will be found to apply with increased force in remote and unhealthy countries; where much is new, and to many, where all is unpromising; where habits and association become entirely dissimilar, and which are seldom found, with all the novelty they possess, sufficiently powerful to obliterate the anxiety and regret that is felt for that which has been resigned. This is the Promethean vulture that must not fasten on its victim if the force of philosophy can prevent it.

“ It is, possibly, from the indulgence of feelings like the above—from a sensibility which broods gloomily on the past—that much arises to embitter the present; and that, in its despondent effects, will seldom allow any thing to be placed on the future. This is the last and most dangerous state of this mental affection, which not unfrequently fixes the sufferer in a confirmed state of hypochondria, a *tedium vitæ*, that no relief but sudden change of situation and restoration to former scenes, can ever reach.”

The *amusements* of this settlement are few.

“ Christmas, however, is the season that in this country usually brings all ranks together; the bond and the free; and the hilarity which prevails amongst the former order cannot possibly be more largely partaken of by any beings in the world. The young, the old, even the maimed, and the decrepit, all unite in contributing to render this period joyous and happy; it may be added, and noisy!

“ The morning of Christmas-day is invariably ushered in by the discharging of small-arms in every direction, every thing now from established custom being free and unrestrained; and the master's house (where the festivity commences), and whatever it contains, is now open to all. The members of the several African tribes, again met together after a long separation, now form themselves into different groups, and nothing can more forcibly denote their respective casts of national character than their music, songs, and dances. The convulsive rapid movements of some, and the affectedly reluctant steps of others, appear inconceivably ludicrous; whilst the occasional bursts of loud chorus, with which all are animated, contribute greatly to heighten the singularity of the entertainment.

“ The endurance of the negroes during the period of their holidays, which usually last a week, is incredible. Few of them are known to take any portion of rest for the whole time; and for the same space they seldom know an interval of sobriety. It is the single season of relaxation granted to their condition; that it should be partaken of immoderately



rately may therefore appear not altogether so extraordinary.

“At this season water sports are also common, and *Dory racing* affords a very general amusement; and on these occasions large sums are freely betted both by owners and slaves. This species of diversion has no small share of utility attached to it, as it contributes to render the latter highly expert in a kind of exercise that is inseparably connected with the labour in which they are principally engaged.

“The *Dory* is usually formed of mahogany or cedar, generally from a solid piece; its length is from 25 to 50 feet; and so buoyant and safe is this sort of vessel found, that persons accustomed to the management of it often fearlessly venture out to sea in it, and in weather when it might be unsafe to trust to vessels of much larger kind. It is worked with paddles instead of oars, and the fastest and best manned rowing boats have universally failed in a competition with it, and the negro paddlers of Honduras.

“The *Pit-pan* is another water vehicle much used in this country, and for celerity is preferred to the former; but this can only be employed in smooth water. It is formed of the same materials, the shape alone constituting the difference—the *Pit-pan* being flat-bottomed, the *Dory* round. Much taste is displayed by all orders in fitting out both these conveyances; and as they afford the only opportunities of travelling in this country, every expedient is resorted to to render them pleasant and commodious. They are commonly furnished with capacious awnings,

hung round with curtains to defend the passenger from the sun by day and the dews of night; precautions that are extremely necessary; for in journeying to the distant mahogany works, an abode for some time must frequently be taken up in them, and when any exposure in an unhealthy climate might be attended with evil consequences.”

In giving the natural history of this settlement, Captain Henderson has evinced uncommon minuteness and accuracy; and the naturalist will meet with numerous interesting varieties in the different kingdoms. The remainder of the volume is occupied with an account of the manners, customs, and country of the Mosquito Indians, and terminates with a meteorological table kept at Balize in the bay of Honduras.

We have dwelt the longer on this little volume, not merely on account of the importance of the British settlement to which it relates, but also because it brings before the English reader a variety of curious and valuable information, in an unassuming, yet agreeable manner. We cordially recommend the work to the attention of our readers.

*The History of Brazil; by Robert Southey, Part 1. 4to.*

There are few provinces in literature, which Mr. Southey has not successfully invaded: of his poetical talents our present volume contains some brilliant specimens; and most of our readers, we apprehend, are well acquainted with the



the versatile powers of his creative fancy. We have to consider him as the historian of an interesting portion of the globe, concerning which we have hitherto received but little authentic information.

Although Mr. Southey's work professes to be a *History of Brazil*, "something more than the title promises, is comprised in the present work. It relates the foundation and progress of the adjacent Spanish provinces, the affairs of which are in latter times inseparably connected with those of Brazil. The subject may therefore be considered as including the whole tract of country between the rivers Plata, Paraguay, and Orellana, or the Amazons, and extending eastward towards Peru, as far as the Portuguese have extended their settlements or their discoveries."

Before we proceed in an account of this volume, it may be proper to observe that Mr. S. has diligently availed himself of every authentic information which he could procure; and, by a careful comparison of his materials, has produced a highly interesting publication.

Mr. Southey thus states the nature of his undertaking: "The history of Brazil is less beautiful than that of the mother country, and less splendid than that of the Portuguese in Asia; but it is not less important than either. Its materials differ from those of other histories: here are no tangles of crooked policy to unravel, no mysteries of state iniquity to elucidate, no revolutions to record, nor victories to celebrate, the fame of which remains among us long after their effects have past away.

Discovered by chance, and long left to chance, it is by individual industry and enterprize, and by the operation of the common laws of nature and society, that this empire has risen and flourished, extensive as it now is, and mighty as it must one day become. In the course of its annals, disgust and anger will oftener be felt than those exalted feelings, which it is more grateful for the historian to excite. I have to speak of savages so barbarous that little sympathy can be felt for any sufferings which they endured, and of colonists in whose triumphs no joy will be taken, because they added avarice to barbarity; ignoble men, carrying on an obscure warfare, the consequences of which have been greater than were produced by the conquests of Alexander or Charlemagne, and will be far more lasting. Even the few higher characters which appear have obtained no fame beyond the limits of their own religion, scarcely beyond those of their language. Yet has the subject its advantages: the discovery of extensive regions; the manners and superstitions of uncivilized tribes; the efforts of missionaries, in whom zeal the most fanatical was directed by the coolest policy; the rise and the overthrow of the extraordinary dominion which they established; and the progress of Brazil from its feeble beginnings, to the importance which it now possesses, these are topics of no ordinary interest."

Brazil was accidentally discovered seven years after the first voyage of Columbus. Vicente Yanez Pinzon, who had accom-

panied



panied that celebrated navigator, obtained a commission for himself and his nephew Arias, to go in search of new countries, and to trade in any which Columbus had not previously appropriated. In Dec. 1499, they set sail with four caravals from the port of Palos, and were driven by storms from the Cape de Verd islands to Cape St. Augustin's on the Brazil coast, on Jan. 26, 1500. They landed and took possession of the country for the crown of Castile. Proceeding thence, they coasted round northwards to the country of Maranham, and the mouth of the vast river Amazon. But before Pinzon could return to Europe, a fleet was fitted out at Lisbon, under the command of Pedro Alvarez Cabral. Its destination was for the East Indies, but being driven out of its course by a tempest he arrived on the coast of Brazil three months only after Pinzon had first discovered it. Cabral took possession of the country in the name of the crown of Portugal, and called it Santa Cruz, which name however was, in a few years, merged in that of Brazil, by which this territory is still known, though no satisfactory etymology has hitherto been assigned for such appellation.

Cabral was soon followed by the celebrated navigator Amerigo Vespucci; to whom the honour is due of having formed the first settlement in the country. "It does not appear that any farther attention was at this time paid to it. No gold had been found, and it produced no articles of commerce which could be thought worthy the notice of a government, whose coffers were overflowing with the

produce of the spice trade, and the riches of the African mines. But the cargo of Brazil which Vespucci had brought home, tempted private adventurers, who were content with peaceful gains, to trade thither for that valuable wood; and this trade became so well known, that in consequence the coast and the whole country obtained the name of Brazil, notwithstanding the holier appellation which Cabral had given it. Parrots and monkeys also were brought home for the ladies. It was convenient for these traders to have agents living among the natives, and adventurers would not be wanting who would willingly take up their abode with friendly savages, in a plentiful and delightful country, where they were under no restraint. These were not the only colonists. Portugal had taken possession of Brazil, and meant to maintain it. It was the system of the Portuguese government to make its criminals of some use to the state; a wise system if wisely regulated; in that kingdom it obviously arose from the smallness of its territory, and lack of population to support its extensive plans of ambition. Hitherto they had been degraded to the African frontier, and more recently to India also. In these situations they certainly served the state; yet this service was not without heavy disadvantages. The usual offences which were thus punished, were those of blood and violence: ferocious propensities, which were not likely to be corrected by placing the offenders in situations where they might indulge them with impunity, and consider the indulgence as meritorious.



torious. This system was immediately extended to Brazil:—the first Europeans who were left ashore there were two convicts. In Africa or in India the exile was sent to bear arms with his countrymen, who would not regard him as disgraced, because they were obliged to associate with him. To be degraded to Brazil was a heavier punishment; the chance of war could not enrich him there, and there was no possibility of returning home with honour for any signal service. They were in one point of view better disposed of, inasmuch as in new colonies ordinary men are of greater value than they can be elsewhere,---but they became worse subjects. Their numbers bore a greater proportion to the better settlers; and they were therefore more likely to be encouraged in iniquity than reformed by example; to communicate evil than to learn good. Their intercourse with the savages produced nothing but mischief: each made the other worse; the cannibals acquired new means of destruction, and the Europeans new modes of barbarity. The Europeans were weaned from that human horror at the bloody feasts of the savages, which ruffians as they were, they had at first felt, and the natives lost that awe and veneration for a superior race which might have been improved so greatly to their own advantage.”

“The first settler in Bahia was Diogo Alvarez; who with that spirit of enterprize which was then common among his countrymen, embarked to seek his fortune in strange countries. He was wrecked upon the shoals on

the north of the bar of Bahia. Part of the crew were lost, others escaped this death to suffer one more dreadful: the natives seized and eat them. Diogo saw that there was no other possible chance of saving his life, than by making himself as useful as possible to these cannibals. He therefore exerted himself in recovering things from the wreck, and by these exertions succeeded in conciliating their favour. Among other things he was fortunate enough to get on shore some barrels of powder and a musket, which he put in order at his first leisure, after his masters were returned to their village; and one day when the opportunity was favourable, brought down a bird before them. The women and children shouted Caramuru! Caramuru! which signified a man of fire! and they cried out that he would destroy them; but he told the men, whose astonishment had less of fear mingled with it, that he would go with them to war and kill their enemies. Caramuru, was the name which from thenceforward he was known by. They marched against the Tapuyas; the fame of this dreadful engine went before them, and the Tapuyas fled. From a slave Caramuru became a sovereign. The chiefs of the savages thought themselves happy if he would accept their daughters to be his wives; he fixed his abode upon the spot where Villa Velha was afterwards erected, and soon saw as numerous a progeny as an old patriarch's rising round him. The best families in Bahia trace their origin to him.

“At length a French vessel came into the bay, and Diogo resolved



to take that opportunity of once more seeing his native country. He loaded her with brazil, and embarked with his favourite wife Paraguazu,—the Great River. The others could not bear this abandonment, though it was only to be for a time; some of them swam after the ship in hopes of being taken on board, and one followed it so far, that before she could reach the shore again her strength failed her and she sunk. They were received with signal honour at the court of France. Paraguazu was baptized by the name of Catharina Alvarez, after the Queen, and the King and Queen were her sponsors. Her marriage was then celebrated. Diogo would fain have proceeded to Portugal, but the French would not permit him to go there. These honours which they had shown him were not to be gratuitous, and they meant to make him of use to them in his own dominions. By means however of Pedro Fernandez Sardinha (then a young man who had just completed his studies in Paris, and afterwards the first bishop of Brazil) he sent the information to Joam III. which he was not permitted to carry, and exhorted him to colonize the delightful province in which his lot had been so strangely cast. After some time he covenanted with a wealthy merchant to take him back, and leave him the artillery and ammunition of two ships, with store of such things as were useful for traffic with the natives, in return for which he undertook to load both vessels with brazil. The bargain was fairly performed, and Diogo having returned to his

territories, fortified his little capital.

“But the Portuguese government, wholly occupied with the affairs of India, thought little of a country in which, whatever profits were to be acquired, must come from agriculture, not from commerce with the inhabitants; for commerce was what they sought as eagerly as the Spaniards hunted for gold. Brazil was left open like a common, and all the care which the court bestowed upon it was to prevent the French from trespassing there, by representations of their ambassador at Paris, that were never regarded, and by treating them as enemies whenever they met them. Individuals meantime being thus left to themselves, settled in the harbours and islands along the coast; and little towns and villages were growing up.”

We shall not trouble our readers with the dates or succession of the other different settlements, or the particulars of their first founders: for these we refer them to the work itself, which will amply repay the perusal. It may be observed however, that thirty years elapsed after the discovery and settlement of Brazil, before the Portuguese government bestowed any serious attention on its colonies in the western world. At length, this country became of sufficient importance “to obtain some consideration at court, and in order to forward its colonization, the same plan was adopted which had succeeded well in Madeira, and in the Azores,—that of dividing it into hereditary captaincies, and granting them to such persons as were willing to embark



embark adequate means in the adventure, with powers of jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, so extensive as to be in fact unlimited. This method was thought to be the easiest, and least expensive to government. The difference between desert islands and a peopled continent, had not been considered. The captains of the islands might easily settle lands in which there could be no opposition, and easily at any time assist each other with supplies; if the means failed they could even borrow from Portugal, those places being so near that they were regarded almost as things within the country. But when Joam divided the coast of Brazil into great captaincies, each extending along fifty leagues of coast, large tribes of savages were in possession of the country; Portugal was far distant, and the settlements so far asunder, that one could not possibly afford assistance to another."

The consequences of this injudicious plan were such as might easily have been foreseen. Numbers of the grantees were ruined by the expenses of fitting out, while many others found themselves unable to maintain their widely extended properties against the disadvantages incident to their situation; and all of them, with the view of repairing their exhausted fortunes, and making the most of their dearly purchased estates in the least possible period, adopted and exercised a system of the most vexatious tyranny over their subject settlers. The governor of every captaincy exercised uncontrolled authority; the property, honour, and lives of

the colonists were at the mercy of their lords; and the people groaned under their intolerable oppression. At length their complaints reached the king; who, in 1549, revoked the *powers* of the several captains, leaving them in the possession of their *proprietary grants*; and constituted Don Thome de Sousa, governor-general, with vice-regal authority. For this high and important situation he was every way qualified: he founded the city of St. Salvador in the Bay of All Saints, in April 1549, and took out with him six Jesuits, as missionaries for the conversion and civilization of the Brazilians.

Previously to his narrating this event, Mr. Southey, in conformity with the plan announced in his preface, has interrupted the series of his history of Brazil, in order to give minute and highly interesting details of the discovery of the river Plata, of the first settlements formed on its banks, by the Spaniards, and also on the banks of the rivers Paraguay and Parana. In these details our limits forbid us to follow him; as well as in his interesting account of the voyage of Orellana down the river of Amazons, for which we must refer the reader to Mr. Southey's volume.

We now return to the principal object of this work—the History of Brazil. It will be recollected that Don Thome de Sousa took out with him a small number of Jesuits: these had difficulties to encounter of no common kind, with a savage race of cannibals; yet, notwithstanding the impediments that lay in their way, they did succeed in civilizing the barbarians



barians by methods which cannot fail to command our esteem. On this interesting topic Mr. Southey shall speak for himself.

“They began by winning the affections of the children, giving them store of trifling presents; by this sort of intercourse they acquired some use of the language themselves, and soon qualified these little ones for interpreters. They visited the sick, and when they believed that every one they sprinkled at the hour of death was a soul rescued from the devil, the charitable services which accompanied such conversions were not lost upon the living. The Portuguese on their arrival in Brazil, had been welcomed by the natives as friends: but when the original possessors of the land perceived that their guests were becoming their masters, they took up arms, suspended their internal quarrels, and attempted to expel them. European fire-arms repulsed them, and European policy soon broke their short-lived union. But even peace with the Portuguese settlers afforded them no security; when it is permitted to reduce enemies to slavery, no friends can be secure. It was in vain that humane edicts were enacted in Portugal; while the atrocious principle is acknowledged, that man can by any circumstances lawfully be considered as the slave of man, all edicts and all formalities will be ineffectual protections against violence and avarice. Many tribes were in arms against this oppression when the Jesuits arrived; won first by the first report that men were come who were the friends and protectors of the Indians, and af-

terwards by experiencing their good offices, they brought their bows to the governor, and solicited to be received as allies.

“These missionaries were every way qualified for their office. They were zealous for the salvation of souls; they had disengaged themselves from all the ties which attach us to life, and were therefore not merely fearless of martyrdom, but ambitious of it; they believed the idolatry which they taught, and were themselves persuaded that the sprinkling a dying savage, and repeating over him a form of words which he did not understand, they redeemed him from everlasting torments, to which he was otherwise inevitably, and according to their notions of divine justice, justly destined. Nor can it be doubted that they sometimes worked miracles upon the sick; for when they believed that the patient might be miraculously cured, and he himself expected that he should be so, faith would supply the virtue in which it trusted.

“Nobrega and his companions began to work with those hordes who were sojourning in the vicinity of St. Salvador; they persuaded them to live in peace, they reconciled old enemies, they succeeded in preventing drunkenness, and in making them promise to be contented with one wife; but the cannibalism they could not overcome: the delight of feasting upon the flesh of their enemies was too great to be relinquished. All efforts at abolishing this accursed custom were in vain. One day they heard the uproar and rejoicing of the savages at one of these sacrifices; they made way into the  
area,



area just when the prisoner had been felled, and the old women were dragging his body to the fire; they forced the body from them, and in the presence of the whole clan, who stood astonished at their courage, carried it off. The women soon roused the warriors to revenge this insult, and by the time the Fathers had secretly interred the corpse, the savages were in search of them. The governor received timely intelligence, and sent in haste to call the Jesuits from the mud hovel which they inhabited, upon the spot whereon their magnificent college was afterwards erected. When the savages had searched here in vain, they were on the point of attacking the city; the governor was obliged to call out his whole force, and partly by the display of fire-arms, and partly by fair words, he induced them to retire. This danger over, the Portuguese themselves began an outcry against the Jesuits, saying, that their frantic zeal had endangered the city, and would soon make all the natives their enemies. Thome de Sousa, however, was not to be deterred by any such shortsighted policy from protecting and encouraging Nobrega: and it was not long before these very savages, remembering the true kindness which they had always experienced from the Jesuits, and that those fathers were indeed the friends of the Indians, came to solicit their forgiveness, and beseech the governor that he would command the fathers to forgive them, and visit them as before; and they promised not to repeat these feasts. But the practice was too delightful to be laid aside at once, and

they continued it secretly. When the Fathers had obtained sufficient authority over them to make themselves feared, they employed the children as spies to inform against offenders.

“One of the Jesuits succeeded in effectually abolishing it among some clans by going through them and flogging himself before their doors till he was covered with blood, telling them he thus tormented himself to avert the punishment which God would otherwise inflict upon them for this crying sin. They could not bear this, confessed what they had done was wrong, and enacted punishment against any person who should again be guilty. With other hordes the Fathers thought themselves fortunate in obtaining permission to visit the prisoners and instruct them in the saving faith, before they were put to death. But the savages soon took a conceit that the water of baptism spoilt the taste of the meat, and therefore would not let them baptize any more. The Jesuits then carried with them wet handkerchiefs, or contrived to wet the skirt or sleeve of their habit, that out of it they might squeeze water enough upon the victim's head to fulfil the condition of salvation, without which they were persuaded that eternal fire must have been his portion. What will not man believe, if he can believe this of his Maker!

“If the missionaries, overcoming all difficulties, succeeded in converting a clan at last, that conversion was so little the effect of reason or feeling, that any slight circumstance would induce the proselytes to relapse into their old paganism.



paganism. An epidemic disorder appeared among them; they said it was occasioned by the water of baptism, and all the converts whom Nobrega and his fellow labourers had with such difficulty collected, would have deserted them and fled into the woods, if he had not pledged his word that the malady should cease. Luckily for him it was effectually cured by bleeding, a remedy to which they were unaccustomed. Some time afterwards a cough and catarrh cut off many of them: this also was attributed to baptism. The Jesuits themselves did not ascribe greater powers to this ceremony than they did; whatever calamity betel them was readily accounted for by these drops of mysterious water. Many tribes have supposed it fatal to children,—the eagerness with which the missionaries baptize the dying, and especially new born infants who are not likely to live, has occasioned this notion. The neighbouring hordes now began to regard the Jesuits with horror, as men who carried pestilence with them: if one was seen approaching, the whole clan assembled, and burnt pepper and salt in his way;—a fumigation which they believed good against plagues and evil spirits, and to keep death from entering among them. Some, when they saw them coming, carried away all their goods, and forsook their habitations; others came out trembling, say the Fathers, like leaves of a tree which is shaken by the wind, entreating them to pass on, and hurt them not, and showing them the way forward. The *Payes*, as may be well supposed, used every effort against these persons who

were to come to spoil their trade, and they persuaded the Indians that they put knives, scissars, and such things in their insides, and so destroyed them; a belief in this kind of witchcraft seems to have prevailed every where. The farther the Jesuits advanced into the country, the stronger did they find this impression of fear. But it yielded to their perseverance, and the superstition of the natives led them into the opposite extreme; they brought out their provisions to be blest, and waited to receive their benediction wherever they were expected to pass.

“When the Jesuits succeeded, they made the converts erect a church in the village, which, however rude, fixed them to the spot; and they established a school for the children, whom they catechised in their own language, and instructed to repeat the *Pater-noster* over the sick: every recovery which happened after this had been done, both they and the patient accounted a miracle. They taught them also to read and write, using, says Nobrega, the same persuasion as that wherewith the enemy overcame man; ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil; for this knowledge appeared wonderful to them, and they eagerly desired to attain it; good proof how easily such a race might have been civilized. Aspicueta was the aptest scholar among the missionaries; he was the first who made a catechism in the Tupi tongue, and translated prayers into it. When he became sufficiently master of the language to express himself in it with fluency and full power, he then adopted the manner of the *Payes* and



and sung out the mysteries of the faith, running round the auditors, stamping his feet, clapping his hands, and copying all the tones and gesticulations by which they were wont to be affected. Nobrega had a school near the city, where he instructed the native children, the orphans from Portugal, and the Mestizos or mixed breed, here called *Mamaluços*. Reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught them: they were trained to assist at mass, and to sing the church service, and frequently led in procession through the town. This had a great effect, for the natives were passionately fond of music, so passionately that Nobrega began to hope the fable of Orpheus was a type of his mission, and that by songs he was to convert the pagans of Brazil. He usually took with him four or five of these little choristers on his preaching expeditions; when they approached an inhabited place, one carried the crucifix before them, and they began singing the Litany. The savages, like snakes, were won by the voice of the charmer; they received him joyfully, and when he departed with the same ceremony, the children followed the music. He set the catechism, creed, and ordinary prayers to *sol fa*; and the pleasure of learning to sing was such a temptation, that the little Tupis sometimes ran away from their parents to put themselves under the care of the Jesuits."

In the remainder of this volume Mr. Southey details with much minuteness the invasion of Brazil by the Dutch, in 1623, and the sanguinary wars that succeeded down to the year 1640. In the

course of these wars, the Dutch committed the most atrocious cruelties, the recital of which would scarcely command our credit, if their conduct towards the English at Amboyna did not prove them to be capable of any crime that would subserve their interest.

In a note (p. 638, 639.) on a passage, which investigates the language of the Brazilian tribes, and their modes and powers of reckoning, we meet with a severe, yet not unfair critique on the celebrated historian Dr. Robertson.

"The Orinoco tribes count as far as five, then proceed to five-one, five-two, as far as two fives, and so on to four fives. This is digitary numeration. It is remarkable how far the Achaguas carry it. With them, *Abacaje* means five, and the fingers of one hand; *Tuca macaje*, ten, or all the fingers; *Abacarytacay*, twenty, or all the fingers and toes; *Incha matacacay*, forty, or two persons' complement; and so, says Gumilla, (c. 48.) they can go on to 2000, 6000, and 10,000 fingers in a jargon, which by dint of labour and attention, may be understood at last.

"In some of the South Sea islands also six is five-one, &c. Numeration naturally proceeds by fives,—the number of fingers on one hand; tens,—the fingers on both; or twenties,—the fingers and toes.

"Herrera (4. 10. 4.) describes a curious mode of arithmetic in Yucatan. They count, he says, by fives, till they come to twenty, and then by twenties as far as a hundred, then to 400, and then to 8000, and from thence to infinity.—This numeration which is not



not very clearly explained by Herrera, is founded on fives, for small numbers, scores, and five scores, or 100,—then for larger numbers, they use twenties as we use tens; thus 20 times 20 is 400, 20 times 400 is 8000, and so on. A friend of mine, better acquainted with such subjects than I am, tells me it is the only specimen he has met with, of vigesimal numeration. Our score is the nearest similitude.

“When Pauw reasoned upon the ignorance of the Americans in numbers, did he suppress this remarkable fact, or was he ignorant of it? The same question is applicable to Dr. Robertson, who on this, and many other subjects, in what he calls his History of America, is guilty of such omissions, and consequent misrepresentations, as to make it certain either that he had not read some of the most important documents to which he refers, or that he did not chuse to notice the facts which are to be found there, because they were not in conformity to his own preconceived opinions. A remarkable example occurs respecting a circulating medium; when he mentions the cacao nuts, which were used as money in Mexico, and says ‘this seems to be the utmost length which the Americans had advanced towards the discovery of any expedient for supplying the use of money.’ Now, it is said by Cortes himself, that when he was about to make cannon, he had copper enough, but wanted tin; and having bought up all the plates and pots, which he could find among the soldiers, he began to inquire among the natives. He then found, that in the province

of Tachco, little pieces of tin, like thin coin, were used for money, there and in other places. And this led him to a discovery of the mines from whence it was taken. These are the words of the Spanish,—*Quiso nuestro Senor, que tiene cuidado y siempre lo ha tenido, de proveer en la mayor priesa, que tope entre los Naturales de una Provincia que se dice Tachco, ciertas Pececuelas de ello, a manera de Moneda muy delgada, y procediendo por mi pesquisa halle, que en lo dicha Provincia, y aun en otras, se trataba por moneda.* Carta, 4 § 17. Barcia, t. 1. p. 149.

“Thereputation of this author must rest upon his History of Scotland,—if that can support it. His other works are grievously deficient.”

Such a criticism, as this of Mr. Southey, on a writer whose works have so long delighted the public, deserves to be made known, especially as Mr. S. has travelled over nearly the same ground.

From the preceding extracts, as well as from our incidental observations, the reader may easily infer our opinion of Mr. Southey's volume. The *present* interest, which, as a commercial nation, we take in the affairs of Portugal and of her colonies, will justify our extended account of the “History of Brazil.” Though defaced by occasional quaintness of style, it combines such a variety of well selected and authentic information, that we shall be happy to resume our account of Mr. Southey's historical labors in a future volume of our register.



*The Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan in Asia, Africa, and Europe, during the years 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, and 1803; written by himself in the Persian Language. Translated by Charles Stewart, Esq. 8vo. 2 vols.*

It is not uncommon for Europeans to describe the manners, customs, productions, &c. of oriental countries; but a *genuine* account of European manners, customs, and governments, by an Asiatic, is indeed rare in the annals of literature. Independently of the circumstance that the author was well known in the highest and most respectable circles during his residence in England, the work bears intrinsic marks of authenticity; and its fidelity and genuineness are further guaranteed to us by the name and situation of the translator, who is professor of oriental languages in the hon. East India Company's college, at Hertford.

The author commences his work with an account of his family and pursuits, previously to his leaving India. At Calcutta, he embarked for England; he stopped at the Cape, afterwards at St. Helena, and proceeded to Cork; whence he departed for Dublin. In this city he continued for some time, and has given an interesting account of the metropolis of Ireland; his remarks on the Irish character are marked with much discrimination.

"The greater proportion of them are Roman Catholics, or followers of the religion of the pope. Their churches are however built in the same form as those of the English,

whom they call dissenters or philosophers (*i. e.* Deists or Atheists.)

"They are not so intolerant as the English, neither have they the austerity and bigotry of the Scotch. In bravery and determination, hospitality and prodigality, freedom of speech and open-heartedness, they surpass the English and Scotch, but are deficient in prudence and sound judgment; they are nevertheless witty, and quick of comprehension. Thus my landlady and her children soon comprehended my broken English; and what I could not explain by language, they understood by signs: nay, before I had been a fortnight in their house, they could even understand my disfigured translations of Persian poetry. When I was about to leave them, and proceed on my journey, many of my friends appeared much affected, and said: "With your little knowledge of the language, you will suffer much distress in England; for the people there will not give themselves any trouble to comprehend your meaning, or to make themselves useful to you." In fact after I had resided for a whole year in England, and could speak the language a hundred times better than on my first arrival, I found much more difficulty in obtaining what I wanted, than I did in Ireland.

In Dublin, if I happened to lose my way, and inquired it of any person, he would, immediately on perceiving I was a foreigner, quit his work, and accompany me to the place where I wished to go. One night, as I was going to pay a visit at a considerable distance, I asked a man which was the road.

He



He immediately accompanied me; and when we arrived at a particular spot, I knew where we were, and having thanked him for the trouble he had taken, said I was now perfectly acquainted with the remainder of the road, and begged he would not return home. He would not consent; but, after we had gone some distance further I insisted upon his leaving me, otherwise I should relinquish my visit. He apparently complied, but I could perceive, that, from his great care of me, he still followed. Being arrived at the door of my friend's house, I waited for some time, that I might again have an opportunity of thanking him; but as soon as he saw that I had reached a place of security, he turned round, and went towards home.

“The Irish, by reason of their liberality and prodigality, seldom have it in their power to assist their friends in pecuniary matters: they are generally in straitened circumstances themselves, and therefore cannot, or do not aim at the comforts and elegance of the English: neither do they take pains to acquire riches and honours like the Scotch, by limiting their expenses when in the receipt of good incomes, and paying attention to the Great. In consequence of this want of prudence, they seldom attain to high dignities, and but few of them, comparatively, make much progress in science.

“Their great national defect, however, is excess in drinking. The rich expend a vast deal in wine; and the common people consume immense quantities of a

fiery spirit, called whisky, which is the peculiar manufacture of this country and part of Scotland.

“One evening that I dined in a large company, we sat down to table at six o'clock: the master of the house immediately commenced asking us to drink wine, and under various pretences replenished our glasses; but perceiving that I was backward in emptying mine, he called for two water glasses, and having filled them with claret, insisted upon my taking up one of them. After the table-cloth was removed, he first drank the health of the King, then of the Queen: after which he toasted a number of beautiful young ladies with whom I was acquainted, none of which I dared to refuse. Thus the time passed till two o'clock in the morning; and we had been sitting for eight hours: he then called to his servants to bring a fresh supply of wine. Although I was so much intoxicated that I could scarcely walk, yet on hearing this order, I was so frightened, that I arose and requested permission to retire. He said he was sorry I should think of going away so soon; that he wished I would stay supper, after which we might have a bottle or two more by ourselves. I had heard from Englishmen, that the Irish, after they get drunk at table, quarrel, and kill each other in duels; but I must declare, that I never saw them guilty of any rudeness, or of the smallest impropriety.”

From Dublin, Abu Taleb crossed over to England, where he remained a considerable time, and had abundant scope for acute observation.



servation. His descriptions of the buildings, manners, customs, amusements, manufactories, &c. of London and the chief provincial towns are marked with singular accuracy. We regret that our limits prohibit the extraction of some passages that are not more amusing than they are correct as delineations of the then passing scenes. It would, however, be unfair to our country-women, not to mention that their beauty and accomplishments left an impression on our traveller, which no European or Asiatic beauties could efface.

The 19th and 20th chapters are appropriated to a specification of what the author deems the virtues and vices of the English. The whole passage is too long for quotation; yet we cannot withhold the following extract from our readers.

“The first and greatest defect I observed in the English, is their want of faith in religion, and their great inclination to philosophy (atheism). The effects of these principles, or rather want of principle, is very conspicuous in the lower orders of people, who are totally devoid of honesty. They are indeed cautious how they transgress against the laws, from fear of punishment; but whenever an opportunity offers of purloining any thing, without the risk of detection, they never pass it by. They are also ever on the watch to appropriate to themselves the property of the rich, who, on this account, are obliged constantly to keep their doors shut, and never to permit an unknown person to enter them. At present, owing to the vigilance of the magistrates, the severity of the laws, and the ho-

nour of the superior classes of people, no very bad consequences are to be apprehended; but if ever such nefarious practices should become prevalent, and should creep in among the higher classes, inevitable ruin must ensue.

“The second defect, most conspicuous in the English character, is pride or insolence. Puffed up with their power and good fortune for the last fifty years, they are not apprehensive of adversity, and take no pains to avert it. Thus when the people of London, some time ago, assembled in mobs, on account of the great increase of taxes and high price of provisions, and were nearly in a state of insurrection,—although the magistrates, by their vigilance in watching them, and by causing parties of soldiers to patrol the streets day and night, to disperse all persons whom they saw assembling together, succeeded in quieting the disturbance,—yet no pains were afterwards taken to eradicate the evil. Some of the men in power said, it had been merely a plan of the artificers to obtain higher wages (an attempt frequently made by the English tradesmen); others were of opinion that no remedy could be applied; therefore no further notice was taken of the affair. All this, I say, betrays a blind confidence, which, instead of meeting the danger and endeavouring to prevent it, waits till the misfortune arrives, and then attempts to remedy it. Such was the case with the late King of France, who took no step to oppose the Revolution, till it was too late. This self-confidence is to be found more or less in every Englishman: it however differs much



much from the pride of the Indians and Persians.

“ Their third defect is a passion for acquiring money, and their attachment to worldly affairs. Although these bad qualities are not so reprehensible in them, as in countries more subject to the vicissitudes of fortune—because, in England, property is so well protected by the laws, that every person reaps the fruits of his industry, and in his old age, enjoys the earnings or economy of his youth; yet sordid and illiberal habits are generally found to accompany avarice and parsimony, and, consequently, render the possessor of them contemptible: on the contrary, generosity, if it does not launch into prodigality, but is guided by the hand of prudence, will render man respected and esteemed.

The fourth of their frailties is a desire of ease, and a dislike to exertion: this however prevails only in a moderate degree, and bears no proportion to the apathy and indolence of the smokers of opium of Hindoostan and Constantinople; it only prevents them from perfecting themselves in science, and exerting themselves in the service of their friends, upon what they choose to call trivial occasions. I must, however remark, that friendship is much oftener cemented by acts of courtesy and good nature, than by conferring permanent obligations; the opportunities of doing which can seldom occur, whereas the former happen daily. In London I had sometimes occasion to trouble my friends to interpret for me, in the adjustment of my accounts with my landlord and others; but, in every

instance, I found that, rather than be at the trouble of stopping for five minutes longer, and saying a few words in my defence, they would yield to an unjust demand, and offer to pay the items I objected to, at their own expense: at the same time, an aversion to the employment of interpreter, or mediator, was so conspicuous in their countenance, that, latterly, I desisted from troubling them. In this respect I found the French much more courteous; for if, in Paris, the master of an hotel attempted to impose on me, the gentlemen present always interfered, and compelled him to do me justice.

“ Upon a cursory observation of the conduct of gentlemen in London, you would suppose they had a vast deal of business to attend to; whereas, nine out of ten, of those I was acquainted with at the west end of the town, had scarcely any thing to do. An hour or two immediately after breakfast may be allotted to business, but the rest of the day is devoted to visiting and pleasure. If a person calls on any of these gentlemen, it is more than probable he is told by the servant, his master is *not at home*; but this is merely an idle excuse, to avoid the visits of people, whose business they are either ignorant of, or do not wish to be troubled with. If the suppliant calls in the morning, and is by chance admitted to the master of the house, before he can tell half his story, he is informed, that it is now the hour of business, and a particular engagement in the city requires the gentleman's immediate attendance. If he calls later in the day, the gentleman



is just going out, to pay a visit of consequence, and therefore cannot be detained: but if the petitioner, unabashed by such checks, continues to relate his narrative, he is set down as a brute, and never again permitted to enter the doors. In this instance, I again say, that the French are greatly superior to the English; they are always courteous, and never betray those symptoms of impatience so conspicuous and reprehensible in the English character.

“Their fifth defect is nearly allied to the former, and is termed irritability of temper. This passion often leads them to quarrel with their friends and acquaintances, without any substantial cause. Of the bad effects of this quality, strangers seldom have much reason to complain; but, as society can only be supported by mutual forbearance, and sometimes shutting our eyes on the frailties or ignorance of our friends, it often causes animosities and disunion between the nearest relatives, and hurries the possessor into dilemmas whence he frequently finds it difficult to extricate himself.

“The sixth defect of the English is their throwing away their time, in sleeping, eating, and dressing: for, besides the necessary ablutions, they every morning shave, and dress their hair; then, to accommodate themselves to the fashion, they put on twenty-five different articles of dress: all this, except shaving, is repeated before dinner, and the whole of these clothes are again to be taken off at night: so that not less than two complete hours can be allowed on this account. One hour is expended at breakfast; three hours at din-

ner; and the three following hours are devoted to tea and the company of the ladies. Nine hours are given to sleep: so that there remain just six hours out of the twenty-four for visiting and business. If they are reproached with waste of time, they reply, “How is it to be avoided?” I answer them thus: “Curtail the number of your garments; render your dress simple; wear your beards; and give up less of your time to eating, drinking, and sleeping.”

“Their seventh defect is a luxurious manner of living, by which their wants are increased a hundred-fold. Observe their kitchens filled with various utensils; their rooms fitted up with costly furniture; their side-boards covered with plate; their tables loaded with expensive glass and china; their cellars stocked with wines from every quarter of the world; their parks abounding in game of various sorts; and their ponds stored with fish. All these expenses are incurred to pamper their appetites, which from long indulgence have gained such absolute sway over them, that a diminution of these luxuries would be considered, by many, as a serious misfortune. How unintelligible to them is the verse of one of their own Poets:

“Man wants but little here below,  
“Nor wants that little long.”

It is certain, that luxurious living generates many disorders, and is productive of various other bad consequences.”

Leaving England, Abu Taleb went to Paris, thence to Lyons, and Marseilles: from this port he embarked for Genoa, whence



he proceeded, successively to Genoa, Malta, Smyrna, and Constantinople. His views of the political state of Europe would do honour to a well informed European; and his sketches of foreign character are not less acute and instructive than those of our own country.

As we have given our author's free opinions on the English character and manners, the reader will be gratified by a few passages, by way of contrast, from his sketches of France, and of French customs.

"On arriving at Calais, after supper we got into a heavy coach called a *Diligence*, but which, from the tediousness of its motion, reminded me of a Hindoostany carriage drawn by oxen; and after three nights and two days of incessant travelling, we at length reached Paris. During the whole of this journey, the country was beautiful and highly cultivated; rich fields of corn were here and there divided by vineyards, or orchards of delicious fruit; rivulets of clear water crossed the road in various places, over which were constructed neat stone bridges; and every few miles we came to a populous town or village. In these respects, it appeared to me superior to England. The cows and other animals, were, however, thin and poor looking, and resembled those of India. The horses had the appearance of the Persian or Arabian breed, and better looking than the English, but, I was informed, were not near so good. It was on this journey I first observed oxen used in Europe to draw carriages. Many of the French dogs are exceedingly beautiful, and so small, that they

are carried by ladies under their arms, to prevent their being fatigued.

"The roads were very broad, level, and the sides were planted with rows of shady trees, which in the summer must be a great comfort to the traveller. Many of the towns are surrounded by walls, and have all the appearance of fortresses.

"The villages in France are exceedingly mean, and do not at all resemble their towns. I thought the female peasants very disgusting, both in their manners and their dress: the attire of the village girls in India, in comparison with these, is infinitely superior. The inns on the road were also execrable, and filthy to such a degree, that I could neither eat nor drink in them with any pleasure."

"In Paris, the coffee-houses are innumerable, but, in general, are very filthy; and, as many of the French smoke *segars* or *cheroots* in them at all hours of the day, they smell shockingly of tobacco. A person is also much annoyed by beggars at these places: they follow a gentleman into the room, and sometimes even take hold of his hand to move his compassion, or rather to tire him by their importunity: they are, however, content with a trifle, and will sometimes be satisfied by a piece of bread: to obtain this favour, they have frequently to contend with a surly rival, in the form of a large dog, whose filth is lying about in different parts of the room.

"I had been so long accustomed to English cookery, that during the whole of my residence in France and Italy, I could never relish their culinary process. Their roasted meats



meats are burned up, and retain not a drop of gravy: the boiled meats were also overdone, and quite stringy. The French are exceedingly fond of mixtures, that is, meat stewed with vegetables, and a great quantity of garlick, spices, &c. On this account I have frequently risen hungry from a table of thirty dishes, on the dressing of which much pains had been bestowed, and principally on my account. The only good dinners I ever ate in these countries were at the houses of English or Americans, who had taken pains to instruct their servants in the proper mode. Neither could I relish their pies or tarts, &c. as an inspection of their pastry-cooks' shops had prejudiced me strongly against them.

"I have before mentioned, that the exterior appearance of Paris is superior to London; so, in this respect, are their houses: they are very lofty, and have a great deal of gilding and finery about them; but, in the interior, they are not by any means so neatly or comfortably fitted up as the English houses.

"The pleasures of life depend much upon the attainment of three things:---1st, A clean comfortable, and private house, to reside in. For such a situation, a stranger in Paris may seek in vain. 2dly, Good eating and drinking. Of this pleasure I was deprived by the badness of their cookery. 3dly, A facility of procuring those things which are requisite for our comfort. The better classes of the inhabitants probably enjoy these means, but they are unattainable by a traveller.

"A lodging-house in Paris, which is probably eight stories high, and

contains fifty or sixty persons of both sexes, has only one entrance, and one yard. The noise and dirt made by such a crowd may be easily imagined. In these houses it is not customary to hang bells; and as the servants never think of visiting the rooms but once a day, that is, when they make the bed and bring up water, it becomes absolutely requisite for a person, who wishes for any comfort, to hire a servant of his own, to whom he is obliged to pay a guinea a week. In France, they seldom think of cleaning the grate, or fire-place; it is consequently a disgusting object; whereas, in England, I always thought it an ornament to the room, and a good coal fire more beautiful than a bouquet of flowers.

"In some of the streets of Paris, there are, at night, a few lamps, which yield a glimmering light, barely sufficient for a man of keen sight to find his way; and as the shopkeepers do not light up their windows as in London, the city has then a very sombre appearance. In those streets which have not lamps, you frequently see a lantern suspended from the roof of a house by a long rope, which, in the day-time, has a disgusting and mean appearance. The streets in Paris are not flagged on the sides, as in London; a rough pavement extends all the way across the street; and as the carriages drive up close to the doors, the foot-passengers are in constant danger of being driven over: on this account there is no pleasure in walking the streets of Paris, either by day or night.

"The French in general, and especially the Parisians, are extremely



tremely courteous, affable, and flattering. They never make use of the simple words Yes or No, but have always some circuitous phrase ready, expressive of the honour you confer, or their regret. In pointing out the road, or explaining any thing to a foreigner, they are indefatigable, and consider such conduct as a proof of their good breeding and humanity. You may call on a French gentleman at any hour, and relate to him your whole story twice over: he will listen with the greatest patience, and never betray a discontented look. How superior, in this respect, are they to the irritable and surly Englishmen! Whilst travelling, or when dining at French ordinaries, I was frequently surprised to see with what good humour the gentlemen put up with bad food, and worse wine; and whenever I complained, they took great pains to persuade me things were not so bad, and that the master of the house was not in fault."

"In a London coffee-house, if a gentleman calls for breakfast, the waiter will at once bring him all the requisites on a tray, and afterwards eggs or fruit, if called for. This he does to avoid running backward and forward, to which the English have a great objection. But in Paris, although the waiter perfectly knows by experience what articles are requisite, he will first bring the coffee, then the sugar, a third time the milk, and, before you can possibly breakfast, he must have made half a dozen trips to the bar. When a number of persons are assembled, such conduct causes the greatest con-

fusion, and a total want of all comfort.

"My barber in Paris used to bring with him a large copper basin, and a coarse cloth somewhat like the bags out of which the horses in India eat their corn. Having tied the latter under my chin, he then threw some water into the basin, and, with a piece of soap, having made a quantity of lather, he daubed it all over my face, neck, and breast, while he himself was wet up to the elbow; after which he commenced his operation of shaving. Disgusted with this mode, I asked him one day if he had ever been in England. He answered, that he had. "Then said I, "you must have seen that there the barbers carry only a small box, which contains both soap and brush, and a couple of razors, with which they can shave fifty people in a morning, without daubing their customers, or dirtying their own clothes. Why do you not adopt their mode?" He replied: "Your observation is correct: I have both a box and brush at home; but, as the French do not like them, and I cannot introduce the fashion, they have therefore never been used; but in future, I shall bring them for your use."

"The men in France are I think better looking than the English; their clothes are made to fit the body, and are of more lively colours; many of them also wear ear-rings and other ornaments.

"The French women are tall, and more corpulent than the English, but bear no comparison with respect to beauty. They want the simplicity, modesty, and graceful motions of the English damsels.

Their



Their fashion of dressing their hair was to me very disgusting, as it exactly resembled the mode practised by the common dancing-girls in India; that is, by dividing the hair into ringlets, two of which hung on the cheeks in an affected careless manner. They were also painted to an excessive degree, were very forward, and great talkers. The waists of their gowns were so short and full-bodied, that the women appeared hump-backed; whilst the drapery in front was so scanty as barely to conceal half their bosoms. Although I am by nature amorous, and easily affected at the sight of beauty, and visited every public place in Paris, I never met with a French woman who interested me."

This distinction between French and English women, and his preference of our fair countrywomen, is not more honourable to Abu Taleb's taste and discrimination, than to his virtue and good sense.

We greatly regret that our limits preclude us from giving any passages from his descriptions, during his interesting journey from Constantinople, through Diarbékir, Mousul, and Bagdad; whence he proceeded to Bussora and Bombay, and finally returned in safety to Calcutta, after an absence of five years. From Mr. Stewart's Appendix we learn, that Abu Taleb, after being appointed to a lucrative and honourable situation at Bundelcund, died there in 1806.

Mr. Stewart has high claims to the thanks of the public, for introducing to their acquaintance such an interesting and well-written production: and if the original Persian M. S. could be circulated in our

oriental territories, through the medium of the press, we conceive that it would produce, in the minds of the natives, impressions highly favourable to the British nation, and to its interests in India.

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*Present State of the Spanish Colonies; including a particular Report of Hispanola, or the Spanish Part of St. Domingo; with a general Survey of the Settlements of the South Continent of America, as relates to History, Trade, Population, Customs, Manners, &c. with a concise Statement of the Sentiments of the People, on their relative Situation to the Mother Country, &c. By Wm. Walton, Jun. 8vo. 2 vols.*

The extraordinary revolutions which have taken place in the new world, impart a peculiar interest to every work that professes to give correct details of the physical and political state of South America. Mr. Walton having in early life visited the people and countries here described, had opportunities of collecting various information not generally known; but he unfortunately lost, partly by capture, and partly by shipwreck, his materials. All that part, therefore, of the present work, which has not been supplied to the author by recent publications, must be regarded as written from memory, without the aid of particular documents. Having premised thus much as to Mr. W.'s sources of information, we proceed to give an outline of his work.

The first volume relates chiefly to the former and present state of Hispanola; the topography, animal,



mal, vegetable, and mineral productions, of which he describes at considerable length. St. Domingo, or Hispanola (so called, to distinguish it from Haiti, the name given to it by the natives) was discovered by the great Columbus; and is the largest, and most fertile of all the Antilles. It stands in 18. 19 degrees N. latitude, and from 68 to 74 W. longitude from London, opposite and near the Spanish main. It is situated between Jamaica, Puerto Rico, and Cuba, in the Caribbean sea. Raynal and the Spanish authors say it is 200 leagues long, and from 60 to 80 wide, but even our most correct maps are very imperfect, nor is it easy to traverse and survey wilds, trodden only by the huntsman or the fugitive negro; to the scale of latitude and longitude, therefore we are indebted in great measure for its measurement.

The French part of the island is not quite a third of the whole; the remainder, or the Spanish Division, is estimated at 3175 square leagues; and contains about 104,000 persons of all ages. The natives are said to be strong, active, and healthy.

“In the year 1790 the French division contained 497,000 souls, of which 38,000 were whites, 9,000 people of brown colour, and 450,000 blacks. The wars of Rigaud, Toussaint, and the French destruction, are estimated at nearly one half, and emigration, and the natural decrease of blacks when left to themselves, may be safely calculated to equal one third; by which it would result, that the present population consists of about 100,000 souls, a statement that even exceeds the

estimate of the most sensible among them; for the late and existing intestine divisions have greatly thinned their numbers, and a state of continual warfare, with dubious issue, has driven many to seek quiet in other countries. Their onsets are still often sanguinary, and quarter is seldom given by the victor. Thus, in point of population, they are on nearly an equal footing with their Spanish neighbours.

“General Petion holds possession of the S. side of the island, at the head of the brown colour, but their line of division varies, as each party advances or recedes, and the seat of government is at Port au Prince. He is of a sensible humane character; tutored in the schools of Europe, his mind has received an expansion that fits him for the helm of government, and his exterior an address that would distinguish him in a court. Ill suited perhaps to witness scenes to which his station, as a military commander, exposes him in the field of battle, the tear of sensibility often bedews his cheek at the sight of slaughter; and though brave, enterprising, and bold, he values more the responsive glow of a humane act, than the crimsoned laurel he has plucked from the brow of his adversary; he sighs at the purchase of victory with the sacrifice of those subjects he loves: in short, nothing can be more descriptive of his peculiar virtues, than the motto of an English artist, at the foot of his portrait. “*Il n'a jamais fait couleur les larmes de personne.*”

“Though the disorganized state and continually threatened invasion



sion of his country, require all his time in the field, he casts a provident eye on the well-being of those he heads as elective president; and though his code of laws does him credit, yet the civil administration is extremely relaxed, and the tenure of property very insecure. The Mole of St. Nicholas has been the chief seat of contest, and very frequently the scene of personal bravery on both sides. His revenues come principally from the rents of confiscated French estates and houses, import and export duties, local taxes, &c. By means of a general requisition of all above fourteen years of age, he musters about 9000 men, of whom the regulars have a good appearance, and his population has been increased by collecting the people of colour who lately left St. Domingo, though most prefer the present quiet security of the Spaniards. Nearly all males are forced to join the army, and the women are left to gather the crops, two thirds of which go to the profit of the farmer, after reimbursing the hire of assistants; the remaining third to the government, whose officers strictly attend to its collection. He has a small fleet of light vessels, but they seldom meet the foe. The French governors of St. Domingo made repeated overtures to him, which he had the good policy and prudence to disregard, but in case of ill success in that implacable enmity which exists between the contending chiefs of colour, his territory may yet become the seat of intrigue, either by reviving the embers of civil discord, or improving the moments of defeat;

may are not these plans and measures already anticipated? or else is there no foundation for the following authenticated report?

“General Rigaud has been sent by Buonaparte to St. Domingo, with a view of establishing a footing or interest in the island, either by rendering one or other of the rival chiefs dependent on him, by proffers of assistance, or by creating a third party in opposition to both. Rigaud had arrived at Port au Prince in April, and had opened a negociation with Petion.”

“Christophe, who is in possession of the N. side, at the head of the black colour, is nearly the reverse in character to Petion, and perhaps better fitted to sway over that class of people he is called to command. More the self-raised despot, than the elected chief of his sable myrmidons, they tremble at his active coercion, and his army thus possesses the advantages of superior discipline, though his talents are much beneath those of his rival. Many of his acts would not bear the scrutiny of philosophic justice, but where terror is equally to be the lever of action, his character is the best suited. His population is the largest, and his troops amount to about 10,000 men. His fleet is also the most numerous, and consists of two corvettes, nine brigs, and a few schooners, the force of which he is now attempting to augment from North America; but though it possesses the exterior of organization, and is under the command of a white admiral, it seldom leaves the harbours, and requires no naval chronicle to record its feats. The empress, relict of Dessalines, resides



sides at the Cape, the seat of government, but declines any shew or parade of the rank she once held in the country; is exemplary in her conduct, and refuses the attendance of a proffered guard, as corresponding to her widowed dignity. The Spaniards seem to incline to Christophe, and think him the most secure neighbour; but since the new possession of their country, no treaty has been entered upon, owing to a want of intercourse and approbation from home; but one on the defensive scale is in agitation, the principal groundwork of which must be a union of interests, to repel foreign attacks, a general release of all Spanish individuals, free or slaves, and a guarantee that the latter, in desertion, will not be encouraged, but returned.

“Independent, however, of the two chiefs already mentioned, who at present share, or rather contend for the empire of Haiti, has arisen another, Phillipe Dòs, the élève of the great and unfortunate Toussaint, late on the side of Christophe; but now a chief of considerable power, and at war with both rivals. Seated amidst the populous and fertile mountains of Mirbalais, in the centre of the island, and bordering on the Spanish limits, he has been followed by many partizans of the old cause, in which he was equally chief; his numbers have swelled to 6,000 persons, and increase by the coming in of the disaffected from the other competitors; whom he attracts by promises of a cessation of toil, and of the horrors of active war; grounding as the basis of his government, that they are to act only on the defensive,

and pledging himself not to call them out but in case his lines are invaded.”

In chapters XII. and XIII. Mr. Walton gives, at some length, the history of the Indians, the decline and rise of Hispanola, and the policy of the French in the West Indies, and their final expulsion by the English and Spaniards: and in the following chapter he details the advantages that will probably result to England from dispossessing the French of Hispanola. This chapter contains various interesting particulars, which our limits will not permit us to extract.

The first volume concludes with an appendix of considerable length, containing various useful documents illustrative of the author's narrative: the following account of Caracas will be not unacceptable to the reader.

“Caracas is the seat of government, and is situated in a valley surrounded by mountains, in 10 degrees 31 minutes north latitude, and 69—3 west longitude from Paris. It was founded in 1567 by Diego Losada. The authority of the Captain-General extends over Venezuela, Maracaibo, Varinas, Spanish Guiana, Cumana, and the island of Marguerita. The civil power of the royal audience and intendancy, are on an equal footing. The temperature is in general mild, and the weather agreeable.

“The valley in which the city of Caracas is built, is of an extent of four leagues, verging east and west, and formed by that great chain of mountains that rise above, and range along the coast from Coro to Cumana. On the north and south, it has also elevations.

The



The space on which the town stands is 2000 square paces, but art has done nothing to level the irregularities of the ground, so that it being placed on a declivity, on the bank of the first ridge, its streets have a continued and uniform descent and ascent, principally inclining to the north and south.

“ It is watered by four small rivulets. The first, called Guira, bounds it on the south ; the second, called Anauco, laves it to the East : over the latter is thrown a handsome bridge called La Candelaria, which leads to the valley of Chacao. The third is the Caroata, taking a course from north to south, leaving the west division. It separates that part of the town called St. John's, with which communication is had by another stone bridge. The fourth is the Catuche, which principally supplies the town with water, that is conveyed for its convenience to several public fountains. There are five small bridges over it of a very inferior order.

The streets, like those of modern towns, are regular, about 25 feet wide, and paved ; their crossings form squares, at a distance of about 300 feet from each other. The town from the surrounding elevations has a handsome white appearance, and is well built and ornamented in the Spanish style. There are three public squares which deserve that name, viz. La Plaza Mayor, La Candelaria, and St. Paul's ; the other two, called the Trinity and Del Lion, are very mean. There are besides, six smaller square openings, before their respective churches and convents.

“ Their mode of building is, as in the city of Santo Domingo, in

moulds of about five feet long, and of the width of the wall, in which sand, stones, lime, and a glutinous substance are beat up and mixed, and in time, take the consistency of stone ; and when well plastered and coloured appear like it. The walls being thick protect the inside from the heat. The covering of the roofs is of bended tiles.

“ Their style of furniture, though aided by many importations from the English islands, is yet antique, and consists of large gilded chairs and sofas, hanging in damask red silk, gilded bed-posts, heavily carved and ornamented, tables with gilded legs, gilded lustres, &c. The alcova, or family bed room, as in Spain, opens into the principal apartment or sitting room.

“ There are no public buildings but those dedicated to religion. The houses of the Captain-General, of the Royal Audience and military hospitals are of indifferent appearance. The barracks are however good buildings, new, elevated, and have a full command of the town ; they are capable of containing 2000 men, who are all regulars ; the militia having separate apartments.

“ Caracas is an archbishop's see that only dates from the year 1803, being till then only a bishopric : the limits of this diocese extend further than the civil and military jurisdiction. Its original seat was at Coro, established there in 1532.

“ The cathedral, for so important and large a city, is an inferior building, and has nothing of elegance or merit in architecture, distribution, or finish. It is about 150 feet long, on a breadth of 75.



The choir is in the middle of the main nave, the altars are rich, and the general ornaments valuable. The only large clock in the town is in the turret of this church. Like the cathedral of Santo Domingo, solidity has however been consulted, to avoid the ill effects of earthquakes.

“The city is divided into five parishes, that of the cathedral St. Rosalie, St. Paul’s, La Candelaria, and La Alta Gracia. There are three convents, viz. Franciscans, Dominicans, and Mercenarians, one house of Oratorians, one hospital of Capuchins; two nunneries, the Conception and the Carmelites; and one institution for the education of females. There are also three small oratories, and an hospital for those afflicted with leprosy. The architecture in general of these buildings is good, in the style of those in Spain, but the parochial church of Alta Gracia is the best, and would shine in most towns in Europe.

“There is a play-house, but very inferior actors; indeed the price of entry, which is only one eighth of a dollar, could not afford much better. The pieces in themselves are bad, but the playing worse; it is nevertheless crowded by both sexes of all ages and conditions. It is a great engine for giving a bias to the politics of the people, and since the changes of government in Spain, many pieces have been played analogous to the times; in which the usurpers of that country have been portrayed. There are three tennis courts; the game having been introduced there by the Biscayans. The young common people gamble greatly at billiards, cards, and dice.

“In 1802 Caracas contained about 42,000 souls, which enter into the same divisions of classes, as we shall describe in speaking of the rest of the main. In the white class, there are six titled persons from Spain, viz. three marquises and three counts. Their women are amongst the finest, most gay, and sensible of any of the Spanish settlements, and approach the Gaditanas or those of Cadiz more than any other. They are fond of foreigners, particularly the English, as was testified by the kind reception given to the governor and officers of Curacao, in a late excursion thither. It is to be regretted that their natural and lively talents are not cultivated. Their accomplishments are confined to dancing and singing. The slave attendants are much more numerous than necessary, as this is a principal point of luxury and parade; and a lady well dressed going to church is followed by five or six well dressed negro females: one carrying her carpet to kneel on, another her fan, a third her prayer-book, and a fourth her handkerchief and scent-box. They are extremely handy and instrumental in conveying letters to their mistresses.

“There is a college and university united in Caracas for the education of youth. The college was founded by Bishop Gonzales d’Acuna, who died in 1682, but in it they teach only latin, philosophy, and theology. Since that period, however, an university has been added, but it is poor, and on a confined scale.”

The second volume is appropriated to Spanish America, and discusses the manner, treatment, customs, &c. of the Indians, both native and civilized; including sketches



sketches of its climate, animal and vegetable kingdoms, population, and trade. It is also terminated by a pretty extensive appendix, relative to the commercial and political state of the countries described in the body of his work. The account of Mexico, which is very interesting, will be found in another part of our volume\*.

Although the present volumes are confessedly imperfect, and executed with precipitancy, they contain some information which may be useful both to the merchant and to the politician, in the present state of our intercourse with the Spanish Colonies in America.

\* Vide supra, p. 598, et seq.



























